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SAMUEL HORSLEY, LL. D. R. S. S.

REVERENDO ADMODUM IN CHRISTO PATRI

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THE

CHRONOLOGY

OF

ANTIENT KINGDOMS

AMENDED.

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ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THOUGH the Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended was writ by the author many years ſince; yet he lately reviſed it, and was actually preparing it for the preſs at the time of his death. But the Short Chronicle was never intended to be made publick, and therefore was not ſo lately corrected by him. To this the reader muſt impute it, if he ſhall find any places, where the Short Chronicle does not accurately agree with the dates aſſigned in the larger piece. The ſixth chapter was not copied out with the other five, which makes it doubtful whether he intended to print it: but being found among his papers, and evidently appearing to be a continuation of the ſame work, and (as ſuch) abridged in the Short Chronicle; it was thought proper to be added.

Had the great Author himſelf lived to publiſh this work, there would have been no occaſion for this Advertiſement; but as it is, the reader is deſired to allow for ſuch imperfections, as are inſeparable from poſthumous pieces; and, in ſo great a number of proper names, to excuſe ſome errors of the preſs that have eſcaped.

A SHORT

CHRONICLE

FROM THE

FIRST MEMORY OF THINGS IN EUROPE,

TO THE

CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE Greek antiquities are full of poetical fictions; becauſe the Greeks wrote nothing in proſe, before the conqueſt of Aſia by Cyrus the Perſian. Then Pherecydes Scyrius and Cadmus Mileſius introduced the writing in proſe. Pherecydes Athenienſis, about the end of the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, wrote of antiquities, and digeſted his work by genealogies, and was reckoned one of the beſt genealogers. Epimenides the hiſtorian proceeded alſo by genealogies; and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus, digeſted his hiſtory by the ages or ſucceſſions of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva. Others digeſted theirs by the kings of the Lacedæmonians, or Archons of Athens. Hippias the Elean, about thirty years before the fall of the Perſian

INTRODUCTION.

ſian empire, publiſhed a breviary or liſt of the Olympic victors; and about ten years before the fall thereof, Ephorus, the diſciple of Iſocrates, formed a chronological hiſtory of Greece, beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, and ending with the ſiege of Perinthus, in the twentieth year of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great: but he digeſted things by generations, and the reckoning by Olympiads was not yet in uſe; nor doth it appear, that the reigns of kings were yet ſet down by numbers of years. The Arundelian marbles were compoſed ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great (an. 4, olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the olympiads: but in the next olympiad, Timæus Siculus publiſhed an hiſtory in ſeveral books down to his own times, according to the olympiads, comparing the ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the prieſteſſes of Argos, with the olympic victors; ſo as to make the olympiads, and the genealogies and ſucceſſions of kings, archons, and prieſteſſes, and poetical hiſtories ſuit with one another, according to the beſt of his judgment. And where he left off, Polybius began and carried on the hiſtory.

So then a little after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to ſet down the generations, reigns and ſucceſſions, in numbers of years; and by putting reigns and ſucceſſions equipollent to generations, and three generations to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years, as appears by their chronology; they have made the antiquities of Greece three or four hundred years older than the truth. And this was the original of the technical chronology of the Greeks. Eratoſthenes wrote about an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great: he was followed by Apollodorus, and theſe two have been followed ever ſince by chronologers.

But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of thoſe times, may be underſtood by theſe paſſages of Plutarch. "Some reckon, ſaith he, [a] Lycurgus contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his companion in "ordering the olympic feſtivals: amongſt whom was Ariſtotle the "philoſopher, arguing from the olympic diſc, which had the "name of Lycurgus upon it. Others ſupputing the times by the "ſucceſſion

[a] In the life of Lycurgus.

"ſucceſſion of the kings of the Lacedæmonians, as Eratoſthenes "and Apollodorus affirm, that he was not a few years older than "the firſt olympiad." Firſt Ariſtotle, and ſome others, made him as old as the firſt olympiad: then Eratoſthenes, Apollodorus, and ſome others, made him above an hundred years older: and in another place Plutarch [1] tells us: "The congreſs of Solon with "Crœſus, ſome think they can confute by chronology. But an "hiſtory ſo illuſtrious, and verified by ſo many witneſſes, and "(which is more) ſo agreeable to the manners of Solon, and ſo "worthy of the greatneſs of his mind and of his wiſdom, I can-"not perſuade myſelf to reject becauſe of ſome chronological ca-"nons, as they call them, which hundreds of authors correct-"ing, have not yet been able to conſtitute any thing certain, in "which they could agree among themſelves, about repugnancies." It ſeems the chronologers had made the legiſlature of Solon too ancient, to conſiſt with that congreſs.

INTRODUCTION.

[1] In the life of Solon.

For reconciling ſuch repugnancies, chronologers have ſometimes doubled the perſons of men. So when the poets had changed Io, the daughter of Inachus, into the Egyptian Iſis, chronologers made her huſband Oſiris or Bacchus, and his miſtreſs Ariadne, as old as Io; and ſo feigned that there were two Ariadnes, one the miſtreſs of Bacchus, and the other the miſtreſs of Theſeus; and two Minos's their fathers, and a younger Io the daughter of Jaſus, writing Jaſus corruptly for Inachus. And ſo they have made two Pandions, and two Erechtheus's, giving the name of Erechthonius to the firſt; (Homer calls the firſt, Erechtheus) and by ſuch corruptions they have exceedingly perplexed ancient hiſtory.

And as for the chronology of the Latins, that is ſtill more uncertain. Plutarch repreſents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome: and ſo doth Servius. The old records of the Latins were burnt by the Gauls, ſixty and four years before the death of Alexander the Great; and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldeſt hiſtorian of the Latins, lived an hundred years later than that king.

In ſacred hiſtory, the Aſſyrian empire began with Pul and Tiglathpilaſer, and laſted about 170 years. And accordingly

Herodotus

INTRODUCTION. Herodotus hath made Semiramis only five generations, or about 166 years, older than Nitocris, the mother of the laſt king of Babylon. But Cteſias hath made Semiramis 1500 years older than Nitocris, and feigned a long ſeries of kings of Aſſyria, whoſe names are not Aſſyrian, nor have any affinity with the Aſſyrian names in Scripture.

The prieſts of Egypt told Herodotus, that Menes built Memphis and the ſumptuous temple of Vulcan, in that city: and that Rhampſinitus, Mœris, Aſychis and Pſammiticus, added magnificent porticos to that temple. And it is not likely that Memphis could be famous before Homer's days, who doth not mention it, or that a temple could be above two or three hundred years in building. The reign of Pſammiticus began about 655 years before Chriſt, and I place the founding of this temple by Menes about 257 years earlier. But the prieſts of Egypt had ſo magnified their antiquities before the days of Herodotus, as to tell him that from Menes to Mœris (who reigned 200 years before Pſammiticus) there were 330 kings, whoſe reigns took up as many ages, that is eleven thouſand years; and had filled up the interval with feigned kings, who had done nothing. And before the days of Diodorus Siculus, they had raiſed their antiquities ſo much higher, as to place ſix, eight, or ten new reigns of kings between thoſe kings, whom they had repreſented to Herodotus to ſucceed one another immediately.

In the kingdom of Sicyon, chronologers have ſplit Apis, Epaphus, or Epopeus, into two kings, whom they call Apis and Epopeus; and between them have inſerved eleven or twelve feigned names of kings, who did nothing; and thereby they have made its founder Ægialeus three hundred years older than his brother Phoroneus. Some have made the kings of Germany as old as the Flood: and yet, before the uſe of letters, the names and actions of men could ſcarce be remembered above eighty or an hundred years after their deaths: and therefore I admit no chronology of things done in Europe, above eighty years before Cadmus brought letters into Europe; none, of things done in Germany, before the riſe of the Roman empire.

Now

Now ſince Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus computed the times by the reigns of the kings of Sparta; and, as appears by their chronology ſtill followed, have made the ſeventeen reigns of theſe kings in both races, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the battle of Thermopylæ, take up 622 years, which is after the rate of 36½ years to a reign; and yet a race of ſeventeen kings of that length is no where to be met with in all true hiſtory; and kings at a moderate reckoning reign but eighteen or twenty years a-piece with one another: I have ſtated the time of the return of the Heraclidæ by the laſt way of reckoning, placing it about 340 years before the battle of Thermopylæ. And making the taking of Troy eighty years older than that return, according to Thucydides; and the Argonautic expedition a generation older than the Trojan war; and the wars of Seſoſtris in Thrace, and death of Ino the daughter of Cadmus, a generation older than that expedition: I have drawn up the following chronological table, ſo as to make chronology ſuit with the courſe of nature, with aſtronomy, with ſacred hiſtory, with Herodotus the father of hiſtory, and with itſelf; without the many repugnancies complained of by Plutarch. I do not pretend to be exact to a year: there may be errors of five or ten years, and ſometimes twenty, and not much above. INTRODUCTION.

A SHORT

A SHORT

CHRONICLE

FROM THE

FISRT MEMORY OF THINGS IN EUROPE

TO THE

CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE TIMES ARE SET DOWN IN YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

THE Canaanites, who fled from Joſhua, retired in great numbers into Egypt; and there conquered Timaus, Thamus, or Thammuz, king of the lower Egypt, and reigned there under their kings Salatis, Bœon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, Aſſis, &c. until the days of Eli and Samuel. They fed on fleſh; and ſacrificed men after the manner of the Phœnicians; and were called ſhepherds by the Egyptians, who lived only on the fruits of the earth, and abominated fleſh-eaters. The upper parts of Egypt were in thoſe days under many kings, reigning at Coptos, Thebes, This, Elephantis, and other places; which by conquering one another grew by degrees into one kingdom: over which Miſphragmuthoſis reigned in the days of Eli.

In the year before Chriſt 1125 Mephres reigned over the upper Egypt from Syene to Heliopolis; and his ſucceſſor, Miſphragmuthoſis, made a laſting war upon the ſhepherds ſoon after, and cauſed many of them to fly into Palæſtine, Idumæa, Syria, and Libya; and under Lelex, Æzeus, Inachus, Pelaſgus, Æolus the Firſt,

Firſt, *Cecrops*, and other captains, into Greece. Before thoſe Chronicle. days Greece and all Europe was peopled by wandering Cimmerians, and Scythians from the backſide of the Euxine Sea; who lived a rambling wild ſort of life, like the Tartars in the northern parts of Aſia. Of their race was Ogyges; in whoſe days theſe Egyptian ſtrangers came into Greece. The reſt of the ſhepherds were ſhut up by Miſphragmuthoſis, in a part of the lower Egypt called Abaris, or Peluſium.

In the year 1100 the Philiſtims, ſtrengthened by the acceſs of the ſhepherds, conquer Iſrael, and take the Ark. Samuel judges Iſrael.

1085. Hæmon, the ſon of Pelaſgus, reigns in Theſſaly.

1080. Lycaon, the ſon of Pelaſgus, builds Lycoſura; Phoroneus the ſon of Inachus, Phoronicum, afterwards called Argos; Ægialeus, the brother of Phoroneus and ſon of Inachus, Ægialeum, afterwards called Sicyon: and theſe were the oldeſt towns in Peloponneſus. Till then they built only ſingle houſes, ſcattered up and down in the fields. About the ſame time Cecrops built Cecropia in Attica, afterwards called Athens; and Eleuſine, the ſon of Ogyges, built Eleuſis. And theſe towns gave a beginning to the kingdoms of the Arcadians, Argives, Sicyons, Athenians, Eleuſinians, &c. Deucalion flouriſhes.

1070. Amoſis, or Tethmoſis, the ſucceſſor of Miſphragmuthoſis, aboliſhes the Phœnician cuſtom in Heliopolis of ſacrificing men, and drives the ſhepherds out of Abaris. By their acceſs the Philiſtims become ſo numerous, as to bring into the field againſt Saul 30000 chariots, 6000 horſemen, and people as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for multitude. Abas, the father of Acriſius and Prœtus, comes from Egypt.

1069. Saul is made king of Iſrael; and, by the hand of Jonathan, gets a great victory over the Philiſtims. Eurotas the ſon of Lelex, and Lacedæmon, who married Sparta the daughter of Eurotas, reign in Laconia, and build Sparta.

1060. Samuel dies.

1059. David made king.

1048. The Edomites are conquered and diſperſed by David, and ſome of them fly into Egypt with their young king Hadad.

CHRONICLE. Others fly to the Perſian Gulph with their commander Oannes; and others from the Red Sea to the coaſt of the Mediterranean, and fortify Azoth againſt David, and take Zidon; and the Zidonians, who fled from them, built Tyre and Aradus, and make Abibalus king of Tyre. Theſe Edomites carry to all places their arts and ſciences; amongſt which were their navigation, aſtronomy, and letters: for in Idumæa they had conſtellations and letters before the days of Job, who mentions them; and there Moſes learnt to write the Law in a book. Theſe Edomites, who fled to the Mediterranean, tranſlating the word *Erythræa* into that of *Phœnicia*, give the name of Phœnicians to themſelves, and that of Phœnicia to all the ſea-coaſts of Palæſtine from Azoth to Zidon. And hence came the tradition of the Perſians, and of the Phœnicians themſelves, mentioned by Herodotus, that the Phœnicians came originally from the Red Sea, and preſently undertook long voyages on the Mediterranean.

1047. Acriſius marries Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedæmon and Sparta. The Phœnician mariners who fled from the Red Sea, being uſed to long voyages for the ſake of traffic, begin the like voyages on the Mediterranean from Zidon; and ſailing as far as Greece, carry away Io the daughter of Inachus: who, with other Grecian women, came to their ſhips to buy their merchandize. The Greek ſeas begin to be infeſted with pirates.

1046. The Syrians of Zobah and Damaſcus are conquered by David. Nyctimus, the ſon of Lycaon, reigns in Arcadia. Deucalion ſtill alive.

1045. Many of the Phœnicians and Syrians, fleeing from Zidon and from David, come under the conduct of Cadmus, Cilix, Phœnix, Membliarius, Nycteus, Thaſus, Atymnus, and other captains, into Aſia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and introduce letters, muſic, poetry, the Octaeteris, metals and their fabrication, and other arts, ſciences and cuſtoms of the Phœnicians. At this time Cranäus, the ſucceſſor of Cecrops, reigned in Attica; and in his reign, and the beginning of the reign of Nyctimus, the Greeks place the flood of Deucalion. This flood was ſucceeded by four ages or generations of men, in the firſt of which Chiron, the ſon of Saturn and Philyra, was born, and the laſt

laſt of which, according to Heſiod, ended with the Trojan war; CHRONICLE.
and ſo places the deſtruction of Troy four generations, or about 140 years later than that flood and the coming of Cadmus; reckoning with the ancients three generations to an hundred years. With theſe Phœnicians came a ſort of men ſkilled in the religious myſteries, arts and ſciences of Phœnicia, and ſettled in ſeveral places, under the names of Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines, and Idæi Dactyli.

1043. Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion, and father of Æolus, Xuthus, and Dorus, flouriſhes.

1035. Erechtheus reigns in Attica. Æthlius, the grandſon of Deucalion and father of Endymion, builds Elis. The Idæi Dactyli find out iron in mount Ida in Crete, and work it into armour and iron tools; and thereby give a beginning to the trades of ſmiths and armourers in Europe: and by ſinging and dancing in their armour, and keeping time by ſtriking upon one another's armour with their ſwords, they bring in muſic and poetry; and at the ſame time they nurſe up the Cretan Jupiter in a cave of the ſame mountain, dancing about him in their armour.

1034. Ammon reigns in Egypt. He conquered Libya, and reduced that people from a wandering ſavage life to a civil one, and taught them to lay up the fruits of the earth; and from him Libya, and the deſert above it, were anciently called Ammonia. He was the firſt that built long and tall ſhips with ſails; and had a fleet of ſuch ſhips on the Red Sea, and another on the Mediterranean at Iraſa in Libya. Till then they uſed ſmall and round veſſels of burden, invented on the Red Sea, and kept within ſight of the ſhore. For enabling them to croſs the ſeas without ſeeing the ſhore, the Egyptians began in his days to obſerve the ſtars: and from this beginning aſtronomy and ſailing had their riſe. Hitherto the luniſolar year had been in uſe: but this year being of an uncertain length, and ſo, unfit for aſtronomy, in his days and in the days of his ſons and grandſons, by obſerving the heliacal riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, they found the length of the ſolar year; and made it conſiſt of five days more than the twelve calendar months of the old luniſolar year.

CHRONICLE. Crĕuſa, the daughter of Erechtheus, marries Xuthus the ſon of Hellen. Erechtheus, having firſt celebrated the Panathenæa, joins horſes to a chariot. Ægina, the daughter of Aſopus, and mother of Æacus, born.

1030. Ceres, a woman of Sicily, in ſeeking her daughter who was ſtolen, comes into Attica; and there teaches the Greeks to ſow corn: for which benefaction ſhe was deified after death. She firſt taught the art to Triptolemus, the young ſon of Celeus king of Eleuſis.

1028. Oenotrus, the young ſon of Lycaon, the Janus of the Latines, led the firſt colony of Greeks into Italy, and there taught them to build houſes. Perſeus born.

1020. Arcas, the ſon of Calliſto and grandſon of Lycaon, and Eumelus the firſt king of Achaia, receive bread-corn from Triptolemus.

1019. Solomon reigns, and marries the daughter of Ammon, and by means of this affinity is ſupplied with horſes from Egypt; and his merchants alſo bring horſes from thence for all the kings of the Hittites and Syrians: for horſes came originally from Libya; and thence Neptune was called *Equeſtris*. Tantalus, king of Phrygia, ſteals Ganimede the ſon of Tros king of Troas.

1017. Solomon, by the aſſiſtance of the Tyrians and Aradians, who had mariners among them acquainted with the Red Sea, ſets out a fleet upon that ſea. Thoſe aſſiſtants build new cities in the Perſian Gulph, called Tyre and Aradus.

1015. The Temple of Solomon is founded. Minos reigns in Crete, expelling his father Aſterius; who flees into Italy, and becomes the Saturn of the Latines. Ammon takes Gezer from the Canaanites, and gives it to his daughter, Solomon's wife.

1014. Ammon places Cepheus at Joppa.

1010. Seſac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Arabia Fœlix, and ſets up pillars at the mouth of the Red Sea. Apis, Epaphus or Epopeus, the ſon of Phroroneus, and Nycteus king of Bœotia ſlain. Lycus inherits the kingdom of his brother Nycteus. Ætolus, the ſon of Endymion, flies into the country of the Curetes in Achaia, and calls it Ætolia; and of Pronoë, the daughter of Phorbas, begets Pleuron and Calydon; who built cities

ties in Ætolia called by their own names. Antiopa, the daughter of Nycteus, is ſent home to Lycus by Lamedon, the ſucceſſor of Apis, and in the way brings forth Amphion and Zethus. Chronicle.

1008. Seſac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Africa and Spain; and ſets up pillars in all his conqueſts, and particularly at the mouth of the Mediterranean; and returns home by the coaſt of Gaul and Italy.

1007. Ceres being dead, Eumolpus inſtitutes her myſteries in Eleuſine. The myſteries of Rhea are inſtituted in Phrygia, in the city Cybele. About this time temples begin to be built in Greece. Hyagnis the Phrygian invents the pipe. After the example of the common-council of the five lords of the Philiſtims, the Greeks ſet up the Amphictyonic council; firſt at Thermopylæ, by the influence of Amphictyon the ſon of Deucalion; and a few years after at Delphi, by the influence of Acriſius. Among the cities, whoſe deputies met at Thermopylæ, I do not find Athens, and therefore doubt whether Amphictyon was king of that city. If he was the ſon of Deucalion, and brother of Hellen; he and Cranaus might reign together in ſeveral parts of Attica. But I meet with a later Amphictyon, who entertained the great Bacchus. This council worſhipped Ceres, and therefore was inſtituted after her death.

1006. Minos prepares a fleet; clears the Greek ſeas of pirates, and ſends colonies to the iſlands of the Greeks; ſome of which were not inhabited before. Cecrops II. reigns in Attica. Caucon teaches the myſteries of Ceres in Meſſene.

1005. Andromeda carried away from Joppa by Perſeus. Pandion, the brother of Cecrops II, reigns in Attica. Car, the ſon of Phoroneus, builds a temple to Ceres.

1002. Seſac reigns in Egypt, and adorns Thebes, dedicating it to his father Ammon, by the name of No-Ammon or Ammon-No; that is, the people or city of Ammon: whence the Greeks called it Dioſpolis, the city of Jupiter. Seſac alſo erected temples and oracles to his father in Thebes, Ammonia, and Ethiopia; and thereby cauſed his father to be worſhipped as a god in thoſe countries, and I think alſo in Arabia Fœlix: and this was the original of the worſhip of Jupiter Ammon, and the firſt mention

CHRONICLE. tion of oracles that I meet with in prophane hiſtory. War between Pandion and Labdacus the grandſon of Cadmus.

994. Ægeus reigns in Attica.

993. Pelops, the ſon of Tantalus, comes into Peloponneſus; marries Hippodamia the grand-daughter of Acriſius; takes Ætolia from Ætolus the ſon of Endymion; and by his riches grows potent.

990. Amphion and Zethus ſlay Lycus; put Laius the ſon of Labdacus to flight; and reign in Thebes, and wall the city about.

989. Dædalus, and his nephew Talus, invent the ſaw; the turning-lath; the wimble; the chip-ax; and other inſtruments of carpenters and joiners; and thereby give a beginning to thoſe arts in Europe. Dædalus alſo invented the making of ſtatues with their feet aſunder, as if they walked.

988. Minos makes war upon the Athenians, for killing his ſon Androgeus. Æacus flouriſhes.

987. Dædalus kills his nephew Talus, and flies to Minos. A prieſteſs of Jupiter Ammon, being brought by Phœnician merchants into Greece, ſets up the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona. This gives a beginning to oracles in Greece: and by their dictates, the worſhip of the dead is every where introduced.

983. Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus and grandſon of Hellen, reigns in Corinth, and ſome ſay that he built that city.

980. Laius recovers the kingdom of Thebes. Athamas, the brother of Siſyphus and father of Phrixus and Helle, marries Ino the daughter of Cadmus.

979. Rehoboam reigns. Thoas is ſent from Crete to Lemnos; reigns there in the city Hephœſtia; and works in copper and iron.

978. Alcmena born, of Electryo, the ſon of Perſeus and Andromeda, and of Lyſidice the daughter of Pelops.

974. Seſac ſpoils the Temple, and invades Syria and Perſia, ſetting up pillars in many places. Jeroboam, becoming ſubject to Seſac, ſets up the worſhip of the Egpptian gods in Iſrael.

971. Seſac invades India, and returns with triumph the next year but one: whence *Trieterica Bacchi.* He ſets up pillars on two mountains at the mouth of the river Ganges.

968.

968. Theſeus reigns, having overcome the Minotaur; and ſoon after unites the twelve cities of Attica under one government. Seſac, having carried on his victories to Mount Caucaſus, leaves his nephew Prometheus there, and Æetes in Colchis. Chronicle.

967. Seſac, paſſing over the Helleſpont, conquers Thrace; kills Lycurgus king thereof; and gives his kingdom, and one of his ſinging-women, to Oeagrus the father of Orpheus. Seſac had in his army Ethiopians commanded by Pan, and Libyan women commanded by Myrina, or Minerva. It was the cuſtom of the Ethiopians to dance, when they were entering into a battle; and from their ſkipping they were painted with goats feet in the form of ſatyrs.

966. Thoas, being made king of Cyprus by Seſac, goes thither with his wife Calycopis, and leaves his daughter Hypſipyle in Lemnos.

965. Seſac is baffled by the Greeks and Scythians; loſes many of his women with their queen Minerva; compoſes the war; is received by Amphiction at a feaſt; buries Ariadne; goes back through Aſia and Syria into Egypt with innumerable captives, among whom was Tithonus, the ſon of Laomedon king of Troy; and leaves his Libyan Amazons, under Martheſia and Lampeto, the ſucceſſors of Minerva, at the river Thermodon. He left alſo in Colchos geographical tables of all his conqueſts; and thence geography had its riſe. His ſinging-women were celebrated in Thrace by the name of the Muſes. And the daughters of Pierus, a Thracian, imitating them, were celebrated by the ſame name.

964. Minos, making war upon Cocalus king of Sicily, is ſlain by him. He was eminent for his dominion, his laws, and his juſtice: upon his ſepulchre, viſited by Pythagoras, was this inſcription, ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟC; the ſepulchre of Jupiter. Danäus with his daughters flying from his brother Egyptus (that is from Seſac) comes into Greece. Seſac, uſing the advice of his ſecretary Thoth, diſtributes Egypt into xxxvi Nomes; and in every Nome erects a temple; and appoints the ſeveral gods, feſtivals and religions of the ſeveral Nomes. The temples were the ſepulchres of his great men; where they were to be buried and worſhipped

CHRONICLE. worſhipped after death, each in his own temple, with ceremonies and feſtivals appointed by him; while he and his queen, by the names of Oſiris and Iſis, were to be worſhipped in all Egypt. Theſe were the temples ſeen and deſcribed by Lucian eleven hundred years after, to be of one and the ſame age; and this was the original of the ſeveral Nomes of Egypt, and of the ſeveral gods and ſeveral religions of thoſe nomes. Seſac divided alſo the land of Egypt by meaſure amongſt his ſoldiers; and thence geometry had its riſe. Hercules and Euryſtheus born.

963. Amphictyon brings the twelves gods of Egypt into Greece; and theſe are the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, to whom the earth and planets and elements are dedicated.

962. Phryxus and Helle fly from their ſtep-mother Ino, the daughter of Cadmus. Helle is drowned in the Helleſpont, ſo named from her; but Phryxus arrived at Colchos.

960. The war between the Lapithæ and the people of Theſſaly, called Centaurs.

958. Oedipus kills his father Laius. Sthenelus, the ſon of Perſeus, reigns in Mycene.

956. Seſac is ſlain by his brother Japetus; who after death was deified in Afric by the name of Neptune, and called Typhon by the Egyptians. Orus reigns and routs the Libyans; who, under the conduct of Japetus, and his ſon Antæus or Atlas, invaded Egypt. Seſac, from his making the river Nile uſeful, by cutting channels from it to all the cities of Egypt, was called by its names, Sihor or Siris, Nilus and Egyptus. The Greeks hearing the Egyptians lament, *O Siris* and *Bou Siris*, called him Oſiris and Buſiris. The Arabians from his great acts called him Bacchus; that is, the Great. The Phrygians called him Ma-fors, or Mavors, The Valiant; and, by contraction, Mars. Becauſe he ſet up pillars in all his conqueſts, and his army in his father's reign fought againſt the Africans with clubs, he is painted with pillars and a club. And this is that Hercules who, according to Cicero, was born upon the Nile; and, according to Eudoxus, was ſlain by Typhon; and, according to Diodorus, was an Egyptian; and went over a great part of the world, and ſet up the pillars in Afric. He ſeems to be alſo the Belus, who, according to Diodorus, led

a colony of Egyptians to Babylon; and there inſtituted prieſts Chronicle.
called Chaldeans, who were free from taxes, and obſerved the ſtars, as in Egypt. Hitherto Judah and Iſrael laboured under great vexations; but henceforward Aſa, king of Judah, had peace ten years.

947. The Ethiopians invade Egypt, and drown Orus in the Nile. Thereupon Bubaſte, the ſiſter of Orus, kills herſelf, by falling from the top of an houſe, and their mother Iſis, or Aſtræa, goes mad: and thus ended the reign of the gods of Egypt.

946. Zerah the Ethiopian is overthrown by Aſa. The people of the lower Egypt make Oſarſiphus their king, and call in two hundred thouſand Jews and Phœnicians againſt the Ethiopians. Menes or Amenophis, the young ſon of Zerah and Ciſſia, reigns.

944. The Ethiopians under Amenophis retire from the lower Egypt, and fortify Memphis againſt Oſarſiphus. And by theſe wars and the Argonautic expedition, the great empire of Egypt breaks in pieces. Euryſtheus, the ſon of Sthenelus, reigns in Mycenæ.

943. Evander and his mother Carmenta carry letters into Italy.

942. Orpheus deifies the ſon of Semele, by the name of Bacchus, and appoints his ceremonies.

940. The great men of Greece, hearing of the civil wars and diſtractions of Egypt, reſolve to ſend an embaſſy to the nations upon the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas, ſubject to that empire; and for that end ordered the building of the ſhip Argo.

939. The ſhip Argo is built, after the pattern of the long ſhip in which Danaus came into Greece: and this was the firſt long ſhip built by the Greeks. Chiron, who was born in the Golden Age, forms the conſtellations for the uſe of the Argonauts; and places the ſolſtitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middles, of the conſtellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonaſſar 316, obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice in the eighth degree of Cancer; and therefore the ſolſtice had then gone back ſeven degrees. It goes back one degree in about ſeventy-two years; and ſeven degrees in about 504 years. Count theſe years back from the year of Na-

 bonaſſar

CHRONICLE. bonaſſar 316, and they will place the Argonautic expedition about 936 years before Chriſt. Gingris, the ſon of Thoas, ſlain, and deified by the name of Adonis.

938. Theſeus, being fifty years old, ſteals Helena, then ſeven years old. Pirithöus, the ſon of Ixion, endeavouring to ſteal Perſephone, the daughter of Orcus king of the Moloſſians, is ſlain by the dog of Orcus; and his companion Theſeus is taken and impriſoned. Helena is ſet at liberty by her brothers.

937. The Argonautic expedition. Prometheus leaves Mount Caucaſus, being ſet at liberty by Hercules. Laomedon, king of Troy, is ſlain by Hercules. Priam ſucceeds him. Talus, a brazen man, of the brazen age, the ſon of Minos, is ſlain by the Argonauts. Æſculapius and Hercules were Argonauts, and Hippocrates was the eighteenth from Æſculapius by the father's ſide, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's ſide; and becauſe theſe generations, being noted in hiſtory, were moſt probably by the chief of the family, and for the moſt part by the eldeſt ſons; we may reckon 28, or at the moſt 30 years, to a generation: and thus the ſeventeen intervals by the father's ſide, and eighteen by the mother's, will, at a middle reckoning, amount unto about 507 years; which being counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, at which time Hippocrates began to flouriſh, will reach up to the time where we have placed the Argonautic expedition.

936. Theſeus is ſet at liberty by Hercules.

934. The hunting of the Calydonian boar, ſlain by Meleager.

930. Amenophis, with an army out of Ethiopia and Thebais, invades the lower Egypt; conquers Oſarſiphus; and drives out the Jews and Canaanites: and this is reckoned the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds. Calycopis dies; and is deified by Thoas with temples at Paphos and Amathus in Cyprus, and at Byblus in Syria, and with prieſts and ſacred rites; and becomes the Venus of the ancients, and the *Dea Cypria* and *Dea Syria*. And from theſe and other places, where temples were erected to her, ſhe was alſo called Paphia, Amathuſia, Byblia, Cytherea, Salaminia, Cnidia, Erycina, Idalia, &c. And her three waiting-women became the three graces.

928.

928. The war of the ſeven captains againſt Thebes. CHRONICLE.

927. Hercules and Æſculapius are deified. Euryſtheus drives the Heraclidæ out of Peloponneſus. He is ſlain by Hyllus, the ſon of Hercules. Atreus, the ſon of Pelops, ſucceeds him in the kingdom of Mycenæ. Meneſtheus, the great grandſon of Erechtheus, reigns at Athens.

925. Theſeus is ſlain, being caſt down from a rock.

924. Hyllus, invading Peloponneſus, is ſlain by Echemus.

919. Atreus dies. Agamemnon reigns. In the abſence of Menelaus, who went to look after what his father Atreus had left to him, Paris ſteals Helena.

918. The ſecond war againſt Thebes.

912. Thoas, king of Cyprus and part of Phœnicia, dies; and for making armour for the kings of Egypt, is deified with a ſumptuous temple at Memphis, by the name of Baal Canaan, Vulcan. This temple was ſaid to be built by Menes, the firſt king of Egypt, who reigned next after the gods; that is, by Menoph or Amenophis, who reigned next after the death of Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, Bubaſte and Thoth. The city Memphis was alſo ſaid to be built by Menes; he began to build it, when he fortified it againſt Oſarſiphus. And from him it was called Menoph, Moph, Noph, &c. and is to this day called Menuf by the Arabians. And therefore Menes, who built the city and temple, was Menoph or Amenophis. The prieſts of Egypt at length made this temple above a thouſand years older than Amenophis, and ſome of them five or ten thouſand years older: but it could not be above two or three hundred years older than the reign of Pſammiticus who finiſhed it, and died 614 years before Chriſt. When Menoph, or Menes, built the city, he built a bridge there over the Nile: a work too great to be older than the monarchy of Egypt.

909. Amenophis, called Memnon by the Greeks, built the Memnonia at Suſa, whilſt Egypt was under the government of Proteus, his viceroy.

904. Troy taken. Amenophis was ſtill at Suſa; the Greeks feigning that he came from thence to the Trojan war.

CHRONICLE. 903. Demophoon, the ſon of Theſeus by Phœdra the daughter of Minos, reigns at Athens.

901. Amenophis builds ſmall pyramids in Cochome.

896. Ulyſſes leaves Calypſo in the iſland Ogygia (perhaps Cadis or Cales). She was the daughter of Atlas, according to Homer. The ancients at length feigned that this iſland, which from Atlas they called Atlantis, had been as big as all Europe, Africa and Aſia, but was ſunk into the ſea.

895. Teucer builds Salamis in Cyprus. Hadad, or Benhadad, king of Syria dies; and is deified at Damaſcus with a temple and ceremonies.

887. Amenophis dies; and is ſucceeded by his ſon Rameſſes, or Rhampſinitus; who builds the weſtern portico of the temple of Vulcan. The Egyptians dedicated to Oſiris, Iſis, Orus ſenior, Typhon, and Nephthe, the ſiſter and wife of Typhon, the five days added by the Egyptians to the twelve calendar months of the old luni-ſolar year; and ſaid, that they were added when theſe five princes were born. They were therefore added in the reign of Ammon, the father of theſe five princes. But this year was ſcarce brought into common uſe, before the reign of Amenophis: for in his temple or ſepulchre at Abydus, they placed a circle of 365 cubits in compaſs, covered on the upper ſide with a plate of gold, and divided into 365 equal parts, to repreſent all the days of the year; every part having the day of the year, and the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars on that day, noted upon it: and this circle remained there, till Cambyſes ſpoiled the temples of Egypt. And from this monument I collect, that it was Amenophis who eſtabliſhed this year, fixing the beginning thereof to one of the four cardinal points of the heavens. For had not the beginning thereof been now fixed, the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars could not have been noted upon the days thereof. The prieſts of Egypt, therefore, in the reign of Amenophis, continued to obſerve the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars upon every day. And when by the ſun's meridional altitudes they had found the ſolſtices and equinoxes, according to the ſun's mean motion, his equation being not yet known; they fixed the beginning of this year to the vernal

vernal equinox; and in memory thereof erected this monument. CHRONICLE.
Now this year being carried into Chaldæa, the Chaldæans began their year of Nabonaſſar on the ſame Thoth with the Egyptians, and made it of the ſame length. And the Thoth of the firſt year of Nabonaſſar fell upon the 26th day of February: which was 33 days and five hours before the vernal equinox, according to the ſun's mean motion. And the Thoth of this year moves backwards 33 days and five hours in 137 years; and therefore fell upon the vernal equinox 137 years before the æra of Nabonaſſar began; that is, 884 years before Chriſt. And if it began upon the day next after the vernal equinox, it might begin three or four years earlier; and there we may place the death of this king. The Greeks feigned that he was the ſon of Tithonus; and therefore he was born after the return of Seſac into Egypt with Tithonus and other captives; and ſo might be about 70 or 75 years old at his death.

883. Dido builds Carthage; and the Phœnicians begin preſently after to ſail as far as to the Straights Mouth, and beyond. Æneas was ſtill alive, according to Virgil.

870. Heſiod flouriſhes. He hath told us himſelf, that he lived in the age next after the wars of Thebes and Troy; and that this age ſhould end, when the men then living grew hoary, and dropt into the grave; and therefore it was but of an ordinary length: and Herodotus has told us, that Heſiod and Homer were about 400 years older than himſelf. Whence it follows, that the deſtruction of Troy was not older, than we have repreſented it.

860. Mœris reigns in Egypt. He adorned Memphis, and tranſlated the ſeat of his empire thither from Thebes. There he built the famous labyrinth, and the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan; and dug the great lake called the lake of Mœris; and upon the bottom of it built two great pyramids of brick: and theſe things being not mentioned by Homer or Heſiod, were unknown to them, and done after their days. Mœris wrote alſo a book of geometry.

852. Hazäel, the ſucceſſor of Hadad at Damaſcus, dies; and is deified, as was Hadad before: and theſe gods, together with

CHRONICLE. Arathes the wife of Hadad, were worſhipped in their ſepulchres or temples, till the days of Joſephus the Jew; and the Syrians boaſted their antiquity; not knowing, ſaith Joſephus, that they were novel.

844. The Æolic migration. Bœotia, formerly called Cadmeis, is ſeized by the Bœotians.

838. Cheops reigns in Egypt. He built the greateſt pyramid for his ſepulchre, and forbad the worſhip of the former kings; intending to have been worſhiped himſelf.

825. The Heraclidæ, after three generations, or an hundred years, reckoned from their former expedition, return into Peloponneſus. Henceforward, to the end of the firſt Meſſenian war, reigned ten kings of Sparta by one race, and nine by another; ten of Meſſene, and nine of Arcadia: which, by reckoning (according to the ordinary courſe of nature) about twenty years to a reign, one reign with another, will take up about 190 years. And the ſeven reigns more in one of the two races of the kings of Sparta, and eight in the other, to the battle at Thermopylæ, may take about 150 years more: and ſo place the return of the Heraclidæ about 820 years before Chriſt.

824. Cephren reigns in Egypt, and builds another great pyramid.

808. Mycerinus reigns there, and begins the third great pyramid. He ſhut up the body of his daughter in a hollow ox, and cauſed her to be worſhiped daily with odours.

804. The war between the Athenians and Spartans; in which Codrus, king of the Athenians, is ſlain.

802. Nitocris, the ſiſter of Mycerinus, ſucceeds him; and finiſhes the third great pyramid.

794. The Ionic migration, under the conduct of the ſons of Codrus.

790. Pul founds the Aſſyrian empire.

788. Aſychis reigns in Egypt, and builds the eaſtern portico of the temple of Vulcan very ſplendidly; and a large pyramid of brick, made of mud dug out of the lake of Mœris. Egypt breaks into ſeveral kingdoms. Gnephactus and Bocchoris reign ſucceſſively in the upper Egypt; Stephanatis, Necepſos and Ne-

chus,

chus, at Sais; Anyſis or Amoſis, at Anyſis or Hanes; and Tacellotis, at Bubaſte. Chronicle.

776. Iphitus reſtores the Olympiads. And from this æra the olympiads are now reckoned. Gnephactus reigns at Memphis.

772. Necepſos and Peloſiris invent aſtrology in Egypt.

760. Semiramis begins to flouriſh. Sanchoniatho writes.

751. Sabacon, the Ethiopian, invades Egypt, now divided into various kingdoms; burns Bocchoris; ſlays Nechus; and makes Anyſis fly.

747. Pul, king of Aſſyria, dies; and is ſucceeded at Nineveh by Tiglathpilaſſer, and at Babylon by Nabonaſſar. The Egyptians, who fled from Sabacon, carry their aſtrology and aſtronomy to Babylon, and found the æra of Nabonaſſar in Egyptian years.

740. Tiglathpilaſſer, king of Aſſyria, takes Damaſcus, and captivates the Syrians.

729. Tiglathpilaſſer is ſucceeded by Salmanaſſer.

721. Salmanaſſer, king of Aſſyria, carries the ten tribes into captivity.

719. Sennacherib reigns over Aſſyria. Archias, the ſon of Evagetus, of the ſtock of Hercules, leads a colony from Corinth into Sicily, and builds Syracuſe.

717. Tirhakah reigns in Ethiopia.

714. Sennacherib is put to flight by the Ethiopians and Egyptians, with great ſlaughter.

711. The Medes revolt from the Aſſyrians. Sennacherib ſlain. Aſſerhadon ſucceeds him: that is, that Aſſerhadon-Pul, or Sardanapalus, the ſon of Anacyndaraxis, or Sennacherib, who built Tarſus and Anchiale in one day.

710. Lycurgus brings the poems of Homer out of Aſia into Greece.

708. Lycurgus becomes tutor to Charillus, or Chariläus, the young king of Sparta. Ariſtotle makes Lycurgus as old as Iphitus, becauſe his name was upon the olympic diſc. But the diſc was one of the five games called the Quinquertium, and the Quinquertium was firſt inſtituted upon the eighteenth olympiad. Socrates and Thucydides made the inſtitutions of Lycurgus about

Chronicle. 300 years older than the end of the Peloponneſian war, that is, 705 years before Chriſt.

701. Sabacon, after a reign of 50 years, relinquiſhes Egypt to his ſon Sevechus, or Sethon, who becomes prieſt of Vulcan, and neglects military affairs.

698. Manaſſeh reigns.

697. The Corinthians begin firſt of any men to build ſhips with three orders of oars, called Triremes. Hitherto the Greeks had uſed long veſſels of fifty oars.

687. Tirhakah reigns in Egypt.

681. Aſſerhadon invades Babylon.

673. The Jews conquered by Aſſerhadon, and Manaſſeh carried captive to Babylon.

671. Aſſerhadon invades Egypt. The government of Egypt committed to twelve princes.

668. The weſtern nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, revolt from the Aſſyrians. Aſſerhadon dies, and is ſucceeded by Saoſduchinus. Manaſſeh returns from captivity.

658. Phraortes reigns in Media. The Prytanes reign in Corinth, expelling their kings.

657. The Corinthians overcome the Corcyreans at ſea: and this was the oldeſt ſea-fight.

655. Pſammiticus becomes king of all Egypt, by conquering the other eleven kings, with whom he had already reigned fifteen years: he reigned about 39 years more. Henceforward the Ionians had acceſs into Egypt; and thence came the Ionian philoſophy, aſtronomy, and geometry.

652. The firſt Meſſenian war begins: it laſted twenty years.

647. Charops, the firſt decennial archon of the Athenians. Some of theſe archons might die before the end of the ten years, and the remainder of the ten years be ſupplied by a new archon. And hence the ſeven decennial archons might not take up above forty or fifty years. Saoſduchinus king of Aſſyria dies, and is ſucceeded by Chyniladon.

640. Joſiah reigns in Judæa.

636. Phraortes, king of the Medes, is ſlain in a war againſt the Aſſyrians. Aſtyages ſucceds him.

635.

635. The Scythians invade the Medes and Aſſyrians. CHRONICLE.

633. Battus builds Cyrene; where Iraſa, the city of Antæus, had ſtood.

627. Rome is built.

625. Nabopolaſſar revolts from the king of Aſſyria, and reigns over Babylon. Phalantus leads the Parthenians into Italy, and builds Tarentum.

617. Pſammiticus dies. Nechaoh reigns in Egypt.

611. Cyaxeres reigns over the Medes.

610. The princes of the Scythians ſlain in a feaſt by Cyaxeres.

609. Joſiah ſlain. Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar overthrow Nineveh; and, by ſharing the Aſſyrian empire, grow great.

607. Creon the firſt annual archon of the Athenians. The ſecond Meſſenian war begins. Cyaxeres makes the Scythians retire beyond Colchos and Iberia, and ſeizes the Aſſyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

606. Nebuchadnezzar invades Syria and Judæa.

604. Nabopolaſſar dies; and is ſucceeded by his ſon Nebuchadnezzar, who had already reigned two years with his father.

600. Darius the Mede, the ſon of Cyaxeres, is born.

599. Cyrus is born of Mandane, the ſiſter of Cyaxeres, and daughter of Aſtyages.

596. Suſiana and Elam conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. Caranus and Perdiccas fly from Phidon, and found the kingdom of Macedon. Phidon introduces weights and meaſures, and the coining of ſilver money.

590. Cyaxeres makes war upon Alyattes king of Lydia.

588. The Temple of Solomon is burnt by Nebuchadnezzar. The Meſſenians being conquered, fly into Sicily, and build Meſſana.

585. In the ſixth year of the Lydian war, a total eclipſe of the ſun, predicted by Thales, May the 28th, puts an end to a battle between the Medes and Lydians: whereupon they make peace; and ratify it by a marriage between Darius Medus the ſon of Cyaxeres, and Ariene the daughter of Alyattes.

584. Phidon preſides in the 49th olympiad.

CHRONICLE. 580. Phidon is overthrown. Two men choſen by lot, out of the city Elis, to preſide in the olympic games.

572. Draco is archon of the Athenians, and makes laws for them.

568. The Amphictions make war upon the Cirrheans, by the advice of Solon, and take Cirrha. Cliſthenes, Alcmæon, and Eurolicus, commanded the forces of the Amphictions, and were contemporary to Phidon. For Leocides, the ſon of Phidon, and Megacles, the ſon of Alcmæon, at one and the ſame time, courted Agariſta the daughter of Cliſthenes.

569. Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt. Darius the Mede reigns.

562. Solon, being archon of the Athenians, makes laws for them.

557. Periander dies; and Corinth becomes free from taxes.

555. Nabonadius reigns at Babylon. His mother Nitocris adorns and fortifies that city:

550. Piſiſtratus becomes tyrant at Athens. The conference between Crœſus and Solon.

549. Solon dies, Hegeſtratus being archon of Athens.

544. Sardes is taken by Cyrus. Darius the Mede recoins the Lydian money into Darics.

538. Babylon is taken by Cyrus.

536. Cyrus overcomes Darius the Mede, and tranſlates the empire to the Perſians. The Jews return from captivity, and found the ſecond Temple.

529. Cyrus dies. Cambyſes reigns.

521. Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, reigns. The Magi are ſlain. The various religions of the ſeveral nations of Perſia, which conſiſted in the worſhip of their ancient kings, are aboliſhed; and by the influence of Hyſtaſpes and Zoroaſter, the worſhip of One God at altars, without temples, is ſet up in all Perſia.

520. The ſecond Temple is built at Jeruſalem, by the command of Darius.

515. The ſecond Temple is finiſhed and dedicated.

513. Harmodius and Ariſtogiton ſlay Hipparchus, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, tyrant of the Athenians. CHRONICLE.

508. The kings of the Romans expelled, and conſuls erected.

491. The battle of Marathon.

485. Xerxes reigns.

480. The paſſage of Xerxes over the Helleſpont into Greece, and battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

464. Artaxerxes Longimanus reigns.

457. Ezra returns into Judæa. Johanan, the father of Jaddua, was now grown up, having a chamber in the Temple.

444. Nehemiah returns into Judæa. Herodotus writes.

431. The Peloponneſian war begins.

428. Nehemiah drives away Manaſſeh, the brother of Jaddua, becauſe he had married Nicaſo, the daughter of Sanballat.

424. Darius Nothus reigns.

422. Sanballat builds a temple in Mount Gerizim; and makes his ſon-in-law Manaſſeh the firſt high-prieſt thereof.

412. Hitherto the prieſts and Levites were numbered, and written in the chronicles of the Jews, before the death of Nehemiah: at which time either Johanan or Jaddua was high-prieſt. And here ends the ſacred hiſtory of the Jews.

405. Artaxerxes Mnemon reigns. The end of the Peloponneſian war.

359. Artaxerxes Ochus reigns.

338. Arogus reigns.

336. Darius Codomannus reigns.

332. The Perſian empire conquered by Alexander the Great.

331. Darius Codomannus, the laſt king of Perſia, ſlain.

THE

CHRONOLOGY

OF

ANCIENT KINGDOMS AMENDED.

CHAP. I.

Of the chronology of the firſt ages of the Greeks.

CHAPTER FIRST.

ALL nations, before they began to keep exact accounts of time, have been prone to raiſe their antiquities; and this humour has been promoted, by the contentions between nations about their originals. Herodotus [a] tells us, that the prieſts of Egypt reckoned, from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon, who put Sennacherib to flight, three hundred forty and one generations

[a] Herod. l. 2. c. 142.

(¹) This is a miſtake. The Egyptians, according to Herodotus, reckoned 15000 years not from Pan, but from Bacchus to Amoſis. This however does not invalidate Sir Iſaac Newton's reaſoning, when he would infer, from the example of the Egyptians, the proneneſs of nations to raiſe their antiquities, but rather ſtrengthens it: becauſe Bacchus, according to the Egyptians, was younger than Pan. Herod. lib. II. c. 145.

(²) Lib. II c. 43.

(³) Simplicius relates this in his commentary upon Ariſtotle De Cælo, p. 123, upon the authority of Porphyry.

(⁴) Diod. Sic. p. 118. Cic. de Div. lib. 1. c. 19, and lib. 2. c. 46. Syncell. Chronogr. p. 17.

nerations of men, and as many prieſts of Vulcan, and as many kings of Egypt: and that three hundred generations make ten thouſand years; for, ſaith he, three generations of men make an hundred years: and the remaining forty and one generations make 1340 years: and ſo the whole time from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon was 11340 years. And by this way of reckoning, and allotting longer reigns to the gods of Egypt than to the kings which followed them, Herodotus tells us from the prieſts of Egypt, that from Pan to Amoſis were 15000 years (¹); and from Hercules to Amoſis 17000 years (²). So alſo the Chaldæans boaſted of their antiquity; for Calliſthenes, the diſciple of Ariſtotle, ſent aſtronomical obſervations from Babylon to Greece, ſaid to be of 1903 (³) years ſtanding before the times of Alexander the Great. And the Chaldeans boaſted further, that they had obſerved the ſtars 473000 (⁴) years; and there were others who made the kingdoms of Aſſyria, Media, and Damaſcus, much older than the truth. GREEKS.

II. Some of the Greeks called the times before the reign of Ogyges, Unknown (¹), becauſe they had no hiſtory of them: thoſe between his flood and the beginning of the olympiads, Fabulous; becauſe their hiſtory was much mixed with poetical fables: and thoſe after the beginning of the olympiads, Hiſtorical; becauſe their hiſtory was free from ſuch fables. The fabulous ages wanted a good chronology; and ſo alſo did the hiſtocal, for the firſt 60 or 70 olympiads.

III. The Europeans had no chronology before the times of the Perſian empire: and whatſoever chronology they now have of ancienter times, hath been framed ſince by reaſoning and conjecture. In the beginning of that monarchy, Acuſiläus made Phoroneus as old as Ogyges and his flood; and that flood 1020 (¹) years

§ II.

(¹) This diviſion of times into the ἄδηλον, μυθικὸν, and ἱςορικὸν; (the firſt comprizing all that preceded the Ogygian flood; the ſecond, the interval between that flood and the firſt olympiad; the third beginning with the firſt olympiad) was Varro's. *Vid. Cenſorinum de Die Natali*, c. 21.

§ III.

(¹) This Sir John Marſham affirms, upon the authority, as he imagines, of a fragment of Africanus preſerved by Euſebius, Præp. Evang. p. 287. But in this fragment, Acuſiläus is indeed the authority, for making the Ogygian flood happen in Attica, while Phoroneus was reigning at

years older than the firſt olympiad; which is above 680 years older than the truth: and to make out this reckoning, his followers have encreaſed the reigns of kings in length and number. Plutarch [a] tells us, that the philoſophers anciently delivered their opinions in verſe; as Orpheus, Heſiod, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Empedocles, Thales; but afterwards left off the uſe of verſes; and that Ariſtarchus, Timocharis, Ariſtillus, Hipparchus, did not make aſtronomy the more contemptible, by deſcribing it in proſe, after Euxodus, Heſiod, and Thales, had wrote of it in verſe. Solon wrote [b] in verſe; and all the Seven Wiſe Men were addicted to poetry, as (²) Anaximenes [c] affirmed. Till thoſe days (³) the Greeks wrote only in verſe; and while they did ſo, there could be no chronology, nor any other hiſtory, than ſuch as was mixed with poetical fancies. Pliny [d], in reckoning up the inventors of things, tells us, that Pherecydes Syrius taught to compoſe diſcourſes in proſe, in the reign of Cyrus; and Cadmus Mileſius, to write hiſtory. And in [e] another place he ſaith, that Cadmus Mileſius was the firſt that wrote in proſe. Joſephus tells us [f], that Cadmus Mileſius and Acuſilaüs were but a little before the expedition of the Perſians againſt the Greeks:

[a] Plutarch. de Pythiæ Oraculis, tom. II. p. 402.

[b] Plutarch. in Solon. paſſim.

[c] Apud Diog. Laert. in Thalet. tom. I. p. 24.

[d] Plin. nat. Hiſt. l. 7. c. 56.

[e] Pl. l. 5. c. 29.

[f] C. Appion. p. 1330. edit. Hudson.

at Argos; but not for the number of years, between Ogyges and the firſt olympiad. This Africanus ſeems to have determined for himſelf, and he alledges nothing for it but his own calculations.

(²) Probably that Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, and other antient writers, as the author of a work entitled Πρῶται Ἱστορίαι. It was a hiſtory, which began with a Theogony and the firſt race of men; and was carried down to the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas. It conſiſted of 12 books, which comprized, ſaith Diodorus (p. 504) almoſt all the affairs both of Greeks and barbarians. *See Meurſius in Chalcidium.*

(³) Strabo mentions Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecatæus, as the firſt proſe writers. Of theſe Cadmus was probably contemporary with Halyattes, the father of Crœſus; and therefore ſomewhat earlier than the beginning of the Perſian monarchy. (See Voſſius de Hiſt. Gr. lib. 4. c. 1.) Hecatæus was ſomewhat later; being contemporary with Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes. Pherecydes of Scyros flouriſhed in the 59th olympiad, according to Diogenes Laertius; therefore in the time of Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian monarchy. This Pherecydes was probably a different perſon from the preceptor of Pythagoras. See *Salmaſius Exercit. Plin. p.* 594, *edit. Ultra Traject.* tra traject.

(⁴) That Epimenides the genealoger was a different perſon from the Cretan philoſopher, we learn from Diogenes Laertius (Tom. I. p. 74) who aſcribes, however, ſome writings in proſe to the philoſopher. I know not upon what ground Voſſius took up his opinion, that there were two genealogers of this name. Diogenes Laertius, the only author that he cites for it, ſays no ſuch thing.

(⁵) Vid. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. lib. 1. c. 1.

(⁶) Thucydides defines the time when the Peloponneſian war commenced by the Athenian archon, the Spartan Ephorus, and the year of the prieſteſs of Juno at Argos. And the ſcholiaſt remarks upon the place, that the Argives kept the reckoning of their time by the ſucceſſion of the

Greeks: and Suidas [a] calls Acuſilaus a moſt ancient hiſtorian; GREEKS.
and ſaith, that he wrote genealogies out of tables of braſs, which his father, as was reported, found in a corner of his houſe. Who hid them there, may be doubted: for the Greeks [b] had no publick table or inſcription older than the laws of Draco. Pherecydes Athenienſis, in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, or ſoon after, wrote of the antiquities and ancient genealogies of the Athenians, in ten books; and was one of the firſt European writers of this kind, and one of the beſt; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*; and by Dionyſius [c] Halicarnaſſenſis is ſaid to be ſecond to none of the genealogers. Epimenides, not the philoſopher but an hiſtorian (4), wrote alſo of the ancient genealogies: and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus (5), digeſted his hiſtory by the ages or ſucceſſions of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva (6). Others digeſted theirs by thoſe of the archons of Athens, or kings of the Lacedæmonians. Hippias the Elean publiſhed a breviary of the olympiads, ſupported by no certain arguments, as Plutarch [d] tells us: he lived in the 105th olympiad (7), and was derided by Plato for his ignorance. This

[a] In Ἀκυσίλαος.

[b] Joſeph. cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 1331.

[c] Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 12.

[d] Plutarch. in Numa. p. 60.

the prieſteſſes. (Vid. Thucydid. p. 84.) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, in his Roman antiquities, relating the different opinions of authors of note concerning the builder of Rome and the time when Rome was built, ſpeaks of one, whom he deſcribes without naming him as the writer who had collected the Argive prieſteſſes, and the facts which had happened in the time of each (p. 58.) And in another place, where he would define the time of the expulſion of the Siculi from Italy, he ſays, "In this manner the race of the Siculi left Italy, as Hellanicus "of Leſbos ſaith, in the third generation before the Trojan war, in the 26th year of the prieſthood of Alcyone at Argos" (lib. 1. c. 22.) From all theſe circumſtances put together it ſeems evident, that Hellanicus's hiſtory was digeſted by the years of the Argive prieſteſſes. And it puts the thing out of doubt, that Stephanus Byzantinus frequently refers to Hellanicus in the 1ſt, 2d, or 3d book of the prieſteſſes of Juno. See Stephanus in the articles Νισαια, Σιτυλος, Φαιαξ, Φρικιον, Χαιρωνεια, Χαλκις, Χαονια. The learned reader, for further information, may conſult Meurſius *De Archontibus Athenienſium*, and Valeſius in *Exc. Polyb.*

(7) He muſt have lived ſooner; if he was, as Newton ſuppoſes, the ſame perſon with Hippias the ſophiſt, the object of Plato's raillery. This perſon, in the two dialogues in which he bears ſo conſpicuous a part, is not made to addreſs Socrates in the character of a very young man converſing with an old one. On the contrary, in the firſt, Περι τυ Ψευδυς, he ſpeaks as if he had for ſome time been in the practice of diſplaying his dialectic talents at the olympic feſtival. And in the other, Περι τυ Καλυ, he talks of important embaſſies, in which he had been employed. He was therefore in the height of his fame, during the life of Socrates; which ended in the 1ſt year of the 95th olympiad. Some learned men, in the text of Plutarch, for Ιππιαν εκδυναι τον Ηλειον, would read Ιππιαν εκδυναι τον Δηλιον. The Scholiaſt on Apollonius Argonaut. lib. 3. lin. 1178, quotes one Hippias of Delus: but the only reaſon for introducing him here is, that it is imagined, Plutarch would not have ſaid of a writer 500 years older than himſelf, as Hippias the Elean ſophiſt was, that he had *late* compiled a liſt, οψε φασιν Ιππιαν εκδυναι. But this is not a ſufficient reaſon for altering the text, without the authority of any MS. or old edition. For the *lateneſs*
of

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[a] Diodor. l. 16. p. 550. edit Steph.

[b] Polyb. p. 379. B.

This breviary ſeems to have contained nothing more than a ſhort account of the victors in every olympiad. Then [a] Ephorus, the diſciple of Iſocrates, formed a chronological hiſtory of Greece (8); beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, and ending with the ſiege of Perinthus, in the twentieth year of Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, that is, eleven years before the fall of the Perſian empire: but [b] he digeſted things by generations (9); and the reckoning by the olympiads, or by any other æra, was not yet in uſe among the Greeks. The Arundelian marbles were compoſed ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great (An. 4. Olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the olympiads, nor any other ſtanding æra; but reckon backwards from the time then preſent. But chronology was now reduced to a reckoning by years; and in the next olympiad (10), Timæus Siculus improved it: for he wrote a hiſtory in ſeveral books, down to his own times, according to the olympiads; comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the prieſteſſes of Argos with the olympic victors, ſo as to make the

of the compilation hath reſpect not to Plutarch's age, but to the commencement of the olympiads. It is to be obſerved, that Plutarch ſeems to ſpeak of this work by hear-ſay or tradition, as of one that he had not ſeen; φασιν Ιππιαν εκδεναι: which makes it probable either that it was not extant in his time, or that it was in no eſteem.

(8) Not of Greece only, but an univerſal hiſtory; as Diodorus (p. 550), and Polybius (p. 379) both atteſt. Polybius ſays, that Ephorus was the firſt who undertook an univerſal hiſtory.

(9) I know not upon what authority this is ſaid: nor upon what authority Sir John Marſham has aſſerted, that Ephorus had given a liſt of the kings of Sparta, and perhaps of the Ephori.

(10) VARIOUS works of this Timæus are mentioned in antient authors. Three books of Syria, its cities and kings: Affairs of Italy and Sicily in 8 books: Affairs of Greece and Sicily: A Collection of Rhetorical Topics in 68 books: A Chronicle, or Olympic Victors. See Suidas in Τιμαιος. A hiſtory of the wars of the Romans with Pyrrhus of Epire (Dionyſ. Hal. p. 5.) And beſides all theſe, what I ſuppoſe was his principal work, an Univerſal Hiſtory (Κοιναι Ἱστοριαι. Dionyſ. Hal. ibid.) That his hiſtory came down to the 129th olympiad, we have the expreſs teſtimony of Polybius, p. 6. Sir John Marſham ſays, that he could not find where it began. *(Sec. XVI. tit. Prima Olympias vulgaris.)* To me it ſeems probable, that it began with the fabulous ages. For it appears from Dionyſ. Hal. p. 5 and 60) that Timæus, in his Univerſal Hiſtory, had treated of the antiquities of the Roman ſtory; and from Diodorus Siculus (p. 159) that he had written of Hercules's battle with the Giants in the Phlegræan plains.

(11) Polyb. p. 1395. edit. Gronov. (12) Polyb. p. 6.

(13) ERATOSTHENES was called to the care of the Alexandrin library by Ptolemy Euergetes. He continued to flouriſh during the reign of Philopator, and died in the reign of Epiphanes. (Suidas Ερατοσθενης and Απολλωνιος.) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſpeaks very highly of the chronographic canons of Eratoſthenes; and mentions a work of his own, in which, he ſays, he had proved them to be ſound (Dionyſ. Hal. p. 60.) It will not be improper to preſent the reader with a ſuccinct view of the general principles of the chronology of Eratoſthenes from the Stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus (p. 145.)

From

the olympiads, and the genealogies and ſucceſſions of kings and priesteſſes, and the poetical hiſtories ſuit with one another, according to the beſt of his judgement ([11]): and where he left off, Polybius began, and carried on the hiſtory ([12]). Eratoſthenes wrote above an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great ([13]): he was followed by Apollodorus ([14]); and theſe two have been followed ever ſince by chronologers. GREEKS.

IV. But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of thoſe times, may be underſtood by theſe paſſages of Plutarch. "Some reckon Lycurgus, ſaith "he, [a] contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his companion in ordering the olympic feſtivals, amongſt whom was "Ariſtotle the philoſpher; arguing from the Olympic Diſc, "which had the name of Lycurgus upon it. Others ſupputing "the times by the kings of Lacedæmon, as Eratoſthenes and "Apollodorus, affirm that he was not a few years older than the "firſt olympiad." He began to flouriſh in the 17th or 18th olympiad ([1]), and at length Ariſtotle made him as old as the firſt olympiad; and ſo did Epaminondas, as he is cited by Ælian ([2]) and

[a] In Vita Lycurgi ſub initio.

	Years.
From the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ,	80
From the return of the Heraclidæ to the ſettlement of Ionia,	60
From the ſettlement of Ionia to the guardianſhip of Lycurgus,	159
From the guardianſhip of Lycurgus to the year next preceding the firſt olympiad,	108
From that year to the invaſion of Xerxes,	297
From the invaſion of Xerxes to the beginning of the Peloponneſian war,	48
From the beginning to the end of that war,	27
From the end of the Peloponneſian war to the battle of Leuctra,	34
From the battle of Leuctra to the death of Philip,	35
From the death of Philip to the death of Alexander,	12

The numbers, as they ſtand in Clemens, are happily confirmed by a paſſage of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (p. 60); from which we learn, that the 432d year from the taking of Troy was, according to the canons of Eratoſthenes, the 1ſt of the 7th olympiad: which agrees with the Clementine numbers.

([14]) THIS Apollodorus was the diſciple of Panætius, the Stoic philoſopher; and flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Phyſcon. (Voſſius *de Hiſt. Gr. lib.* 1. *c.* 21. and Gale *in Diſſert. de Scriptoribus Mythologicis.*) That he followed Eratoſthenes in his ſyſtem of chronology, may be probably collected from theſe circumſtances. They agreed concerning the interval between the taking of Troy and the return of the Heraclidæ; both making it 80 years. (See the laſt note, and compare Diod. Sic. p. 4.) They agreed concerning the age of Homer. (See Clem. Alex. p. 141.) They agreed concerning the age of Lycurgus (Clemens, ibid.) and they took the ſame method to determine it. (Plutarch in Lycurg.) Apollodorus adopted Eratoſthenes's liſt of the kings of Thebais. (Syncellus, p 91.)

§ IV.

([1]) Vid. infra, § XI.

([2]) EPAMINONDAS, as he is cited by Ælian and Plutarch, agrees with thoſe chronologers, who made

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and Plutarch: and then Eratoſthenes, Apollodorus, and their followers, made him above an hundred years older. And in another place Plutarch[a] tells us: "The congreſs of Solon with "Crœſus, ſome think they can confute by chronology. But a "hiſtory ſo illuſtrious, and verified by ſo many witneſſes, and, "which is more, ſo agreeable to the manners of Solon, and wor-"thy of the greatneſs of his mind, and of his wiſdom, I can-"not perſuade myſelf to reject, becauſe of ſome chronological "canons, as they call them, which hundreds of authors cor-"recting have not yet been able to conſtitute any thing certain, "in which they could agree amongſt themſelves about repug-"nancies."

[a] In Solone, tom. I. p. 93.

V. And as for the chronology of the Latines, that is ſtill more uncertain. Plutarch[b] repreſents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome; and ſo doth Servius[c]. The old records of the Latines were burnt[d] by the Gauls an hundred and twenty years after

[b] Plutarch. in Romulo & Numa.
[c] In Æneid. 7. v. 678.
[d] Diodor. l. 1.

made Lycurgus above 100 years older than the firſt olympiad. They make him ſay (Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 13. c. 42, and Plutarch. in Apophthegm.) that the territory of the Lacedæmonians had been free from the devaſtations of an enemy for 500 years before his incurſions. Now from the battle of Leuctra to the beginning of the olympiads, the interval was only 406 years: but to the guardianſhip of Lycurgus, according to Eratoſthenes, 514. See § III. Note 13.) Epaminondas therefore, if he took the age of Lycurgus for the commencement of that long period of tranquillity which Laconia enjoyed, muſt have been in that opinion, which Eratoſthenes afterwards maintained. But little ſtreſs is to be laid on the evidence, which Epaminondas is to made to give upon this queſtion. The ſpirit of his Apophthegm will be juſt the ſame, though the interval between him and Lycurgus be contracted from five to three hundred years. It is therefore not improbable, that whoever firſt committed this Apophthegm to writing, might fit it with the date which liked him beſt: and we can have no aſſurance, that the genuine opinion of Epaminondas hath been faithfully tranſmitted to us.

§ V.

(¹) That Rome was taken by the Gauls twenty years after the regifuge, we learn from the expreſs teſtimony of Dionyſius Halicarn. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 74. p. 60. From him alſo, we learn, that this event was 64 years before the death of Alexander the Great. For he places it in the firſt year of the 98th olympiad: and Alexander died in the firſt of the 114th. That many ancient records, both public and private, periſhed in the conflagration which the city then underwent, is generally believed upon the authority of Livy, lib. 6. c. 1. It is to be remembered, however, that Livy does not ſay that all the public records periſhed in that fire; and the greater probability may be, that all that were in being were preſerved. They would be but few, from the rudeneſs of the Roman people in thoſe early ages: and Livy, becauſe few were to be found, might from that circumſtance infer, without any poſitive evidence, that many had been deſtroyed. The reaſons which incline me to this opinion are theſe:—The Gauls never were in poſſeſſion of the Capitol, where the Romans kept their records, nor did they burn it. When the reſolution was taken of defending the Capitol, and abandoning the reſt of the city to the enemy, it was given in charge to the Flamens and Veſtal virgins, to take the beſt care they could of whatever was moſt ſacred in the temples. Many things they packed in caſks, and buried under a chapel adjoining to the houſe of the Flamen Quirinalis; and the reſt they carried away in carts

after the regifuge, and ſixty-four years before the death of Alexander the Great (1): and Quintus Fabius Pictor, [c] the oldeſt hiſtorian of the Latines (2), lived an hundred years later than that king (3), and took almoſt all things from Diocles Peparethius (4), a Greek. And the chronologers of Gallia, Spain, Germany, Scythia, Swedeland, Britain, and Ireland, are of a date ſtill later; for Scythia, beyond the Danube, had no letters, till Ulphilas (5) their biſhop formed them; which was about ſix hundred years (6) after the death of Alexander the Great: and Germany had none till it received them from the weſtern empire of the Latines, above ſeven hundred years after the death of that king. The Hunns had none in the days of Procopius; who flouriſhed 850 years after the death of that king: and Sweden and Norway received them ſtill later. And things ſaid to be done above one or two hundred years before the uſe of letters, are of little credit. GREEKS.

[c] Plutarch. in Romulo.

carts to Cære. Livy, lib. 5. c. 40. Florus, lib. 1. c. 13. Amongſt the treaſure thus preſerved, were ſome of the ſacred books. At leaſt it appears, that ſome of theſe books ſurvived the conflagration. For the firſt buſineſs, after the Gauls were gone, was to repair and purify the temples, which had been occupied and defiled by the enemy; and the *ſacred books were ſearched*, for the rites of purification. Livy, lib. 5. c. 50. And ſince the ſacred books were preſerved, why not the pontifical annals? Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis mentions records of a ſort, which ſhould ſeem more likely to periſh; becauſe, though they related to public affairs, they were in private cuſtody. The records I mean were the Cenſorian commentaries; which were handed down from father to ſon, and religiouſly preſerved in the families of thoſe who had born the office of Cenſor. Dionyſius ſpeaks, as if he had ſeen ſome of theſe not leſs antient than the Gallic conflagration; by which he had been enabled to ſettle the diſtance of time between the regifuge and that calamity. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. c. 74. p. 60. The uncertainty therefore of the Latin chronology (which is but too manifeſt) is not to be derived from a total deſtruction of the Roman Archives by the Gauls; nor is it greater than what muſt neceſſarily ariſe from that original imperfection, which there will always be in the records of rude ages.

(2) Livy, lib. 2. c. 40.

(3) For he lived in the time of the 2d Punic war. Livy, lib. 22. c. 7.

(4) Plutarch in Romulo, tom. I. p. 19.

(5) Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccates, lib. 6. c. 37. Socr. lib. 4. c. 33. Philoſtorg. lib. 2.

(6) PHILOSTORGIUS is, as I believe, the only author who makes Ulphilas, or, as he calls him, Urphilas, contemporary with Conſtantine the Great. If with all the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians we place him under Conſtantius, and the ſucceeding emperor Valens; he was little leſs than 700 years later than Alexander the Great. Whatever might be Sir Iſaac Newton's reaſon for giving credit to Philoſtorgius, I cannot but incline to the opinion of the learned Gothofred; that Philoſtorgius makes Ulphilas older than he was, for the ſake of doing credit to the Arian doctrine, by repreſenting it as the oldeſt chriſtianity with which the Goths were acquainted. For the ſame purpoſe he ſpeaks of Ulphilas as their firſt biſhop. Whereas if he was their firſt biſhop, he muſt have been ſtill older than Philoſtorgius makes him: becauſe he muſt have been their biſhop before Theophilus, who aſſiſted at the Nicene council, and was therefore contemporary with Conſtantine the Great. See Gothofred *Diſſert. in. lib. 2. Philoſtorgii.*

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[a] Lib. 1. in Proœm. p. 4.

VI. Diodorus, [a] in the beginning of his hiſtory, tells us, that he did not define, by any certain ſpace, the times preceding the Trojan war, becauſe he had no certain foundation to rely upon: but from the Trojan war, according to the reckoning of Apollodorus, whom he followed, there were eighty years to the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus; and that from that period to the firſt olympiad, there were three hundred and twenty-eight years, computing the times from the kings of the Lacedæmonians. Apollodorus followed Eratoſthenes, and both of them followed Thucydides (1), in reckoning eighty years from the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclidæ: but in reckoning 328 years

§ VI.

(1) Lib. 1. c. 12. p. 18.

(2) Plutarch tells us, that Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus, to ſettle the age of Lycurgus, reckoned the time by the ſucceſſions of the kings of Sparta. But it does not appear from Plutarch, nor, as far as I know, from any poſitive teſtimony, that they took the ſame method for the whole interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the firſt olympiad. It is probable, however, that they did. For that Diodorus Siculus took this method, is certain from his own evidence. And the length, that he aſſigns to this interval, is preciſely the ſame that Eratoſthenes aſſigned to it; namely, 328 years. (Vid. Diod. Sic. p. 4. and § III. note 13.) Hence it is highly probable, that Eratoſthenes and Diodorus uſed the ſame method of computation.

§ VII.

(1) When the antients endeavoured to eſtimate intervals of time by the reigns of princes, it was by adding into one ſum the number of years, which hiſtory or tradition had aſſigned to each in a long ſucceſſion. It does not appear, that they ever thought of a definite proportion, whether of equality or any other, neceſſarily ſubſiſting in the nature of things, between the mean length of the reigns of kings and generations: from which, when once it ſhould be aſcertained, the length of any conſiderable interval of time might be found from the number of ſucceſſive reigns contained in it, though the length of each reign ſhould be unknown. Newton himſelf was, I believe, the firſt chronologer, who thought of correcting the accounts of time by this principle. And therefore what he ſays, "that the Egyptians reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of men," can be admitted only in this ſenſe; that they had never attended to that important circumſtance, that the reigns of kings muſt, upon an average, be ſhorter than generations in ſome certain proportion: not that they formally held the proportion between reigns and generations at an average to be that of equality, and had formed a ſyſtem of chronology upon that aſſumption. That the Egyptians tacitly held the equality of reigns and generations, appears from Herodotus: who ſays, that from their firſt king to Sethon, they reckoned juſt as many kings, and as many high prieſts, as generations. (Lib. 2. c. 142.) In the ſame place he tells us, that three generations make 100 years. And this eſtimation of a generation ſeems to be his own, not borrowed from the Egyptian prieſts. The Greeks gave this definition of a generation: that it is the time from a man's birth to his becoming a father (See Plutarch *De Oraculorum Defectu*, tom. II. p. 415. and Porphyry, as he is quoted by Grævius in his *Lectiones Heſiodeæ*, c. 4.) They ſeem to have aſſigned very different lengths to this time in different ages. Some, ſays Heſychius, reckon a generation at 20 years, ſome at 25, ſome at 30. And Porphyry ſays, that the higher you go in antiquity, the longer you will find the generations. With Timæus Siculus the length of the generation ſeems to have been forty years. For Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, in the ſecond book of his Roman Antiquities, when he ſets himſelf to refute the received tradition, that Numa Pompilius had been a diſciple of Pythagoras, ſays, that Pythagoras was later than Numa by four whole generations, ὡς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παρειλήφαμεν ἱστοριῶν. (By

years from that return to the firſt olympiad, Diodorus tells us, that the times were computed from the kings of the Lacedæmonians (¹); and Plutarch [a] tells us, that Apollodorus, Eratoſthenes, and others, followed that computation: and ſince this reckoning is ſtill received by chronologers, and was gathered by computing the times from the kings of the Lacedæmonians, that is from their number; let us re-examine that computation. GREEKS.

[a] Plutarch. in Lycurgo, ſub initio.

VII. The Egyptians reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of men, and three generations to an hundred years, as above; and ſo did the Greeks and Latines (¹): and accordingly they have made their kings reign, one with another, thirty and

(By the κοιναι ἱϛοϱιαι, I imagine the great work of Timæus is intended, which bore that title. Vide § III. not. 10.) For, ſays he, Numa became king of Rome in the middle of the 16th olympiad. And it was certainly after the 50th that Pythagoras lived in Italy. (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. lib. 2.) Here then, taking the text of Dionyſius as it ſtands, 33 olympiads and a half, that is 134 years, are made equivalent to four generations: which is at the rate of three generations to a century. But it is certain, from the unanimous teſtimony of the beſt authors, that Pythagoras did not ſettle in Italy earlier than the time of Tarquinius Superbus; that is, not till after the 60th olympiad. Hence the learned Valeſius with good reaſon contends, that the text of Dionyſius is corrupt; and that πεντηκοϛην ſhould be ἑξηκοϛην. This emendation being admitted, we ſhall find 43 and a half olympiads, or 174 years equivalent to four entire generations, in the eſtimation of the writer of the κοιναι ἱϛοϱιαι; which is at the rate of more than 43 years to a generation. But as the expreſſion τεσσαϱσι γενεαις ὁλαις ὑϛεϱος does not imply, that the interval was preciſely four generations, but that it rather exceeded ſo many, than fell ſhort of them; I think the round number 40 may reaſonably be taken for the number of years in Timæus's valuation of a generation.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis himſelf ſeems uniformly to value a generation at 27 years. Rome, he ſays, was built by Romulus 16 generations after the Trojan war. (Antiq. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 8.) In another paſſage, which I have already had occaſion to produce (§ III. note 13) he ſays, Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy. Therefore 432 years with Dionyſius are equivalent to 16 generations; which is at the rate of 27 years to a generation. In another place, ſpeaking of the long duration of the Roman greatneſs, he ſays, "From the time that Rome became miſtreſs of Italy, and conceived the high deſign of graſping at univerſal dominion, having driven the Carthaginians, who had the chief naval force from the ſeas, and having received the ſubmiſſion of Macedonia, which then ſeemed to be the ſtrongeſt of all nations by land, having no longer any power to contend with either among Greeks or barbarians, ſhe continues to this day, in the ſeventh generation, ſovereign of the whole world." (Ant. Rom. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 3.) Here, by this day, is to be underſtood, as the ſentence next preceding ſhews, the 193d olympiad. In the 193d olympiad, it ſeems, the ſeventh generation was ſetting in from that time, when Rome firſt began to conſider herſelf as the nation which was to give laws to the world: and this ſhe began to do, when ſhe found there was no where, among Greeks or barbarians, a power that might contend with her either by ſea or land: that is, when, beſides that ſhe had ſubdued the whole of Italy, ſhe had in the firſt place ruined the naval power of the Carthaginians, which was done in the firſt Punic war; and had likewiſe extinguiſhed the kingdom of Macedonia, and made the ſtrength of that great nation her own. When ſhe had done all this, then, and not before, commenced the period of Rome's ambition and grandeur. And the ſeventh generation of that period commenced in the 193d olympiad. Now the kingdom of Macedonia was extinguiſhed, when Perſeus was conquered and made priſoner by Paulus Æmilius. With his captivity, therefore, Dionyſius dates the commencement of Rome's greatneſs. And the interval between the captivity of that monarch and the 193d olympiad, according to him, contained ſix compleat generations, and the beginning of a ſeventh. For that is the force of the

CHAPTER FIRST.

and three years a-piece, and above. For they make the ſeven kings of Rome, who preceded the conſuls, to have reigned 244 years (²), which is 35 years a-piece: and the firſt twelve kings of Sicyon, Ægialeus, Europs, &c. to have reigned 529 years (³), which is 44 years a-piece: and the firſt eight kings of Argos, Inachus, Phoroneus, &c. to have reigned 371 years (⁴), which is above 46 years a-piece: and between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, and the end of the firſt Meſſenian war, the ten kings of Sparta in one race; Euryſthenes, Agis, Echeſtratus, Labotas, Doryagus, Ageſilaüs, Archelaüs, Teleclus, Alcamenes, and Polydorus: the nine in the other race; Procles, Söus, Eurypon, Prytanis, Eunomus, Polydectes, Charilaüs, Nicander, Theopompus: the ten kings of Meſſene; Creſphontes, Epytus, Glaucus, Iſthmius, Dotadas, Sibotas, Phintas, Antiochus, Euphäes, Ariſtodemus: and the nine of Arcadia; Cypſelus, Olæas, Buchalion, Phialus, Simus, Pompus, Æginetes, Polymneſtor, Æchmis (⁵), according to chronologers, took up 379 years: which is 38 years a-piece to the ten kings, and 42 years a-piece to the nine.

the Greek expreſſions γενεαν ἑϐδομην την επ' εμε διαμενει παλος αρχητα. Not that ſeven generations were compleated; but ſix were compleated, and the ſeventh was juſt ſetting in. The defeat and captivity of Perſeus happened in the firſt year of the 153d olympiad. From the beginning of the 153d to the middle of the 193d olympiad is 40 and a half olympiads, or 162 years. So 162 years are here ſtated as equal to ſix generations; which is at the rate of 27 years to a generation. The learned Dodwell, conceiving that the hiſtorian ſpeaks of the period of the Roman greatneſs, from the commencement of it to his own time, as containing ſeven compleat generations; and perſuading himſelf that the commencement was to be placed at the end of the third Punic war; concludes, in his Diſſertation on the age of Dionyſ. Halicarn. that this accurate writer uſed the word γενεα vaguely, for no definite number of years. Whereas it ſeems to me, that Dionyſius uniformly values the generation at 27 years. As for the Latins, I do not know that they had any word which anſwered to the Greek γενεα, or generation. Their *ætas* rather ſignified the natural period of human life: and what they meant by their *ſæculum*, they ſeem not to have known themſelves.

(²) Dionyſ. Hal. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. c. 75. p. 61. Livy, lib. 1. c. 60.

(³) Euſeb. Chron. Petavius in Paralipom. Doct. Temp. (⁴) Euſeb. in Chron. Petavius.

(⁵) The ſucceſſions and ſynchroniſms of theſe kings of Sparta, Meſſene and Arcadia, are eaſily to be collected from Pauſanias. The time to be allotted, according to chronologers, to the entire ſucceſſions, may be compendiouſly eſtimated in this manner.

The firſt Meſſenian war ended with the ſurrender of Ithome in the firſt year of the 14th olympiad, according to Pauſanias, lib. 4. c. 13. And this was probably the laſt year of Polydorus, king of Sparta. (Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 3.) From the beginning of the olympiads, therefore, to the laſt year of Polydorus, king of Sparta, the interval was thirteen complete olympiads, or 52 years. Add 328 years, the interval from the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the olympiads, according to Eratoſthenes; and the ſum gives the whole interval, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the end of Polydorus king of Sparta, 380 years complete.

Again: The firſt Meſſenian war came to an end, when Hippomenes, the ſucceſſor of Ariſtodemus, had reigned four years complete. (Pauſan. lib. 4. c. 13.) Therefore Ariſtodemus died in the 1ſt year of the 13th olympiad: and from the beginning of the olympiads to his death, the

interval

nine. And the five kings of the race of Euryſthenes, between GREEKS. the end of the firſt Meſſenian war, and the beginning of the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis ([6]); Eurycrates, Anaxander, Eurycrates II. Leon, Anaxandrides, reigned 202 years; which is above 40 years a-piece.

VIII. Thus the Greek chronologers, who follow Timæus and Eratoſthenes, have made the kings of their ſeveral cities, who lived before the times of the Perſian empire, to reign about 35 or 40 years a-piece, one with another; which is a length ſo much beyond the courſe of nature, as is not to be credited. For by the ordinary courſe of nature, kings reign, one with another, about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and if in ſome inſtances they reign, one with another, five or ſix years longer, in others they reign as much ſhorter: eighteen or twenty years is a medium. So the eighteen kings of Judah, who ſucceeded Solomon, reigned 390 years, which is, one with another, 22 years a-piece. The fifteen kings of Iſrael, after Solomon, reigned 259 years, which is $17\frac{1}{4}$ years a-piece ([7]). The eighteen kings of Babylon,

interval was 12 complete olympiads, or 48 years. Add 328 years as before. The ſum gives the interval from the return of the Heraclidæ to the death of Ariſtodemus, 376 years.

([6]) DARIUS, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, became king of Perſia in the 4th year of the 64th olympiad. (Petavius Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 19.) And the firſt Meſſenian war having ended in the 1ſt year of the 14th, the interval is 50 entire olympiads and 2 years; that is, 202 years, throwing away the year in which Darius's reign began. But what certain evidence Sir Iſaac Newton might have, that the end of Anaxandrides coincided with the beginning of Darius, I know not. The beſt light I can give in this matter, is this; Anaxandrides was reigning at Sparta in the time of Crœſus. (Herodot. lib. 1. c. 67.) From the end of Crœſus to the beginning of Darius, the interval was 22 years complete: for Crœſus was conquered by Cyrus in the 1ſt year of the 59th olympiad. Therefore we may reaſonably look for the end of Anaxandrides about the beginning of Darius. The ſucceſſor of Anaxandrides was the mad Cleomenes; whoſe firſt exploit was his incurſion of the Argive territory; when the women of Argos armed, at the inſtigation of the poeteſs Teleſilla, and ſaved their country. (Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 4. Plutarch de *de Virtut. Mul.* tom. II. p. 245.) Of the year of this memorable event, which was probably the firſt year of Cleomenes, I can find no certain character. But the next remarkable tranſaction of his reign ſeems to have been the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ from Athens. (Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 4.) Now Hippias, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, after that event, took refuge at the Perſian court; and in the twentieth year after his flight he fought, on the Perſian ſide, at Marathon. (Thucydid. lib. 6. c. 59. p. 383.) The year of the battle of Marathon, therefore, was the twentieth of Hippias's exile: and it was the 32d of Darius's reign. (Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 23.) Therefore the expulſion of Hippias muſt have happened in the 12th or 11th of Darius. At this time Cleomenes reigned in Sparta: and perhaps had been reigning two or three years before. His father Anaxandrides, therefore, might hardly ſurvive the 9th or 10th of Darius; and I find no evidence that he died ſooner. Sir Iſaac Newton therefore, in placing the death of Anaxandrides ſo early as in the beginning of Darius's reign, puts the whole time of the five reigns in queſtion at the ſhorteſt, and gives the utmoſt advantage to the opinion which he combats.

§ VIII.

([7]) I know not for what reaſon Sir Iſaac Newton makes the ſucceſſors of Solomon only 18 in the kingdom.

lon, Nabonaſſar, &c. reigned 209 years, which is 11⅔ years a-piece. The ten kings of Perſia; Cyrus, Cambyſes, &c. reigned 208 years, which is almoſt 21 years a-piece. The ſixteen ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great, and of his brother and ſon in Syria; Seleucus, Antiochus Soter, &c. reigned 244 ([2]) years, after the breaking of that monarchy into various kingdoms, which is 15¼ years a-piece. The eleven kings of Egypt; Ptolomæus Lagi, &c. reigned 277 years, counted from the ſame period, which is 25 years a-piece ([3]). The eight in Macedonia; Caſſander, &c. reigned 138 years, which is 17¼ years a-piece([4]). The thirty kings of England; William the Conqueror, William Rufus, &c. reigned 648 years, which is 21½ years a-piece. The firſt twenty-four kings of France; Pharamundus, &c. reigned 458 years, which is 19 years a-piece: the next twenty-four kings of France; Ludovicus Balbus, &c. 451 years, which is 18¾ years a-piece. The next fifteen, Philip Valeſius, &c. 315 years, which is 21 years a-piece. And all the ſixty-three kings of France, 1224 years, which is 19½ years a-piece. Generations from father to ſon, may be reckoned one with another at about 33 or 34 years a-piece, or about three generations to an hundred years: but if the reckoning proceed by the eldeſt ſons, they are ſhorter, ſo that three of them may be reckoned at about 75 or 80 years: and the reigns of kings are ſtill ſhorter; becauſe kings are ſucceeded not only by their eldeſt ſons, but ſometimes

kingdom of Judah, and only 15 in that of Iſrael. They were 20 in the kingdom of Judah, and 19 in Iſrael, reckoning the uſurper Zimri; whom Euſebius, indeed, on account of the ſhortneſs of his reign of ſeven days omits: but in the preſent enquiry, account is to be taken of the ſhorteſt, as well as of the longeſt reigns. The 20 kings of Judah, after Solomon, reigned juſt 400 years. The 19 of Iſrael only 268. Hence the mean length of the reign, for the kings of Judah, was 20 years: for the kings of Iſrael only 14 years.

([2]) FROM the beginning of Seleucus Nicanor to the extinction of the Syrian kingdom by Pompey, the interval was 246 years; and the number of princes in ſucceſſion was 22; or rather 23, counting Tigranes for one. (See Petavius Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 47.) The laſt of theſe, Antiochus Aſiaticus, had a very ſhort reign; of not more than three years, or perhaps not three years complete. Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to throw this laſt prince out of the liſt, and to conſider the kingdom of Syria as coming to an end, at the time of the conqueſt of Tigranes by Lucullus. For this reaſon he might ſhorten the whole interval by two years: and finding this Antiochus Aſiaticus called by Appian, the 17th prince of the Seleucid race, he might imagine there had been but 16 kings before him; not conſidering that Appian, ſpeaking of the deſcendants of Seleucus, does not reckon three princes who were not of that deſcent: and ſeems to have omitted Antiochus and Philip, the ſons of Grypus, the two immediate ſucceſſors of Antiochus Euſebes: for he ſpeaks of Antiochus Euſebes as himſelf ſpoiled of his kingdom by Tigranes. So that five princes,

times by their brothers, and ſometimes they are ſlain or depoſed; and ſucceeded by others of an equal or greater age, eſpecially in elective or turbulent kingdoms. In the later ages, ſince chronology hath been exact, there is ſcarce an inſtance to be found of ten kings reigning any where in continual ſucceſſion above 260 years: but Timæus and his followers, and I think alſo ſome of his predeceſſors, after the example of the Egyptians, have taken the reigns of kings for generations, and reckoned three generations to an hundred, and ſometimes to an hundred and twenty years; and founded the technical chronology of the Greeks upon this way of reckoning. Let the reckoning be reduced to the courſe of nature, by putting the reigns of kings, one with another, at about eighteen or twenty years a-piece: and the ten kings of Sparta by one race, the nine by another race, the ten kings of Meſſene, and the nine of Arcadia abovementioned, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the end of the firſt Meſſenian war, will ſcarce take up above 180 or 190 years: whereas according to chronologers they took up 379 years. GREEKS.

IX. For confirming this reckoning, I may add another argument. Euryleon the ſon of Ægeus, [a] commanded the main body of the Meſſenians (') in the fifth year of the firſt Meſſenian war; and was in the fifth generation from Oiolycus the ſon [a] Pauſan. l. 4. c. 3. p. 285. & c. 7. p. 295 & 296. & l. 3. c. 15. p. 245.

princes, or ſix with Tigranes, muſt be added to Appians 17, to make up the whole ſucceſſion, from the beginning of this kingdom, under Seleucus Nicanor, to the extinction of it, in the perſon of Antiochus Aſiaticus, by Pompey.

(³) From the beginning of Lagus to the end of Dionyſius, the laſt of the Lagidæ except Cleopatra, the interval was 275 years according to Euſebius, or 277 according to Petavius. (Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 48.) And in this interval Euſebius mentions only 11 kings, but Petavius reckons up 13.

(⁴) The interval intended muſt be from the beginning of Caſſander to the conqueſt of Perſeus by the Romans; which was about 150 years according to Euſebius, or according to Petavius 149 (Vid. *Paralipomena Librorum de Doctrinâ Temporum.*) Perhaps Sir Iſaac Newton reckoned only to the beginning of Perſeus; which being ten years earlier, the whole interval, from the beginning of Caſſander to that epoch, will be within a year or two what Newton makes it. But the ſucceſſions from Caſſander were not fewer than 16 with Perſeus, or fifteen without him. For Caſſander was the twenty-fifth king of Macedonia, and Perſeus the fortieth. It is true Euſebius calls Caſſander the twenty-ſixth, and Perſeus the thirty-ninth. But the reaſon of this is, that among the princes before Caſſander, he has counted one twice over; and after Caſſander, he omits two reigns; namely, the ſhort one of Philip, Caſſander's ſon, and that of Arſinöe, the widow of Lyſimachus.

§ IX.

(') ——— Meſſenians] read Lacedæmonians.

[a] Pauſan. l. 3. c. 3. p. 285.

[b] Herod. l. 7. c. 204.

[c] Herod. l. 8. c. 131.

of Theras (2), the brother-in-law of Ariſtodemus, and tutor to his ſons Euryſthenes and Procles, as Pauſanias [a] relates: and by conſequence, from the return of the Heraclidæ, which was in the days of Theras, to the battle, which was in the fifth year of this war, there were ſix (3) generations; which, as I conceive, being for the moſt part by the eldeſt ſons, will ſcarce exceed thirty years to a generation; and ſo may amount unto 170 or 180 years. That war laſted 19 or 20 years: add the laſt 15 years; and there will be about 190 years to the end of that war: whereas the followers of Timæus make it about 379 years; which is above ſixty years to a generation.

X. By theſe arguments, chronologers have lengthened the time, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the firſt Meſſenian war; adding to it about 190 years: and they have alſo lengthened the time between that war and the riſe of the Perſian empire. For in the race of the Spartan kings, deſcended from Euryſthenes, after Polydorus, reigned [b] theſe kings; Eurycrates, Anaxander, Eurycratides, Leon, Anaxandrides, Cleomenes, Leonidas, &c (1). And in the other race deſcended from Procles, after Theopompus reigned [c] theſe; Anaxandrides, Archidamus, Anaxiläus, Leutychides, Hippocratides, Ariſton, Demaratus, Leutychides II. &c. (2) according to Herodotus. Theſe kings reigned till the ſixth year of Xerxes, in which Leonidas was ſlain by the Perſians at Thermopylæ; and Leutychides II. ſoon

(2) THE words of Pauſanias are theſe: το μεσον δε ειχεν Ευρυλεων, τα μεν παροντα Λακεδαιμονιος, τα εξ αρχης δε απο Καδμου και εκ Θηβων· Αιγεως του Οιολυκου του Θηρα του Αυτεσιωνος απογονος πεμπτος. Lib. 4. c. 7. Pauſanias therefore ſays, that this Euryleon was the fifth in deſcent, not from Oiolycus the ſon, but from Ægeus, the grandſon of Theras. Sir Iſaac Newton has been miſled by the Latin tranſlation.

(3) Seven at leaſt. But Sir Iſaac Newton's concluſion will be little affected by this miſtake.

§ X.

(1) Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 3 & 4.

(2) This liſt of the Proclidæ, taken from a corrupt paſſage of Herodotus, is erroneous. The ſucceſſors of Theopompus were theſe: Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agaſicles, Ariſto, Demaratus, Leotychides. Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 7. and Meurſius *De Regno Lacedæmoniorum*, cap. 17.

(3) Herodot. lib. 6. c. 72.

(4) According to the true liſt, only ſeven.

(5) THE battle of Thermopylæ was in the firſt year of the 75th olympiad, at the very beginning of the year. (Diod. Sic. lib. 11. c. 1. Herodot. lib. 7. c. 206.) The interval, therefore, from the beginning of the olympiads to this battle was 74 complete olympiads; that is, 296 years. But from the return of the Heraclidæ to this battle, our author reckons 342. The difference is 46 years; the interval by which the return of the Heraclidæ, by this reckoning, preceded the beginning of the olympiads. But the olympiads began Ann. Per. Jul. 3938.

ſoon after, flying from Sparta to Tegëa, died there (3). The ſeven reigns of the kings of Sparta, which follow Polydorus, being added to the ten reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of Euryſthenes, make up ſeventeen reigns of kings, between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the ſixth year of Xerxes: and the eight (4) reigns following Theopompus, being added to the nine reigns above-mentioned, which began with that of Procles, make up alſo ſeventeen reigns: and theſe ſeventeen reigns, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 340 years. Count theſe 340 years upwards from the ſixth year of Xerxes, and one or two years more for the war of the Heraclidæ, and reign of Ariſtodemus, the father of Euryſthenes and Procles; and they will place the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, 159 years after the death of Solomon, and 46 (5) years before the firſt olympiad, in which Corœbus was victor. But the followers of Timæus have placed this return 280 years earlier. Now this being the computation upon which the Greeks, as you have heard from Diodorus and Plutarch, have founded the chronology of their kingdoms, which were ancienter than the Perſian empire; that chronology is to be rectified, by ſhortening the times which preceded the death of Cyrus, in the proportion of almoſt two to one; for the times which follow the death of Cyrus are not much amiſs.

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	Years.
Solomon died (according to Petavius, Doct. Temp.) Ann. Per. Jul. 3739.	
Solomon's death, therefore, was earlier than the beginning of the olympiads by	199
Subtract the time by which the return of the Heraclidæ preceded the olympiads,	46
The interval by which Solomon's death preceded the return of the Heraclidæ, will be	153

But theſe concluſions ſeem irreconcileable with the date aſſigned to the return of the Heraclidæ in § VIII and IX. In § VIII. our author, eſtimating the time between the return of the Heraclidæ and the end of the firſt Meſſenian war, by the number of ſucceſſive reigns which he found in that interval in the kingdoms of Sparta, Meſſene, and Arcadia, fixes it at 190, or not leſs than 180 years. In § IX. he values the ſame interval by a computation founded on the number of generations which it contained: which he endeavours to aſcertain by the pedigree of a Lacedæmonian general: and he finds his former reckoning confirmed by the reſult of this new calculation. But if the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the end of the firſt Meſſenian war was 190 or 180 years; then, ſince the end of this war was only 52 years later than the commencement of the olympiads, the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the commencement of the olympiads, could not be leſs than 138 or 128 years. In this ſection our author would eſtimate the whole interval, between the return of the Heraclidæ and the battle of Thermopylæ, by the number of ſucceſſive reigns in the kingdoms of Sparta. And by this reckoning, that whole interval turns out ſo ſhort, that when the known time between the commencement of the olympiads and the battle of Thermopylæ is thrown away, what remains for the interval between the return of the Heraclidæ and the commencement of the olympiads, is not above a third part of the length which the former computations, from the very ſame principle, had aſſigned to it. A ſtriking inſtance of the fallacy of the principle upon which theſe computations proceed.

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XI. The artificial chronologers have made Lycurgus, the legiſlator, as old as Iphitus, the reſtorer of the olympiads; and Iphitus, 112 years older than the firſt olympiad: and, to help out the hypotheſis, they have feigned twenty-eight olympiads older than the firſt olympiad, wherein Coræbus was victor (¹). But theſe things were feigned, after the days of Thucydides and Plato: for Socrates died three years after the end of the Peloponneſian war, and Plato [a] introduceth him ſaying, that "the "institutions of Lycurgus were but of three hundred years "ſtanding, or not much more." And [b] Thucydides, in the reading followed by Stephanus, ſaith, that "the Lacedæmonians had, "from ancient times, uſed good laws, and been free from ty-"ranny; and that from the time that they had uſed one and the "ſame adminiſtration of their commonwealth, to the end of the "Peloponneſian war, there were three hundred years (²) and a "few more." Count 300 years back from the end of the Peloponneſian war, and they will place the legiſlature of Lycurgus upon the 19th olympiad. And, according to Socrates, it might be upon the 22d or 23d. Athenæus [c] tells us out of ancient authors (Hellanicus, Soſimus, and Hieronymus) that Lycurgus the legiſlator was contemporary to Terpander the muſician; and that Terpander was the firſt man who got the victory in the Carnea, in a ſolemnity of muſic inſtituted in thoſe feſtivals in the 26th olympiad (³). He overcame four times in thoſe Pythic games (⁴), and therefore lived at leaſt till the 29th olympiad: and beginning to flouriſh in the days of Lycurgus, it is not likely that Lycurgus began to flouriſh much before the 18th olympiad. The name of Lycurgus being on the olympic diſc, Ariſtotle concluded thence, that Lycurgus was the companion of Iphitus, in reſtoring the olympic games (⁵): and this argument might be the ground of the opinion of chronologers, that Ly-

[a] Plato in Minoe, p. 567. Ficin.

[b] Thucyd. l. 1. p. 13.

[c] Athen. l. 14. p. 635. edit. Caulab.

§ XI.

(¹) See Sir John Marſham, *Sec. XV. Tit. Olympia.*

(²) THE old Baſil edition of Hervagius has 400. So has Henry Stevens's own edition, in the Greek text. So have the modern editions of Hudſon and Duker. And it does not appear by their collections of various readings, that any other number was to be found in any of the MSS. Stevens has taken no notice of the paſſage in his notes. Therefore it ſeems probable, that it is by ſome accidental miſtake, that the number 300 appears in his Latin tranſlation.

(³) ATHENÆUS tells us, from Hellanicus, that Terpander was the firſt victor in the Carnea; and, from Hieronymus, that he was contemporary with Lycurgus. But he mentions theſe as two different opinions, both aſſigning a great antiquity, but not the ſame time, to Terpander.

(⁴) Plutarch. de Muſ. tom. II. p. 1132.

curgus

curgus and Iphitus were contemporary (6). But Iphitus did not reſtore all the olympic games. He [a] reſtored indeed the racing in the firſt olympiad, Coræbus being victor. In the 14th olympiad, the double ſtadium was added, Hypænus being victor: and in the 18th olympiad, the quinquertium and wreſtling were added, Lampus and Eurybatus, two Spartans, being victors: and the diſc was one of the games of the quinquertium. [b] Pauſanias tells us, that there were three diſcs kept in the olympic treaſury at Altis: theſe therefore having the name of Lycurgus upon them, ſhew that they were given by him, at the inſtitution of the Quinquertium, in the 18th olympiad (7). Now Polydectes king of Sparta, being ſlain before the birth of his ſon Charillus, or Chariläus, left the kingdom to Lycurgus his brother; and Lycurgus, upon the birth of Charillus, became tutor to the child; and after about eight months travelled into Crete and Aſia, till the child grew up; and brought back with him the poems of Homer; and ſoon after publiſhed his laws (8), ſuppoſe upon the 22d or 23d olympiad; for he was then growing old: and Terpander was a lyric poet, and began to flouriſh about this time; for [c] he imitated Orpheus and Homer, and ſung Homer's verſes and his own, and wrote the laws of Lycurgus in verſe, and was victor in the Pythic games in the 26th olympiad, as above. He was the firſt who diſtinguiſhed the modes of lyric muſic by ſeveral names. Ardalus and Clonas ſoon after did the like for wind-muſic: and from henceforward, by the encouragement of the Pythic games, now inſtituted, ſeveral eminent muſicians and poets flouriſhed in Greece: as Archilochus, Eumelus Corinthius, Polymneſtus, Thaletas, Xenodemus, Xenocritus, Sacadas, Tyrtæus, Teleſilla, Rhianus, Alcman, Arion, Steſichorus, Mimnermus, Alcæus, Sappho, Theognis, Anacreon, Ibycus, Simonides, Æſchylus, Pindar, by whom the muſic and poetry of the Greeks were brought to perfection.

GREEKS.

[a] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 8.

[b] Pauſan. l. 6. c. 19.

[c] Plutarch. de Muſica. Tom. II. p. 1132. Clemens Strom. l. 1. c. 16. p. 308.

(5) Vid. § IV.

(6) Which Athenæus mentions as a thing univerſally agreed, lib. 14. p. 635.

(7) I apprehend, that it was not on any of the three diſcs at Altis, but on the famous diſc of Iphitus, preſerved in the temple of Juno at Elis, that the name of Lycurgus was inſcribed. This diſc had no reference to the inſtitution of the game of the Quoit; but contained the original articles of the armiſtice preſcribed by Iphitus, when he reſtored the olympic games, to be obſerved ever afterwards during the celebrity. See. Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 20. and Phlegon. Trall. in the fragment of his work *De Olympionicis*, and Jackſon's Chronology, vol. III.

(8) Plutarch in Lycurgo.

XII.

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XII. Lycurgus publiſhed his laws in the reign of Ageſilaus ([1]), the ſon and ſucceſſor of Doryagus, in the race of the kings of Sparta deſcended from Euryſthenes. From the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, to the end of the reign of Ageſiläus, there were ſix reigns: and from the ſame return to the end of the reign of Polydectes, in the race of the Spartan kings deſcended from Procles, there were alſo ſix reigns: and theſe reigns, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 120 years; beſides the ſhort reign of Ariſtodemus, the father of Euryſthenes and Procles, which might amount to a year or two: for Ariſtodemus came to the crown, as [a] Herodotus and the Lacedæmonians themſelves affirmed. The times of the deaths of Ageſiläus and Polydectes are not certainly known: but it may be preſumed, that Lycurgus did not meddle with the olympic games before he came to the kingdom; and therefore Polydectes died in the beginning of the 18th olympiad, or but a very little before. If it may be ſuppoſed that the 20th olympiad was in, or very near to, the middle time between the deaths of the two kings Polydectes and Ageſiläus, and from thence be counted upwards the aforeſaid 120 years, and one year more for the reign of Ariſtodemus; the reckoning will place the return of the Heraclidæ about 45 years before the beginning of the olympiads.

[a] Herod. l. 6. c. 52.

XIII. Iphitus, who reſtored the olympic games, [b] was deſcended from Oxylus, the ſon of Hæmon, the ſon of Thoas, the ſon

[b] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 4.

§ XII.

([1]) In this Sir Iſaac Newton follows Pauſanias, lib. 3. c. 2. Plutarch places the legiſlation of Lycurgus in the reign of Archeläus, the ſucceſſor of Ageſiläus; and this the learned Meurſius confirms by many authorities. See his *Miſcellanea Laconica*, lib. 2. c. 5.

§ XIII.

([1]) Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 3. ([2]) ——— Lib. 5. c. 4.
([3]) ——— Lib. 5. c. 3. ([4]) ——— Lib. 5. c. 1.
([5]) ——— Strabo, lib. 8. p. 357, edit. Cauſab. ([6]) Strabo, lib. 8. p. 357.
([7]) Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 8. ([8]) ——— lib. 5. c. 4.

§ XIV.

([1]) The paſſage, in which Pauſanias is ſuppoſed to repreſent this, is, I fear, ſo corrupt, that no concluſion can be ſafely drawn from it. It is near the end of the 18th chapter of the 5th book, and ſtands thus: Κυψελῳ και τοις προγονοις ἐκ τον ην γενος ἐξαρχης. Γονυσσης της Σικυωνος, και προγονος σφισιν ην Μελας ὁ Αντασσου. By theſe words, it ſeems, Sir Iſaac Newton underſtood, that Cypſelus and his anceſtors were originally deſcended from Gonuſſa, a daughter of Sicyon: that Melas was the head of the family in the male line; and that Cypſelus was the ſixth in deſcent from

ſon of Andræmon ([1]): Hercules and Andræmon married two ſiſters ([1]): Thoas warred at Troy ([1]): Oxylus returned into Peloponneſus with the Heraclidæ ([1]). In this return he commanded the body of the Ætolians, and recovered Elea ([2]); [a] from whence his anceſtor Ætolus ([3]), the ſon of Endymion, the ſon of Aethlius ([4]), had been driven [b] by Salmoneus, the grandſon of Hellen ([5]). By the friendſhip of the Heraclidæ, Oxylus had the care of the olympic temple committed to him: and the Heraclidæ, for his ſervice done them, granted further upon oath, that the country of the Eleans ſhould be free from invaſions, and be defended by them from all armed force ([6]): and when the Eleans were thus conſecrated, Oxylus reſtored the olympic games ([7]): and after they had been again intermitted, Iphitus their king [c] reſtored them, and made them quadrennial. Iphitus is by ſome reckoned the king of Hæmon, by others the ſon of Praxonidas, the ſon of Hæmon ([8]): but Hæmon being the father of Oxylus, I would reckon Iphitus the ſon of Praxonidas, the ſon of Oxylus, the ſon of Hæmon. And by this reckoning the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus will be two generations by the eldeſt ſons, or about 52 years, before the olympiads.

[a] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 1, 3, 8. Strabo, l. 8. p. 357.

[b] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 4.

[c] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 19.

XIV. Pauſanias [d] repreſents, that Melas the ſon of Antaſſus, of the poſterity of Gonuſſa the daughter of Sicyon, was not above ſix generations older than Cypſelus king of Corinth ([1]); and

[d] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 18.

from him. But it appears from Pauſanias's account of the early times of Corinth, that Cypſelus was at leaſt eleven generations later than Aletes, with whom this Melas was contemporary: Pauſanias ſays (lib. 2. c. 4.) that Aletes and his deſcendants reigned in Corinth for five generations, until Bacchis the ſon of Prumnis. From Bacchis the Bacchiadæ reigned for five generations more, unto Teleſtes the ſon of Ariſtodemus. This Teleſtes was ſlain, and after his death there was no king for ſome time; but annual magiſtrates of the Bacchiadæ: until Cypſelus the ſon of Eetion drove out that family. From Aletes therefore, and his contemporary Melas, to Cypſelus, there were not leſs than eleven generations; allowing only the ſpace of one generation to the reign of Teleſtes, and the whole duration of the annual magiſtracy; which however took up four at leaſt, according to the old chronology. (See Euſeb. in Chron.) The poſition therefore, that Cypſelus was in the ſixth generation after Melas, ſeems clearly refuted. The paſſage alleged in proof of it, ſeems rather indeed to imply, that Cypſelus was the ſixth from a daughter of Sicyon. But this will ſet Pauſanias ſtill more at variance with himſelf. For if Cypſelus was not earlier than in the eleventh generation from the return of the Heraclidæ, he could not be within ſeven of Sicyon, who lived long before the Trojan war. Fortunately, however, the manifeſt depravity of the paſſage acquits the writer of the charge of inconſiſtency. When the Greek writers number generations, the word they uſe is, not γενος, but γενεα; and I believe no inſtance is to be found, in which theſe two words are confounded. Nor do they expreſs them-

ſelves

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and that he was contemporary to Aletes, who returned with the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus. The reign of Cypſelus began an. 2, olymp. 31, according to chronologers (2); and ſix generations, at about 30 years to a generation, amount unto 180 years. Count thoſe years backwards from an. 2, olymp. 31, and they will place the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus 58 years before the firſt olympiad. But it might not be ſo early, if the reign of Cypſelus began three or four olympiads later; for he reigned before the Perſian empire began.

XV. Hercules the Argonaut was the father of Hyllus; the father of Cleodæus; the father of Ariſtomachus; the father of Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus (1), who led the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus: and Euryſtheus, who was of the ſame age with Hercules, was ſlain in the firſt attempt of the Heraclidæ to return (2): Hyllus was ſlain in the ſecond attempt (3), Cleodæus in the third attempt, Ariſtomachus in the fourth attempt (4), and Ariſtodemus died as ſoon as they were returned, and left the kingdom of Sparta to his ſons Euryſthenes and Procles. Whence their return was four generations later than

ſelves by the genitive of the name of the perſon, from whom generations are counted, without a prepoſition; as is done here, if ἑκτον γενος εξαρχης Γονυσης mean the ſixth generation from Gonuſa: for εξαρχης is no prepoſition, but an adverb. Neither would the Greek writers, or any writer, I think, of common ſenſe in any language ſay, that a man and his anceſtors collectively were the ſixth generation from any one perſon. Add, that we no-where read of this Gonuſa the daughter of Sicyon. Sicyon had a daughter Cthonophyle (Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 6.) and it appears not from hiſtory, that he had any other child. But if there was no Gonuſa, a daughter of Sicyon, there was a town Gonoeſſa not far from the city Sicyon, to the north of it.

——— αιπεινην Γονοεσσαν. Il. B. l. 573.

Or as ſome write it Δονοεσσαν (Euſtath. ad locum & Palmer. Exercitat. p. 415.) and of this town was Melas. Μελανα δε εκ Γονυσσης της ὑπερ Σικυωνος. (Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 4.) Hence I doubt not but that the true reading of this paſſage of the Eliaca, from whence Cypſelus has been placed in the ſixth generation after Melas is this: Κυψελῳ και τοις προγονοις αυτε ην γενος εξαρχης εκ Γονοεσσης της ὑπερ Σικυωνος, και προγονος σφισιν ην Μελας ὁ Ανтασσε. "Cypſelus and his anceſtors were originally from the town of Gonoeſſa to the north of Sicyon; and Melas the ſon of Antaſſus was among their anceſtors." Thus Pauſanias ſays juſt what is to his purpoſe, and nothing more. For if the learned reader will take the trouble to conſider the paſſage in the original, as connected with the author's ſubject, he will perceive that it was much to the purpoſe to mention, that Melas was among the anceſtors of Cypſelus; but not at all, to ſtate the diſtance of time between them.

(2) Euſebius places the beginning of the reign of Cypſelus in the firſt, Petavius in the third year, of the 30th olympiad.

§ XV.

(1) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 204. Lib. 8. c. 131. Lib. 6. c. 52. Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 151.

(2) EURYSTHEUS was ſlain before any attempt of the Heraclidæ to return, in an expedition of his

than the Argonautic expedition: and theſe generations were Chronicle.
ſhort ones, being by the chief of the family, and ſuit with the reckoning of Thucydides and the ancients, that the taking of Troy was about 75 or 80 years before the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus; and the Argonautic expedition one generation earlier than the taking of Troy. Count therefore 80 years backward from the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus to the Trojan war: and the taking of Troy will be about 76 years after the death of Solomon: and the Argonautic expedition, which was one generation earlier, will be about 43 years after it (5). From the taking of Troy to the return of the Heraclidæ, could ſcarce be more than eighty years; becauſe Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon, was a youth at the taking of Troy, and his ſons Penthilus and Tiſamenus lived till the return of the Heraclidæ (6).

XVI. Æſculapius (1) and Hercules (2) were Argonauts: and Hippocrates was the eighteenth incluſively by the father's ſide

his own againſt them ſettled in the Athenian territory. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 57 and 58. p. 181. and Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 8. § 1.

(3) Hyllus, having been unſucceſsful in his firſt attempt, renewed it after an interval of three years; and in this ſecond attempt he was ſlain. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 58. Herodot. lib. 9. c. 26.

(4) I know not where Sir Iſaac Newton finds mention of the death of Cleodæus in a third attempt, and of Ariſtomachus in a fourth. The learned Meurſius, who has taken much pains to bring together whatever is to be found in antient writers on this ſubject (ſee his *Regnum Laconicum*, c. 7 & 8.) ſpeaks only of three attempts; the two of Hyllus, and that under the ſons of Ariſtomachus, which, proving ſucceſsful, was of courſe the laſt. Of the death of Ariſtomachus I find no mention, except in Apollodorus: who ſays, that Ariſtomachus died in the ſecond attempt of Hyllus. Lib. 3. c. 8. § II. But ſince it is intimated in the very next ſentence, that the ſons of Cleodæus were not grown up at the time of this expedition; ſince Ariſtomachus was a ſon, if not the only ſon of Cleodæus; and ſince the laſt ſucceſsful attempt is ſaid to have been made, when the perſons intended in this paſſage, whoever they might be, were grown up; for theſe reaſons I ſuſpect, that the names of Ariſtomachus and Cleodæus have changed places in the text of Apollodorus, and that Cleodæus fell in the ſecond expedition of his father Hyllus.

(5) Our author here ſeems to ſuppoſe, that the return of the Heraclidæ was 43 years earlier than the beginning of the olympiads. This being ſuppoſed, the taking of Troy, which was 80 years earlier than that return, muſt have been 123 years earlier than the beginning of the olympiads. Solomon's death was 199 years before the olympiads (§ X. note 4.) Therefore the taking of Troy, by this reckoning, will have been 76 years later than the death of Solomon.

(6) Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 18. p. 151.

§ XVI.

(1) Hyginus reckons Æſculapius among the Argonauts, though he is not to be found in the Orphic liſt, nor in that of Apollonius, or of Apollodorus. He muſt have been contemporary with the Argonauts, if, according to the fable, he was inſtructed in medicine by the Centaur Chiron. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 10. § III.

(2) Orph. Argonaut. v. 116. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. v. 122.

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from Æſculapius, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's ſide (3): and becauſe theſe generations, being taken notice of by writers, were moſt probably by the principal of the family, and ſo for the moſt part by the eldeſt ſons; we may reckon about 28 or at the moſt about 30 years to a generation. And thus the ſeventeen intervals by the father's ſide, and eighteen by the mother's, will, at a middle reckoning, amount unto about 507 years: which counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, at which time Hippocrates began to flouriſh, will reach up to the 43d year after the death of Solomon, and there place the Argonautic expedition (4).

XVII. When the Romans conquered the Carthaginians, the archives of Carthage came into their hands: and thence Appian, in his hiſtory of the Punic wars (1), tells in round numbers that Carthage ſtood ſeven hundred years: and [a] Solinus adds the odd number of years in theſe words: "*Adrymeto atque Carthagini* "*author eſt à Tyro populus. Urbem iſtam, ut Cato in Oratione* "*Senatoriâ autumat, cùm rex Hiarbas rerum in Libyâ potiretur,* "*Eliſſa mulier extruxit, domo Phœnix, & Carthadam dixit; quod* "*Phœnicum ore exprimit civitatem novam: mox ſermone verſo* "*Carthago dicta eſt; quæ poſt annos ſeptingentos triginta ſeptem* "*exciditur quàm fuerat extructa.*" Eliſſa was Dido; and Carthage was deſtroyed in the conſulſhip of Lentulus and Mummius, in the year of the Julian Period 4568 (2); from whence count backwards 737 years, and the Encænia or dedication of the city, will fall upon the 16th year of Pygmalion, the brother of

[a] Solin. c. 30.

(3) Ιπποκρατης γενει μεν ην Κωος, ὑιος Ηρακλειδε και Φαιναρετης, εις Ηρακλεα και Ασκληπιον το γενος αναφερων· αφ' ὁ μεν εικοστος· αφ' ὁ δε εννεακαιδεκατος. Soranus in *Vit. Hippoc.* When Sir Iſaac Newton ſays the 18th and 19th incluſively, I imagine his meaning is, including Hippocrates, but excluding Æſculapius and Hercules.

(4) The Peloponneſian war began Ann. 2. Olymp. 87. or in the 346th olympic year. Count back 507 years, and you come to the 162d before the olympiads; which is about the 37th after Solomon's death. (See § X. note 4.)

§ XVII.

(1) P. 82. edit. H. Steph.

(2) Euſeb. in Chron. ad Ann. 3. Olymp. 158.

(3) Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 1341. edit. Hudſon.

(4) Æn. I. lin. 623—626.

(5) The ejection of Cinyras is not expreſsly mentioned either by Virgil or Servius. But Virgil makes Dido ſay, that her father held Cyprus by right of conqueſt: and Servius adds, that he granted the iſland to Teucer: and the prince, that Dido's father conquered, according to that chronology which makes Dido and her father contemporary with the Trojan war, could be no other than Cinyras, ſince Cinyras was king of Cyprus when that war commenced; as appears from the breaſt-plate of Agamemnon:

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of Dido, and king of Tyre. She fled in the ſeventh year of Pygmalion (3); but the æra of the city began with its Encænia. Now Virgil and his ſcholiaſt Servius, who might have ſome things from the archives of Tyre and Cyprus as well as from thoſe of Carthage, relate that Teucer came from the war of Troy to Cyprus in the days of Dido, a little before the reign of her brother Pygmalion; and, in conjunction with her father, ſeized Cyprus (4), and ejected Cinyras (5): and the marbles ſay, that Teucer came to Cyprus ſeven years after the deſtruction of Troy, and built Salamis; and Apollodorus, that Cinyras married Metharme the daughter of Pygmalion, and built Paphos (6). Therefore if the Romans, in the days of Auguſtus, followed not altogether the artificial chronology of Eratoſthenes, but had theſe things from the records of Carthage, Cyprus, or Tyre; the arrival of Teucer at Cyprus will be in the reign of the predeceſſor of Pygmalion: and by conſequence the deſtruction of Troy, about 76 years later than the death of Solomon (7).

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XVIII. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis [a] tells us, that in the time of the Trojan war, Latinus was king of the Aborigines in Italy; and that in the ſixteenth age after that war, Romulus built Rome. By ages, he means reigns of kings: for after Latinus, he names ſixteen kings of the Latines, the laſt of which was Numitor (1), in whoſe days Romulus built Rome; for Romulus was contemporary to Numitor: and after him Dionyſius and others reckon ſix kings more over Rome, to the beginning of the conſuls. Now theſe twenty and two reigns, at about 18 years to a reign one with another, for many of theſe kings were ſlain, took up 396 years; which counted back from the conſulſhip of

[a] Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 9. p. 8.

Τον τοτε οι Κινυρης δωκε, ξεινηιον ειναι.
Πευθετο γαρ Κυπρονδε μεγα κλεος——— Il. Λ. lin. 20.

(6) Lib. 3. c. 13. § III.

(7) For Joſephus reckons 143 years from the building of Solomon's Temple to the building of Carthage (contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.) which laſt epoch he ſeems not to diſtinguiſh from the flight of Dido in the 7th of Pygmalion. Solomon ſurvived the building of the Temple thirty years, 1 Kings vi. 38. and xi. 43. Therefore from Solomon's death to the flight of Dido, the interval will be 113 years. Subtract ſeven years. There remains 106 for the interval between Solomon's death and the beginning of Pygmalion's reign. Therefore if the war of Troy was in the generation next before Pygmalion, it muſt have happened about 76 years after the death of Solomon.

§ XVIII.

(1) Lib. 1. c. 63—71. p. 51—57.

Junius Brutus and Valerius Publicola (²), the two firſt conſuls, place the Trojan war about 78 (³) years after the death of Solomon.

XIX. The expedition of Seſoſtris was one generation earlier than the Argonautic expedition: for in his return back into Egypt he left Æetes in Colchis, and Æetes reigned there till the Argonautic expedition (¹); and Prometheus was left by Seſoſtris with a body of men at Mount Caucaſus to guard that paſs, and after thirty years was releaſed by Hercules the Argonaut: and Phlias and Eumedon (²), the ſons of the great Bacchus, ſo the poets call Seſoſtris, and of Ariadne the daughter of Minos, were Argonauts. At the return of Seſoſtris into Egypt, his brother Danäus fled from him into Greece with his fifty daughters in a long ſhip (³); after the pattern of which the ſhip Argo was built: and Argus, the ſon of Danäus (⁴), was the maſter-builder thereof. Nauplius the Argonaut was born in Greece of Amymone, one of the daughters of Danäus, and of Neptune (⁵), the brother and admiral of Seſoſtris: and two others of the daughters of Danäus married Archander and Architeles (⁶), the ſons of Achæus (⁷), the ſon of Creüſa, the daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens (⁸): and therefore the daughters of Danäus were three

(²) i. e. from the 1ſt year of the 68th olymp. Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 277.
(³) 70, if the death of Solomon was 199 years earlier than the olympiads.

§ XIX.

(¹) It is much to be regretted, that our author hath not produced his authority, for a matter of ſo much importance to his ſyſtem. That the Colchians were an Egyptian colony, ſettled in thoſe parts by Seſoſtris, ſeems to be the uniform tradition of antiquity. (Herodot. lib. 2. c. 104—106. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 55. p. 35. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 4. lin. 272. &c.) But that Æetes, the prince who reigned at Colchis when the Argonauts arrived there, was himſelf left there by Seſoſtris, ſeems to be a ſuppoſition that Sir Iſaac Newton has adopted, becauſe it ſuits its ſyſtem. Stephanus Byzantinus may ſeem to give ſome countenance to it, when he ſays that Æetes was the builder of Æa. But his authority, if it were more expreſs than it is, might hardly be allowed to outweigh the teſtimony of more antient writers. Apollonius Rhodius makes Argus ſpeak of the expedition of Seſoſtris as a thing of ſuch remote antiquity, that many of the cities, which that conqueror had founded in Aſia, might be ſuppoſed to be gone to ruin in the time of the Argonautic expedition:

——πουλυς γαρ αδην επενηνοθεν αιων Lib. 4. lin. 276.

Æa, however, was in being

—————— υἱωνοί τε
Τωνδ' ανδρων, ὡς ὁγε καθισσατο ναιεμεν Αιαν. Lin. 277.

Upon which paſſage the Scholiaſt obſerves, that the word υἱωνοί is uſed catachreſtically, to ſignify remoter deſcendants than grand-children; as Ηρακλειδαι is uſed for remoter deſcendants of Hercules than his ſons. And he ſays, that Dicæarchus reckoned no leſs than 2936 years between Seſoſtris,

three generations younger than Erechtheus; and by conſequence contemporary to Theſeus the ſon of Ægeus, the adopted ſon of Pandion, the ſon of Erechtheus (⁹). Theſeus, in the time of the Argonautic expedition, was of about 50 years of age, and ſo was born about the 33d year of Solomon: for he ſtole Helena [a] juſt before that expedition, being then 50 years old (¹⁰), and ſhe but ſeven (¹¹), or as ſome ſay ten (¹²). Pirithöus the ſon of Ixion helped Theſeus to ſteal Helena; and then [b] Theſeus went with Pirithöus to ſteal Perſephone, the daughter of Aidoneus, or Orcus, king of the Moloſſians, and was taken in the action (¹³): and whilſt he lay in priſon, Caſtor and Pollux returning from the Argonautic expedition, releaſed their ſiſter Helena, and captivated Æthra, the mother of Theſeus (¹³). Now the daughters of Danäus being contemporary to Theſeus, and ſome of their ſons being Argonauts; Danäus with his daughters fled from his brother Seſoſtris into Greece, about one generation before the Argonautic expedition; and therefore Seſoſtris returned into Egypt in the reign of Rehoboam. He came out of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam, [c] and ſpent nine years in that expedition againſt the eaſtern nations and Greece; and therefore returned back into Egypt, in the fourteenth year of Rehoboam.

GREEKS.

[a] Apollon. Argonaut. l. 1. v. 101.

[b] Plutarch. in Theſeo.

[c] Diodor. l. 1. c. 55. p. 35.

Seſoſtris, or Seſonchoſis, and the firſt olympiad.

(²) APOLLONIUS mentions Phlias as the ſon of Bacchus. Lib. 2. lin. 115. The Scholiaſt ſeems to ſay, that his mother was Cthonophyle. Hyginus mentions Phliaſius and Eumedon as ſons of Bacchus by Ariadne, and as Argonauts. Fab. 14.

(³) Manetho apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 15, 16 p. 1339.

(⁴) APOLLODORUS makes Argus the ſon of Phrixus the builder of the ſhip. Lib. 1. c. 9. § XVI. And this was probably the opinion of Pherecydes, who ſaid that the ſhip was named after Argos the ſon of Phrixus. Scholiaſt. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 4. But Apollonius Rhodius makes the builder a different perſon from the ſon of Phrixus, but not the ſon of Danäus. He calls him Argus Areſtorides, or Heſtorides, or Aceſtorides (Lib. 1. lin. 112): for the reading ſeems uncertain. Hyginus ſays that Argus, the builder of the ſhip, was the ſon of Polybus and Argia, or *according to others of Danäus*. Fab. 14.

(⁵) See Orph. Argonaut. lin. 200. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 136. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § V.

(⁶) Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 522.

(⁷) — *the ſons of Achæus*] according to Pauſanias. But Herodotus makes Archander the grandſon of Achæus. Αρχανδρȣ τȣ Φθιȣ, τȣ Αχαιȣ. Lib. 2. c. 98. As Pauſanias ſays that Archander and Architeles were ſettled in the Pthiotis, before they went to Argos and married the daughters of Danäus, it might ſeem probable that Φθιȣ, in the text of Herodotus, is a corruption for Φθιωτȣ. But Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word Ελλας, mentions a Phthius a ſon of Achæus.

(⁸) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II.

(⁹) Vid. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § V.

(¹⁰) Plutarch in Theſeo. tom. I. p. 14.

(¹¹) If. Tzetzes ad Lycophron.

(¹²) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 63. p. 185.

(¹³) Plutarch in Theſeo. tom. I. p. 15.

2 Seſac

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Seſac and Seſoſtris were therefore kings of all Egypt, at one and the ſame time: and they agree not only in the time, but alſo in their actions and conqueſts. God gave Seſac ממלכות הארצות the kingdoms of the lands, 2 Chron. xii. Where Herodotus de-

[a] Joſeph. Antiq l. 8. c. 10. § II. p. 568.

ſcribes the expedition of Seſoſtris; Joſephus[a] tells us that he deſcribed the expedition of Seſac, and attributed his actions to Seſoſtris, erring only in the name of the king ([14]). Corruptions of names are frequent in hiſtory: Seſoſtris was otherwiſe called Seſochris, Seſochis, Seſooſis, Sethoſis, Seſonchis, Seſonchoſis. Take away the Greek termination, and the names become Seſoſt, Seſoch, Seſoos, Sethos, Seſonch: which names differ very little from Seſach. Seſonchis and Seſach differ no more than Memphis and

[b] Contra Apion. l. 1.

Moph, two names of the ſame city. Joſephus[b] tells us alſo, from Manetho, that Sethoſis was the brother of Armais, and that theſe brothers were otherwiſe called Ægyptus and Danäus; and that upon the return of Sethoſis or Ægyptus, from his great conqueſts into Egypt, Armais or Danäus fled from him into Greece.

XX. Egypt was at firſt divided into many ſmall kingdoms, like other nations; and grew into one monarchy by degrees: and the father of Solomon's queen was the firſt king of Egypt, who came into Phœnicia with an army: but he only took Gezir, and gave it to his daughter ([1]). Seſac, the next king, came out of Egypt with an army of Libyans, Troglodites, and Ethiopians, 2 Chron. xii. 3. and therefore was then king of all thoſe countries; and we do not read in Scripture, that any former king of Egypt, who reigned over all thoſe nations, came out of Egypt with a great army to conquer other countries. The ſacred hiſtory of the Iſraelites, from the days of Abraham to the days of Solomon, admits of no ſuch conqueror. Seſoſtris reigned over all the ſame nations of the Libyans, Troglodites and Ethiopians, and came out of Egypt with a great army to conquer other kingdoms.

([14]) ——— Συσακον· περι ȣ πλανηθεις Ηροδοτ@ τας πραξεις αυτȣ Σεσωστρει προσαπτει. And a little after, μεμνηται δε ταυτης της στρατειας [Suſaci in Judæos] και ὁ Αλικαρνασσευς Ηροδοτος, περι μονον το τȣ βασιλεως πλανηθεις ονομα. Theſe are the paſſages of Joſephus, from which Conringius and Torniellus, and after them Sir J. Marſham and Sir Iſaac Newton, would make out, that Seſac and Seſoſtris are only different names of the ſame perſon. Which however may be more than Joſephus

doms. The ſhepherds reigned long in the lower part of Egypt, and were expelled thence juſt before the building of Jeruſalem and the Temple, according to Manetho; and whilſt they reigned in the lower part of Egypt, the upper part thereof was under other kings: and while Egypt was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, there was no room for any ſuch king of all Egypt as Seſoſtris; and no hiſtorian makes him later than Seſac: and therefore he was one and the ſame king of Egypt with Seſac. This is no new opinion: Joſephus diſcovered it, when he affirmed that Herodotus erred, in aſcribing the actions of Seſac to Seſoſtris, and that the error was only in the name of the king: for this is as much as to ſay, that the true name of him who did thoſe things deſcribed by Herodotus, was Seſac; and that Herodotus erred only in calling him Seſoſtris; or that he was called Seſoſtris by a corruption of his name. Our great chronologer, Sir John Marſham, was alſo of opinion that Seſoſtris was Seſac: and if this be granted, it is then moſt certain, that Seſoſtris came out of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam to invade the nations, and returned back into Egypt in the 14th year of that king; and that Danäus then flying from his brother, came into Greece within a year or two after: and the Argonautic expedition, being one generation later than that invaſion, and than the coming of Danäus into Greece, was certainly about 40 or 45 years later than the death of Solomon. Prometheus ſtayed on Mount Caucaſus [a] thirty years, and then was releaſed by Hercules: and therefore the Argonautic expedition was thirty years after Prometheus had been left on Mount Caucaſus by Seſoſtris; that is, about 44 years after the death of Solomon.

GREEKS.

[a] Hygin. Fab. 144. & 54.

XXI. All nations, before the juſt length of the ſolar year was known, reckoned months by the courſe of the moon; and years by the [b] returns of winter and ſummer, ſpring and autumn: and in making calendars for their feſtivals, they reckoned thirty days to a lunar month, and twelve lunar months to a year; tak-

[b] Gen. i. 14. & viii. 22. Cenſorinus c. 19 & 20. Cicero in Verrem. Geminus c. 6.

phus meant. The opinion is largely examined by Perizonius in the 8th and 9th chapters of his Origines Ægyptiacæ.

§ XX.

(¹) 1 Kings ix. 16. Marſham. *Sec. XIV. Tit. Ophir.*

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-ing the neareſt round numbers: whence came the diviſion of the ecliptic into 360 degrees. So in the time of Noah's flood, when the moon could not be ſeen, Noah reckoned thirty days to a month (¹): but if the moon appeared a day or two before the end of the month, [a] they began the next month with the firſt day of her appearing: and this was done generally, till the Egyptians of Thebäis found the length of the ſolar year. So [b] Diodorus tells us, that "the Egyptians of Thebäis uſe no intercalary months, nor ſubduct any days [from the month] as is "done by moſt of the Greeks." And [c] Cicero, "*eſt conſuetudo "Siculorum cæterorumque Græcorum, quòd ſuos dies menſeſque congruere volunt cum Solis Lunæque ratione, ut nonnunquam ſiquid "diſcrepet, eximant unum aliquem diem aut ſummum biduum ex "menſe* [*civili dierum triginta*] *quos illi* ἐξαιρεσίμους *dies nominant.*" And Proclus, upon Heſiod's τριακὰς, mentions the ſame thing. And [d] Geminus: "Πρόθεσις γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, "τοὺς μὲν μῆνας ἄγειν κατὰ σελήνην, τοὺς δὲ ἐνιαυτοὺς καθ' ἥλιον. Τὸ "γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῶν χρησμῶν παραγγελλόμενον, τὸ θύειν κατὰ "γ', ἤγουν τὰ πάτρια, μῆνας, ἡμέρας, ἐνιαυτοὺς· τοῦτο διέλαβον ἅπαντες "οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ τοὺς μὲν ἐνιαυτοὺς συμφώνως ἄγειν τῷ ἡλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς μῆνας τῇ σελήνῃ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν καθ' ἥλιον ἄγειν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς, "τὸ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς αὐτὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐαρινὴν θυσίαν διὰ παντὸς κατὰ τὸ ἔαρ συντελεῖσθαι· "τὴν δὲ θερινὴν, κατὰ τὸ θέρος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς καιροὺς τοῦ "ἔτους τὰς αὐτας θυσίας πίπτειν. Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπέλαβον προσηνὲς καὶ κεχαρισμένον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς. Τοῦτο δ' ἄλλως οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ "αἱ τροπαὶ, καὶ αἱ ἰσημερίαι περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους γίγνοιντο. Τὸ δὲ κατὰ "σελήνην ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τὸ ἀκολούθως τοῖς τῆς σελήνης "φωτισμοῖς τὰς προσηγορίας τῶν ἡμερῶν γίνεσθαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν τῆς σελήνης φωτισμῶν αἱ προσηγορίαι τῶν ἡμερῶν κατωνομάσθησαν. Ἐν ᾗ "μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ νέα ἡ σελήνη φαίνεται, κατὰ συναλοιφὴν νεομηνία προσηγορεύθη· ἐν ᾗ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν δευτέραν φάσιν ποιεῖται, δευτέραν προσηγόρευσαν· τὴν δὲ κατὰ μέσον τοῦ μηνὸς γινομένην φάσιν τῆς σελήνης, ἀπὸ "αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος διχομηνίαν ἐκάλεσαν. καὶ καθόλου δὲ πάσας τὰς "ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς σελήνης φωτισμῶν προσωνόμασαν. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν τρια-

[a] Cicero in Verrem.

[b] Diodor l. 1. c. 50. p. 32.

[c] Cicero in Verrem. lib. 2. c. 53.

[d] Gem. c. 6.

(¹) For 150 days are made exactly equal to five months. Compare Geneſis viii. 3, 4. with Gen. vii. 11.

“ *κοςὴν τȢ̃ μηνὸς ἡμέραν ἐσχάτην Ȣ̃σαν ἀπὸ αὐτȢ̃ τȢ̃ συμβχίνοντος τρια-* Greeks.
“ *κάδα ἐκάλεσαν. Propoſitum enim fuit veteribus, menſes quidem* “ *agere ſecundum lunam, annos verò ſecundam ſolem. Quod enim à* “ *legibus & oraculis præcipiebatur, ut ſacrificarent ſecundum tria,* “ *videlicet patria, menſes, dies, annos; hoc ita diſtinctè faciebant* “ *univerſi Græci, ut annos agerent congruenter cum ſole, dies verò* “ *& menſes cum lunâ. Porro ſecundum ſolem annos agere, eſt circa* “ *eaſdem tempeſtates anni eadem ſacrificia diis perfici, & vernum* “ *ſacrificium ſemper in vere conſummari, æſtivum autem in æſtate:* “ *ſimiliter & in reliquis anni temporibus eadem ſacrificia cadere.* “ *Hoc enim putabant acceptum & gratum eſſe diis. Hoc autem* “ *aliter fieri non poſſet, niſi converſiones ſolſtitiales & æquinoctia in* “ *iiſdem Zodiaci locis fierent. Secundum lunam verò dies agere, eſt* “ *tale, ut congruant cum lunæ illuminationibus appellationes dierum.* “ *Nam à lunæ illuminationibus appellationes dierum ſunt denomi-* “ *natæ. In quâ enim die luna apparet nova, ea per Synalœphen,* “ *ſeu compoſitionem νεομηνία, id eſt, novilunium appellatur. In* “ *quâ verò die ſecundam facit apparitionem, eam ſecundam lunam* “ *vocârunt. Apparitionem lunæ, quæ circa medium menſis fit, ab* “ *ipſo eventu διχομηνίαν, id eſt medietatem menſis nominârunt. Ac* “ *ſummatim, omnes dies à lunæ illuminationibus denominârunt.* “ *Unde etiam triceſimam menſis diem, cùm ultima ſit, ab ipſo eventu* “ *τριακάδα vocarunt.*”

XXII. The ancient Calendar-year of the Greeks conſiſted therefore of twelve lunar months, and every month of thirty days: and theſe years and months they corrected from time to time, by the courſes of the ſun and moon, omitting a day or two in the month, as often as they found the month too long for the courſe of the moon; and adding a month to the year, as often as they found the twelve lunar months too ſhort for the return of the four ſeaſons. Cleobulus, [a] one of the Seven Wiſe Men of Greece, alluded to this year of the Greeks, in his parable of one father who had twelve ſons, each of which had thirty daughters, half white and half black: and Thales [b] called the laſt day of the month *τριακάδα* (¹), the thirtieth: and Solon counted

[a] Apud Laertium, in Cleobulo.

[b] Apud Laertium, in Thalete.

§ XXII.

(¹) So ſays Diogenes Laertius: but it can not be true. For the word occurs at the very beginning

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ed the ten laſt days of the month backward from the thirtieth, calling that day ἐνῆν ϗ νέαν, the old and the new, or the laſt day of the old month and the firſt day of the new: for he introduced months of 29 and 30 days alternately, making the thirtieth day of every other month to be the firſt day of the next month (²).

[a] Cenſorinus c. 18 Herod. l. 2. c. 4.

[b] Apollodor. l. 3. c. 4. § II. p. 169. Strabo, l. 10. p. 476. Homer. Odyſſ. T. v. 179.

[c] Herod. l. 1. c. 30.

XXIII. To the twelve lunar months [a] the ancient Greeks added a thirteenth, every other year, which made their *Dieteris*; and becauſe this reckoning made their year too long by a month in eight years, they omitted an intercalary month once in eight years, which made their *Octäeteris*, one half of which was their *Tetraëteris:* and theſe periods ſeem to have been almoſt as old as the religions of Greece, being uſed in divers of their *Sacra.* The [b] *Octäeteris* was the *annus magnus* of Cadmus and Minos (¹), and ſeems to have been brought into Greece and Crete by the Phœnicians, who came thither with Cadmus and Europa, and to have continued till after the days of Herodotus: for in counting the length of ſeventy years, [c] he reckons thirty days to a lunar month, and twelve ſuch months, or 360 days, to the ordinary year, without the intercalary months, and 25 ſuch months to the *Dieteris* (²): and according to the number of days in the calendar year of the Greeks, Demetrius Phalereus had 360 ſtatues erected to him by the Athenians. But the Greeks, Cleoſtratus, Harpalus, and others, to make their months agree better with the courſe of the moon, in the times of the Perſian empire, varied the manner of intercalating the three months in the *Octäeteris*;

ginning of Heſiod's ἡμέραι: and by the particular mention which is made of the true *triacas* in the 4th line, it appears, that there was in Heſiod's time a true and a falſe *triacas*; i. e. a natural and a civil one: or that the word was uſed both to denote the laſt day of the artificial month, which was really the thirtieth, and the day of the true conjunction, although that ſhould not be the laſt of the month. See Proclus on the place. This name, therefore, was given to the laſt day of the month before Thales.

(²) See Plutarch in Solon. tom. I. p 92. Diog. Laert. lib. 1. § LVIII & LX. Ariſtoph. Nub. lin. 1129 & 1180—1196, with the Scholia.

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(¹) Beſides the places to which our author refers, ſee Plato in Minos. p. 568.

(²) The paſſage of Herodotus ſeems rather to be an argument, that the Dieteris was in uſe in his time. " I fix the term of human life, ſays Solon, at 70 years. Theſe 70 years, taking no " account

Octäeteris; and Meton found out the cycle of intercalating ſeven months in nineteen years (³). GREEKS.

XXIV. The ancient year of the Latines was alſo luni-ſolar; for Plutarch [a] tells us, that the year of Numa conſiſted of twelve lunar months, with intercalary months to make up what the twelve lunar months wanted of the ſolar year. The ancient year of the Egyptians was alſo luni-ſolar, and continued to be ſo till the days of Hyperion, or Oſiris, a king of Egypt, the father of Helius and Selene, or Orus and Bubaſte: for the Iſraelites brought this year out of Egypt; and Diodorus [b] tells us that Ouranus, the father of Hyperion, uſed this year (¹); and [c] that in the temple of Oſiris the prieſts appointed thereunto filled 360 milk-bowls every day: I think he means one bowl every day, in all 360, to count the number of days in the calendar year, and thereby to find out the difference between this and the true ſolar year: for the year of 360 days was the year, to the end of which they added five days.

[a] Plutarch. in Numa. Tom. I. p. 71, 72.

[b] Diodor. l. 3. c. 56. p. 133.

[c] Diodor. l. 1. c. 22. p. 13.

XXV. That the Iſraelites uſed the luni-ſolar year is beyond queſtion (¹). Their months began with their new moons. Their firſt month was called Abib, from the earing of corn in that month. Their Paſſover was kept upon the fourteenth day of the firſt month, the moon being then in the full: and if the corn was not then ripe enough for offering the Firſt Fruits, the feſtival was put off, by adding an intercalary month to the end of the year; and the harveſt was got in before the Pentecoſt, and the other fruits gathered before the feaſt of the ſeventh month.

" account of the embolimæan months, give 25200 days. But if *every other year* is to be length-
" ened by a month, in order that the ſeaſons may come round at the proper time, the emboli-
" mæan months in the 70 years will be 35. The days ariſing from theſe months will be 1050.
" Now all theſe days in the 70 years being 26250, &c."

(³) Cenſorinus de Die Natali, c. 18.

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(¹) This Diodorus affirms of the Uranus of the Altantei. And Sir Iſaac Newton ſuppoſes the Hyperion of the Altantei, who was the ſon of this Uranus, and the Egyptian Oſiris to be the ſame.

§ XXV.

(¹) But whether this was their antient year, or adopted only after the death of Alexander the Great, was a queſtion warmly agitated between Scaliger and Petavius.

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XXVI. Simplicius, in his commentary [a] on the firſt of Ariſtotle's Phyſical *Acroaſis*, tells us, that "ſome begin the year upon the ſummer Solſtice, as the people of Attica; or upon the autumnal equinox, as the people of Aſia; or in the winter, as the Romans; or about the vernal equinox, as the Arabians and people of Damaſcus: and the month began, according to ſome, upon the full moon, or upon the new." The years of all theſe nations were therefore luni-ſolar, and kept to the four ſeaſons: and the Roman year began at firſt in ſpring, as I ſeem to gather from the names of their months, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*: and the beginning was afterwards removed to winter. The ancient civil year of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians was alſo luni-ſolar: for this year was alſo uſed by the Samaritans, who came from ſeveral parts of the Aſſyrian empire; and the Jews who came from Babylon called the months of their luni-ſolar year after the names of the months of the Babylonian year: and Beroſus [b] tells us, that the Babylonians celebrated the feaſt *Sacæa* upon the 16th day of the month *Lous*, which was a lunar month of the Macedonians, and kept to one and the ſame ſeaſon of the year: and the Arabians, a nation who peopled Babylon, uſe lunar months to this day. Suidas [c] tells us, that the *Sarus* of the Chaldeans contains 222 lunar months, which are eighteen years, conſiſting each of twelve lunar months, beſides ſix intercalary months: and when [d] Cyrus cut the river Gindus into 360 channels, he ſeems to have alluded unto the number of days in the calendar year of the Medes and Perſians: and the emperor Julian [e] writes, "For when all other people, that I may ſay it in one word, accommodate their months to the courſe of the moon; we alone, with the Egyptians, meaſure the days of the year by the courſe of the ſun."

[a] Apud Theodorum Gazam de menſibus.

[b] Apud Athenæum, l. 14. p. 639.

[c] Suidas in Σαρoι.

[d] Herod. l. 1. c. 189. 190.

[e] Julian. Or: 4.

XXVII. At length the Egyptians, for the ſake of navigation, applied themſelves to obſerve the ſtars; and by their heliacal riſings and ſettings, found the true ſolar year to be five days longer than

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(1) Herodct. lib. 2. c. 4

(2) Diodorus ſays, that the Egyptians of Thebais to the 12 months of 30 days, added five days and a quarter. And Strabo in effect ſays the ſame thing. Vide Strab. p. 806 & 816.

than the calendar year, and therefore added five days to the twelve calendar months; making the ſolar year to conſiſt of twelve months and five days (¹). Strabo [a] and [b] Diodorus aſcribe this invention to the Egyptians of Thebes (²). "The Theban "prieſts, ſaith Strabo, are above others ſaid to be aſtronomers "and philoſophers. They invented the reckoning of days not "by the courſe of the moon, but by the courſe of the ſun. To "twelve months, each of thirty days, they add yearly five "days (³)." In memory of this emendation of the year they dedicated the [c] five additional days to Oſiris, Iſis, Orus ſenior, Typhon, and Nephthe the wife of Typhon; feigning that thoſe days were added to the year when theſe five princes were born; that is, in the reign of Ouranus, or Ammon, the father of Seſac: and in [d] the ſepulchre of Amenophis (⁴), who reigned ſoon after, they placed a golden circle of 365 cubits in compaſs, and divided it into 365 equal parts, to repreſent all the days in the year, and noted upon each part the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars on that day; which circle remained there till the invaſion of Egypt by Cambyſes king of Perſia. Till the reign of Ouranus, the father of Hyperion, and grandfather of Helius and Selene, the Egyptians uſed the old luni-ſolar year: but in his reign, that is, in the reign of Ammon, the father of Oſiris or Seſac, and grandfather of Orus and Bubaſte, the Thebans began to apply themſelves to navigation and aſtronomy, and by the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars determined the length of the ſolar year; and to the old calendar year added five days, and dedicated them to his five children above mentioned, as their birth-days: and in the reign of Amenophis, when by further obſervations they had ſufficiently determined the time of the ſolſtices, they might place the beginning of this new year upon the vernal equinox. This year being at length propagated into Chaldæa, gave occaſion to the year of Nabonaſſar; for the years of Nabonaſſar and thoſe of Egypt began on one and the ſame

GREEKS.

[a] Strabo, l. 17. p. 816.

[b] Diodor. l. 1. c. 50. p. 32.

[c] Plutarch. de Oſiride & Iſide. Tom. II. p. 355. Diodor. l. 1. c. 13. p. 9.

[d] Hecatæus apud Diodor. l. 1. c. 49. p. 32.

(³) But he adds, that they took account of the fraction of a day, by which the year exceeds 365 days, by means of a Cycle. Vid. Strab. p. 816.

(⁴) or Oſymanduas, as Diodorus calls him, in our author's opinion at leaſt, who ſuppoſes the Oſymanduas of Diodorus and Amenophis to have been the ſame perſon.

day,

day, called by them Thoth (5), and were equal and in all reſpects the ſame: and the firſt year of Nabonaſſar began on the 26th day of February of the old Roman year, ſeven hundred forty and ſeven years before the vulgar æra of Chriſt (6), and thirty and three days and five hours before the vernal equinox, according to the ſun's mean motion; for it is not likely that the equation of the ſun's motion ſhould be known in the infancy of aſtronomy. Now reckoning that the year of 365 days wants five hours and 49 minutes of the equinoctial year; the beginning of this year will move backwards thirty and three days and five hours in 137 years: and by conſequence this year began at firſt in Egypt upon the vernal equinox, according to the ſun's mean motion, 137 years before the æra of Nabonaſſar began; that is, in the year of the Julian period 3830, or 96 (7) years after the death of Solomon: and if it began upon the next day after the vernal equinox, it might begin four years earlier; and about that time ended the reign of Amenophis: for he came not from Suſa to the Trojan war, but died afterwards in Egypt. This year was received by the Perſian empire from the Babylonian; and the Greeks alſo uſed it in the *Æra Philippæa*, dated from the death of Alexander the Great; and Julius Cæſar corrected it, by adding a day in every four years, and made it the year of the Romans.

XXVIII. Syncellus tells us, that the five days were added to the old year by the laſt king of the ſhepherds: and the difference in time between the reign of this king, and that of Ammon, is but ſmall; for the reign of the ſhepherds ended but one generation, or two, before Ammon began to add thoſe days. But the ſhepherds minded not arts and ſciences.

XXIX. The firſt month of the luni-ſolar year, by reaſon of the intercalary month, began ſometimes a week or a fortnight before the equinox or ſolſtice, and ſometimes as much after it. And this year gave occaſion to the firſt aſtronomers, who formed the Aſteriſms, to place the equinoxes and ſolſtices in the middles

(5) Cenſorin. de Die Nat. c. 21. (6) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 9. c. 57, 58.

(7) Or 91, if the death of Solomon be rightly placed by Petavius on the year of the Julian period 3739.

of

of the conſtellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn. GREEKS. Achilles Tatius [a] tells us, that "ſome antiently placed the ſol-"ſtice in the beginning of Cancer; others, in the eighth degree "of Cancer; others, about the twelfth degree; and others about "the fifteenth degree thereof." This variety of opinions proceeded from the preceſſion of the equinox, then not known to the Greeks. When the ſphere was firſt formed, the ſolſtice was in the fifteenth degree, or middle of the conſtellation of Cancer (¹): then it came into the twelfth, eighth, fourth, and firſt degree ſucceſſively. Eudoxus, who flouriſhed about ſixty years after Meton, and an hundred years before Aratus, in deſcribing the ſphere of the ancients, placed the ſolſtices and equinoxes in the middles of the conſtellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn, as is affirmed by [b] Hipparchus Bithynus; and appears alſo by the deſcription of the equinoctial and tropical circles in Aratus (²), [c] who copied after Eudoxus; and by the poſitions of the Colures of the equinoxes and ſolſtices; which, in the ſphere of Eudoxus, deſcribed by Hipparchus, went through the middles of thoſe conſtellations. For Hipparchus tells us, that Eudoxus drew the Colure of the ſolſtices, through the middle of the Great Bear; and the middle of Cancer; and the neck of Hydrus; and the ſtar between the poop and maſt of Argo; and the tail of the South Fiſh; and through the middle of Capricorn, and of Sagitta; and through the neck and right-wing of the Swan; and the left-hand of Cepheus: and that he drew the equinoctial Colure through the left-hand of Arctophylax; and along the middle of his body; and croſs the middle of Chelæ; and through the right-hand and fore-knee of the Centaur; and through the flexure of Eridanus and head of Cetus; and the back of Aries acroſs, and through the head and right-hand of Perſeus (³).

[a] Iſagoge, ſect. 32 a Petavio edit. Uranolog. p. 146.

[b] Hipparch. ad Phænom. l. 2. ſect. 3 a Petavio edit. Uranolog. p. 213.

[c] Hipparch. ad Phænom. l. 1. ſect. 2. Uranolog. p. 173.

XXX. Now Chiron delineated σχήματα ὀλύμπȣ, the Aſteriſms, as the ancient author of Gigantomachia (¹), cited by [d] Clemens

[d] Strom. 1. p. 132, 352.

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(¹) For ſince there is no record, that it was ever placed to the eaſt of the middle of Cancer, it is probable that this was its place when the ſphere was firſt formed.

(²) lin. 477—525. (³) Uranolog. p. 207, 208.

§ XXX.

(¹) Read *Titanomachia*.

Alex-

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Alexandrinus, informs us (²): for Chiron was a practical aſtronomer, as may be there underſtood alſo of his daughter Hippo: and Muſæus, the ſon of Eumolpus and maſter of Orpheus, and one of the Argonauts, [a] made a ſphere, and is reputed the firſt among the Greeks who made one (³): and the ſphere itſelf ſhews that it was delineated in the time of the Argonautic expedition; for that expedition is delineated in the Aſteriſms, together with ſeveral other ancienter hiſtories of the Greeks, and without any thing later. There is the golden RAM, the enſign of the veſſel in which Phryxus fled to Colchis; the BULL with brazen hoofs tamed by Jaſon; and the TWINS, CASTOR and POLLUX, two of the Argonauts, with the SWAN of Leda their mother. There is the ſhip ARGO, and HYDRUS the watchful dragon; with Medea's CUP, and a RAVEN upon its carcaſs, the ſymbol of death. There is CHIRON the maſter of Jaſon, with his ALTAR and SACRIFICE. There is the Argonaut HERCULES (⁴) with his DART and VULTURE falling down; and the DRAGON, CRAB, and LYON, whom he ſlew; and the HARP of the Argonaut Orpheus. All theſe relate to the Argonauts. There is ORION the ſon of Neptune, or, as ſome ſay, the grandſon of Minos, with his DOGS, and HARE, and RIVER, and SCORPION. There is the ſtory of Perſeus in the conſtellations of PERSEUS, ANDROMEDA, CEPHEUS, CASSIEPEA and CETUS: that of Calliſto, and her ſon Arcas, in URSA MAJOR and ARCTOPHYLAX: that of

[a] Laertius Proem. l. 1.

(²) ———————— ὑτ☉·
Εις τε δικαιοσυνην θνητων γενος ηγαγε, δειξας
Ορκον, και θυσιας ἱλαρας, και σχηματ' ολυμπε.

As theſe σχηματ' ολυμπε ſtand connected here with oaths and propitiatory ſacrifices, and the knowledge of them is made a part of the diſcipline, by which mankind was brought to a juſt and civilized life; I much doubt whether the Aſteriſms be intended. Indeed both Chiron and his daughter Hippo ſeem to have been ſkilled in phyſics. But the lady's particular excellence was in judicial aſtrology.

Η πρωτα μεν τα θεια πρεμαντευσατο
Χρησμοισιν, η δι' αστερων επαντολας.

Were not theſe σχηματ' ολυμπε the configurations of the heavenly bodies, on which aſtrologers were uſed to form their predictions? Prediction is connected with popular ſuperſtition. And thus theſe σχηματ' ολυμπε might have a connection with oaths, and ſacrifices, and the diſcipline of civil life.

(³) ——— ποιησαι δε θεογονιαν και σφαιραν πρωτον. Diog. Laert. Proem. ſect. III. That is, he was the firſt who *wrote in verſe* of the theogony and the ſphere. This ſeems much more to the purpoſe than Chiron's σχηματ' ολυμπε. And it is ſtill more ſo, that Orpheus himſelf was an aſtronomer. Vid. Suidas in Ορφευς.

4 Icareus

Icareus and his daughter Erigone in BOOTES, PLAUSTRUM, and VIRGO. URSA MINOR relates to one of the nurſes of Jupiter; AURIGA to Erechthonius; OPHIUCHUS to Phorbas; SAGITTARIUS to Crolus the ſon of the nurſe of the Muſes; CAPRICORN to Pan, and AQUARIUS to Ganimede. There is Ariadne's CROWN; Bellerophon's HORSE; Neptune's DOLPHIN; Ganimede's EAGLE; Jupiters GOAT with her KIDS; Bacchus's ASSES; and the FISHES of Venus and Cupid, and their parent the SOUTH FISH. Theſe with DELTOTON are the old conſtellations mentioned by Aratus: and they all relate to the Argonauts and their contemporaries, and to perſons one or two generations older: and nothing later than that expedition was delineated there originally. ANTINOUS and COMA BERENICES are novel. The ſphere ſeems therefore to have been formed by Chiron and Muſæus, for the uſe of the Argonauts: for the ſhip Argo was the firſt long ſhip built by the Greeks. Hitherto they had uſed round veſſels of burden, and kept within ſight of the ſhore; and now, upon an embaſſy to ſeveral princes upon the coaſts of the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas, [a] by the dictates of the oracle, and conſent of the princes of Greece, the flower of Greece were to ſail with expedition through the deep, in a long ſhip with ſails, and guide their ſhip by the ſtars (5). The people of the iſland Corcyra [b] attributed the invention of the ſphere to Nauſicaa, the daughter of Alcinöus, king of the Pheaces in that iſland (6): and it is moſt pro-

Greeks.

[a] Apollodor. l. 1. c. 9. ſect. 16.

[b] Suidas in Αναγαλλις.

(4) This was not the antient name of the conſtellation. In the time of Aratus, the Greeks had no name for it, but one taken from the poſture, in which the figure was drawn, ὁ εν γονασι, and profeſſed to be ignorant who or what was meant by it. See Aratus, lin. 613—616.

(5) See Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 41. p. 171. That the Argo carried maſts and ſails, ſee Orph. Argonaut. lin. 274, and Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 563—566.

(6) Αναγαλλις, ἡ Κερκυραια γραμματικη, ἡτις την της σφαιρας ἑυρεσιν Ναυσικαᾳ τῃ Αλκινου θυγατρι ανατιθησιν. Thus the Lexicographer; who probably thought as little, as the Corcyræan Grammarianeſs, of decorating the princeſs Nauſicaa with the fame of aſtronomical inventions. What ſphere Nauſicaa invented, and to what purpoſe it was applied, Athenæus tells us more diſtinctly. Ορχησεις δ' εισι παρ' Ομηρῳ, ἁι μεν των κυβιστηρων· ἁι δε δια της σφαιρας· ἡς την ἑυρεσιν Αγαλλις, ἡ Κερκυραια γραμματικη, Ναυσικαᾳ ἀνατιθησι, ὡς πολιτιδι χαριζομενη. (Δικαιαρχος δε Σικυωνιοις, Ιππασος δε Λακεδαιμονιοις, ταυτην τε και τα γυμνασια πρωτοις.) Ταυτην δε μονην των ἡρωιδων Ομηρος παραγει σφαιριζουσαν. Athen. lib. 1. c. 11. p. 14. That is, "The Dances, that are mentioned by Homer, are ſome "thoſe of tumblers; others, with a ball; the invention of which kind of dance, Agallis, the "Corcyræan grammarianeſs, aſcribes to Nauſicaa, in compliment to her country-woman. (But "Dicæarchus gives this invention to the Sicyonians; Hippaſus to the Lacedæmonians, the firſt "in this, as well as in manly exerciſes.) Nauſicaa is the only heroine that Homer introduces "dancing the ball-dance." It appears from Athenæus that theſe dances, in which the ball was uſed, were particularly graceful and elegant, and practiſed by perſons of the beſt condition.

bable

CHAPTER FIRST.

[a] Apollodor. l. 1. c. 9. ſect. 25.

bable that ſhe had it from the Argonauts, who [a] in their return home failed to that iſland, and made ſome ſtay there with her father. So then in the time of the Argonautic expedition, the cardinal points of the equinoxes and ſolſtices were in the middles of the conſtellations of Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn.

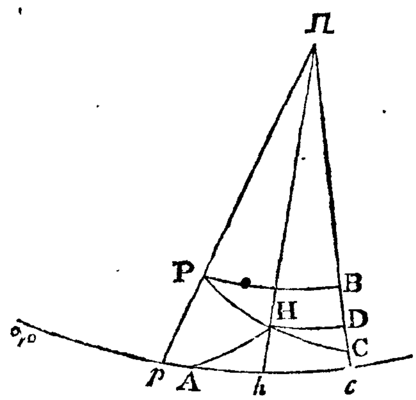
XXXI. In the end of the year of our Lord 1689 the ſtar called Prima Arietis was in ♈. 28°. 51′. 00″. with north latitude 7°. 8′. 58″. And the ſtar called *ultima caudæ Arietis* was in ♉. 19°. 3′. 42″. with north latitude 2°. 34′. 5″. And the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* paſſing through the point in the middle between thoſe two ſtars did then cut the ecliptic in ♉ 6°. 44′ (¹): and by this reckoning

§ XXXI.

(¹) By my calculations in ♉. 6°. 50′. 20″.

The principles, upon which the calculation is founded, are theſe:

LET ♈*pc* be an arc of the ecliptic, ♈ being the equinoctial point at the end of the year of our Lord 1689.



Let the point P be the place of the firſt ſtar in Aries (γ of Bayer), and C the place of the laſt in the tail (τ of Bayer). Imagine a great circle of the ſphere drawn through P and C; and biſect the arc PC in H. Then is H the middle point between P and C, through which the equinoctial colure of the primitive ſphere paſſed. Therefore through H draw a great circle, HA, which may make an angle of 66°. 30′. with the ecliptic, the acute angle looking eaſtward. Then HA will be the equinoctial colure of the primitive ſphere, and A the equinoctial point of that ſphere.

To find the diſtance of A from ♈, the equinoctial point of the ſphere of 1690; find Π the pole of the ecliptic: and through P, C, and H, draw circles of latitude, ΠP, ΠC, ΠH, meeting the ecliptic in the points *p*, *c*, and *h*. And from P and H draw arcs of great circles, PB and HD, perpendicular to Π*Cc*. Now the arcs ♈*p*, ♈*c*, are given; being the given longitudes of the ſtars P and C, at the end of the year 1689. Therefore *pc*, the difference of theſe arcs is given, and the angle *p*Π*c*, which is meaſured by that given arc *pc*. But the arc ΠP is given, being the complement of the given latitude P*p*. Therefore in the right-angled ſpherical triangle, PBΠ, the hypotenuſe PΠ is given, and the angle PΠB. Therefore both the legs, PB, ΠB, will be given by trigonometry. But ΠB being given; ſince ΠC is alſo given, being the complement of the given latitude C*c*; their difference, BC, is given. Therefore in the right-angled ſpherical triangle, PBC, the two legs, PB and BC, are given. Therefore the hypotenuſe PC, and the angle PCB will be given by trigonometry. But PC being given, its half, HC, will be given. Therefore in the right-angled ſpherical triangle, HDC, the hypotenuſe CH being given with the angle HCD; the legs, HD, DC, will be given by trigonometry. But DC being given, ſince ΠC is alſo given, their difference, ΠD, is given. And in the right-angled ſpherical triangle, ΠDH, the two ſides, ΠD, DH, being given; the angle DΠH and the hypotenuſe ΠH will be given by trigonometry. But ΠH being given, its complement, H*h*, which is the latitude of the point H is given. And in the right-angled ſpherical triangle H*h*A, the ſide H*h* being given with the angle HA*h*; the ſide *h*A will be given by trigonometry. But the arc *hc* is given, being the meaſure of the given angle DΠH. Therefore the arc *c*A, the ſum of *ch* and *h*A, is given. But ♈*c* is given. Therefore ♈A is given. Q. E. I.

5 COM-

reckoning the equinox, in the end of the year 1689, was gone back 36°. 44′ (*). ſince the Argonautic expedition: ſuppoſing that the ſaid Colure paſſed through the middle of the conſtellation of Aries, according to the delineation of the ancients. The equinox goes back fifty ſeconds in one year, and one degree in ſeventy and two years; and by conſequence 36°. 44′. in 2645 years; which counted back from the end of the year of our Lord

COMPUTATION.

		°	′	″
Given	♈*p* =	28	51	00
	♈*c* =	49	03	42
	P*p* =	7	8	58
	cc =	2	34	5
Therefore	*pc* =	20	12	42
Therefore	Π*p* =	82	51	02
Therefore	Πc =	87	25	55

		°	′	″
Hence in the right-angled triangle ΠBP	Π*p* =	82	51	02
	PΠB =	20	12	42
Therefore the legs	PB =	20	2	52
	ΠB =	82	23	12
But	Πc =	87	25	55
Therefore	BC =	5	02	43

		°	′	″
Hence in the right-angled triangle PBC	PB =	20	2	52
	BC =	5	2	43
Therefore	PCB =	76	27	00
And	PC =	20	38	51
Therefore	HC = ½ PC =	10	19	25½

		°	′	″
Hence in the right-angled triangle HDC	HC =	10	19	25
And	HCD =	76	27	00
Therefore	HD =	10	1	59
And	CD =	2	26	37
But	ΠC =	87	25	55
Therefore	ΠD =	84	59	18

		°	′	″
Hence in the right-angled triangle ΠDH	ΠD =	84	59	18
And	HD =	10	1	59
Therefore	DΠH =	10	4	15 = *bc*
And	ΠH =	85	3	55
Therefore	H*b* =	4	56	5

		°	′	″
Hence in the right-angled triangle H*b*A	H*b* =	4	56	5
And	HA*b* =	66	30	00
Therefore	*b*A =	2	9	7
But	*cb* =	10	4	15
Therefore	*c*A =	12	13	22
But	♈*c* =	49	3	42
Therefore	♈A =	36	50	20

(*) 36°. 50′. 20″. by my reckoning.

 1689,

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1689, or beginning of the year 1690, will place the Argonautic expedition about 25 years after the death of Solomon (³). But it is not neceſſary that the middle of the conſtellation of Aries ſhould be exactly in the middle between the two ſtars called *prima Arietis* and *ultima caudæ*: and it may be better to fix the cardinal points by the ſtars, through which the Colures paſſed in the primitive ſphere, according to the deſcription of Eudoxus above recited. By the Colure of the equinoxes, I mean a great circle paſſing through the poles of the equator, and cutting the ecliptic in the equinoxes in an angle of 66½ degrees, the complement of the ſun's greateſt declination; and by the Colure of the ſolſtices I mean a great circle paſſing through the ſame poles, and cutting the ecliptic at right angles in the ſolſtices: and by the primitive ſphere, that which was in uſe before the motions of the equinoxes and ſolſtices were known: now the Colures paſſed through the following ſtars, according to Eudoxus.

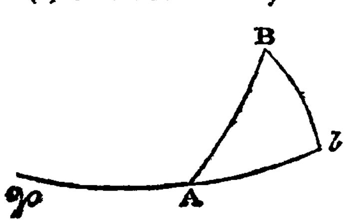
XXXII. In the back of Aries is a ſtar of the ſixth magnitude, marked ν by Bayer: in the end of the year 1689, and beginning of the year 1690, its longitude was ♉. 9°. 38′. 45″ (¹), and north latitude 6°. 7′. 56″: and the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* drawn

(³) The equinoctial points go back 36°. 50′. in 2642 years. From the end of the year of our Lord 1689, i. e. of the year of the Julian period 6402, count back 2642, and you come to the year of the Julian period 3760, the 22d from Solomon's death, according to Petavius.

§ XXXII.

(¹) Read ♉. 9°. 48′. 35″. See Flamſted's Cat. Brit.

(²) According to my calculations in ♉. 7°. 7′. 56″.



Let ♈ b be an arc of the ecliptic; ♈ being the place of the equinoctial point at the end of the year 1689. Let the point B be the place of ν of Aries. Draw the circle of latitude Bb, and BA the equinoctial colure of the primitive ſphere. Then in the right-angled ſpherical triangle BbA, Bb being the latitude of ν of Aries, is 6°. 7′. 56″. And the angle BAb is 66°. 30′. 00″. Hence I find the arc Ab = 2°. 40′. 39″.

But ♈ b = 39°. 48′. 35″. being the longitude of ν of Aries in the ſphere of 1690.

Therefore ♈ A = 37°. 07′. 56″.

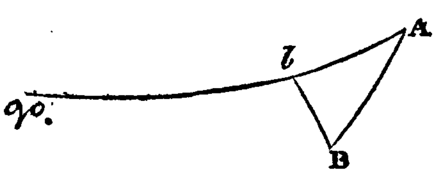
In a copy of the chronology which formerly belonged to my late dear and learned friend Matthew Raper, Eſq. F.R.S. for ♉. 6°. 58′. 57″. I find ♉. 7°. 7′. 55′. written in his hand in the margin.

(³) By my calculations ♉. 6°. 53′. 29″.

Theſe two ſtars are ſo near together, both in longitude and latitude; that the mean longitude and mean latitude may be ſafely aſſumed for the longitude and latitude of the middle point between the two.

Let,

drawn through it, according to Eudoxus, cuts the ecliptic in ♉. 6°. 58′. 57″ (2). In the head of Cetus are two ſtars of the fourth magnitude, called ν and ξ by Bayer: in the end of the year 1689 their longitudes were ♉. 4°. 3′. 9″. and ♉. 3°. 7′. 35″. and their ſouth latitudes 9°. 12′. 26″. and 5°. 53′. 7″: and the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* paſſing in the mid-way between them, cuts the ecliptic in ♉. 6°. 58′. 51″ (3). In the extreme flexure of Eridanus, rightly delineated, is a ſtar of the fourth magnitude, of late referred to the breaſt of Cetus, and called ϱ by Bayer (4); it is the only ſtar in Eridanus through which this Colure can paſs; its longitude, in the end of the year 1689, was ♈. 25°. 22′. 10″. and ſouth latitude 25°. 15′. 50″. and the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* paſſing through it, cuts the ecliptic in ♉. 7°. 12′. 40″ (5). In the head of Perſeus, rightly delineated, is a ſtar of the fourth magnitude, called τ by Bayer; the longitude of this ſtar, in the end of the year 1689, was ♉. 23°. 25′. 30″ (6), and north latitude 34°. 20′. 12″: and the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* paſſing through it, cuts the ecliptic in ♉. 6°. 18′. 57″ (7). In the right-hand of Perſeus, rightly delineated, is a ſtar GREEKS.



Let B therefore be that middle point, and Bb the circle of latitude paſſing through it, and meeting the ecliptic ♈b in b. Draw a great circle, BA, to make an angle with the ecliptic of 66°. 30′. the acute angle looking weſtward, becauſe the point B is to the ſouth of the ecliptic. Then BA will be the equinoctial colure of the primitive ſphere, and A the equinoctial point of that ſphere.

Now in the right-angled triangle BbA, Bb = 7°. 32′. 46″; being the latitude of B: and BAb = 66°. 30′. 00″.

		°	′	″
Hence I find	bA =	3	18	7
But	♈b =	33	35	22
Therefore	♈A =	36	53	29

Raper's copy has ♉. 6 53 42 written in his hand in the margin.

(4) This is the ϱ *Ceti, in quadrilatero pectoris præcedentis lateris borea*, of the Britannic Catalogue.

(5) In ♉. 7°. 12′. 38″, by my calculations.
Let B in the laſt figure repreſent the place of ϱ Ceti.

		°	′	″
Then	Bb =	25	15	50
and	BAb =	66	30	00
Hence I find	bA =	11	50	28
But	♈b =	25	22	10
Therefore	♈A =	37	12	38

(6) Read ♉. 23°. 35′. 30″. See Flamſted. Cat. Brit.

(7) In ♉. 6°. 18′. 48″.

Let

CHAPTER FIRST.

ſtar of the fourth magnitude, called η by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the year 1689 was ♉. 24°. 25′. 27″ (8), and north latitude 37°. 26′. 50″: and the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* paſſing through it cuts the ecliptic in ♉. 4°. 56′. 40″ (9): and the fifth part of the ſum of the places in which theſe five Colures cut the ecliptic, is ♉. 6°. 29′. 15″ (10): and therefore the great circle which in the primitive ſphere, according to Eudoxus, and by conſequence in the time of the Argonautic expedition, was the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* paſſing through the ſtars above-deſcribed; did, in the end of the year 1689, cut the ecliptic in ♉. 6°. 29′ 15″ (11): as nearly as we have been able to determine by the obſervations of the ancients, which were but coarſe.

XXXIII. In the middle of Cancer is the South Aſellus, a ſtar of the fourth magnitude, called by Bayer δ; its longitude in the end of the year 1689 was ♌. 4°. 23′. 40″. In the neck of Hydrus, rightly delineated, is a ſtar of the fourth magnitude, called δ by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the year 1689 was ♌. 5°. 59′. 3″. Between the poop and maſt of the ſhip Argo is a ſtar of the third magnitude, called ι by Bayer; its longitude in the end of that year was ♌. 7°. 5′. 31″. In Sagitta is a ſtar of the ſixth magnitude, called θ by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the ſame year 1689 was ♒. 6°. 29′. 53″. In the middle of Capricorn is a ſtar of the fifth magnitude, called η by Bayer; its longitude in the end of the ſame year was ♒. 8°. 25′. 55″: and the fifth part of the ſum of the three firſt longitudes, and

· Let B, in fig. note 2, repreſent the place of τ Perſei.

		°	′	″
Then	B*b* =	34	20	12
And	BA*b* =	66	30	00
Therefore	*b*A =	17	16	42
But	♈*b* =	53	35	30
Therefore	♈A =	36	18	48

.· Raper's copy has ♉. 6. 18 48 written in his own hand in the margin.

(8) This ſtar does not appear in the Britannic Catalogue: but in that of Hevelius its longitude, at the end of the year 1660, is put down ♉. 24°. 0′. 29″. Therefore at the end of the year 1689 its longitude muſt have been ♉. 24°. 24′. 29. In fig. note 2, let ● denote the place of this ſtar.

		°	′	″
Then	B*b* =	37	26	50
And	BA*b* =	66	30	00
Hence I find	BA =	19	27	06
But	♈*b* =	54	24	39
Therefore	♈A =	34	57	33

of

of the complements of the two laſt to 180 degrees (1); is ♌. 6°. 28′. 46″ (2). This is the new longitude of the old *Colurus Solſtitiorum* paſſing through theſe ſtars. The ſame Colurus paſſes alſo in the middle between the ſtars η and χ, of the fourth and fifth magnitudes, in the neck of the Swan; being diſtant from each about a degree: it paſſeth alſo by the ſtar κ, of the fourth magnitude, in the right wing of the Swan; and by the ſtar ο, of the fifth magnitude, in the left-hand of Cepheus, rightly delineated; and by the ſtars in the tail of the South-Fiſh; and is at right angles with the *Colurus Æquinoctiorum* found above: and ſo it hath all the characters of the *Colurus Solſtitiorum* rightly drawn. GREEKS.

XXXIV. The two colures therefore, which in the time of the Argonautic expedition cut the ecliptic in the cardinal points, did in the end of the year 1689 cut it in ♉. 6°. 29′; ♌. 6°. 29′; ♏. 6°. 29′; and ♒. 6°. 29′; that is, at the diſtance of 1 ſign, 6 degrees and 29 minutes from the cardinal points of Chiron; as nearly as we have been able to determine from the coarſe obſervations of the ancients: and therefore the cardinal points, in the time between that expedition and the end of the year 1689, have gone back from thoſe colures 1 ſign, 6 degrees and 29 minutes; which, after the rate of 72 years to a degree, anſwers to 2627 years. Count thoſe years backwards from the end of the year 1689, or beginning of the year 1690, and the reckoning will place the Argonautic expedition about 43 years after the death of Solomon (1).

XXXV.

(9) According to my calculations ♉. 4°. 57′. 33″. See the preceding note. Raper's copy has ♉. 4°. 58′. 22″. in his hand-writing in the margin. I imagine he took the longitude of the ſtar in 1689, as he found it ſtated by Sir Iſaac Newton.

(10) ♉. 6°. 30′. 05″. according to my calculations.

(11) ♉. 6°. 30′. 05″. See the preceding note. Raper's copy has ♉. 6°. 30′. 17″. in his hand-writing in the margin.

§ XXXIII.

(1) —— *and of the complements of the two laſt to* 180 *degrees*] read, *and of the two laſt increaſed by ſix ſigns.* RAPER. This emendation is neceſſary. HORSLEY.

(2) ♌. 6°. 28′. 48″.

§ XXXIV.

(1) About 37 years after Solomon's death, as placed by Petavius.

It

XXXV. And by the ſame method the place of any ſtar in the primitive ſphere may readily be found, counting backwards one ſign, 6°. 29′. from the longitude which it had in the end of the year of our Lord 1689. So the longitude of the firſt ſtar of Aries in the end of the year 1689 was ♈. 28°. 51′. as above: count backward 1 ſign, 6°. 29′. and its longitude, counted from the equinox in the middle of the conſtellation of Aries, in the time of the Argonautic expedition, will be ♓. 22°. 22′: and by the ſame way of arguing, the longitude of the *Lucida Pleiadum* in the time of the Argonautic expedition will be ♈. 19°. 26′. 8″. and the longitude of *Arcturus* ♍. 13°. 24′. 52″: and ſo of any other ſtars.

XXXVI. After the Argonautic expedition we hear no more of aſtronomy till the days of Thales: he [a] revived aſtronomy, and wrote a book of the tropics and equinoxes, and predicted eclipſes; and Pliny [b] tells us, that he determined the *Occaſus Matutinus* of the Pleiades to be upon the 25th day after the autumnal equinox ([1]): and thence [c] Petavius computes the longitude of the Pleiades

[a] Laert. in Thalete. Plin. l. 2. c. 12.
[b] Plin. l. 18. c. 25.
[c] Petav. Var. Diſſ. l. 1. c. 5.

It is to be obſerved, that in ſeeking the place of the equinoctial Colure of the primitive ſphere on the ſphere of 1690; the obliquity of the ecliptic on the primitive ſphere has been ſuppoſed to be juſt 23°. 30′. and the complement of the obliquity 66°. 30′: and computing from theſe elements, we have found reaſon to conclude, that the primitive ſphere of the Greeks was 2627 years older than the ſphere of 1690. But at that diſtance of time, before the commencement of the year of our Lord 1690; I find, by Mayer's tables, that the obliquity of the ecliptic was 23°. 48′. 54″. I aſſume therefore 23°. 48′. 30″. for the obliquity on the primitive ſphere; and repeating my calculations, I find theſe five places of the primitive equinox on the ſphere of 1690.

		°	′	″
The primitive equinoctial Colure being drawn through ν of Aries	♉	7	05	34
through the middle point between ν and ξ Ceti	♉	6	56	25
through ρ of Cetus	♉	7	23	16
through τ of Perſeus	♉	6	03	00
through η of Perſeus	♉	4	39	39

The mean place of theſe five is ♉. 6°. 25′. 23″. And if this be the place of the primitive equinoctial point on the ſphere of 1690; the place of the ſummer ſolſtice ſhould be ♌. 6°. 25′. 23″. But by the deſcription of the ſolſtitial Colure it ſhould be ♌. 6°. 28′. 46″. It may be reaſonable therefore to take ♉. 6°. 27′. and ♌. 6°. 27′. for the places of the primitive equinox and ſolſtice on the ſphere of 1690. By which reckoning theſe points will be leſs advanced by 2′. than Sir Iſaac Newton has ſuppoſed. But theſe 2′. will not make a difference of three years in the age of the primitive ſphere.

§ XXXVI.

([1]) *OCCASUM matutinum Vergiliarum Heſiodus (nam hujus quoque nomine extat Aſtrologia) tradidit fieri cùm æquinoctium Autumni conficeretur: Thales, 25°. die ab æquinoctio.* Plin. lib. 18. c. 25. I think it proper to bring forth the whole paſſage, to ſhew an objection that may be drawn from it. It may be ſaid, that Pliny's authority is juſt as good to prove, that Heſiod

Pleiades in ♈. 23°. 53′: and by conſequence the *Lucida Pleiadum* had, ſince the Argonautic expedition, moved from the equinox 4°. 26′. 52″: and this motion, after the rate of 72 years to a degree, anſwers to 320 years. Count theſe years back from the time in which Thales was a young man fit to apply himſelf to aſtronomical ſtudies, that is from about the 41ſt olympiad (²), and the reckoning will place the Argonautic expedition about 44 years after the death of Solomon, as above: and in the days of Thales, the ſolſtices and equinoxes, by this reckoning, will have been in the middle of the eleventh degrees of the ſigns. But Thales, in publiſhing his book about the tropics and equinoxes, might lean a little to the opinion of former aſtronomers, ſo as to place them in the twelfth degrees of the ſigns. Greeks.

XXXVII. Meton and Euctemon, [a] in order to publiſh the lunar cycle of nineteen years, obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice in the year of Nabonaſſar 316, the year before the Peloponneſian war began; and Columella [b] tells us, that they placed it in the eighth degree of Cancer, which is at leaſt ſeven degrees backwarder

[a] Petav. Doct. Temp. l. 4. c. 26.

[b] Columel. l. 9. c. 14. Plin. l. 18. c. 25 § 59. Harduin.

ſiod placed the morning-ſetting of the Pleiades on the very day of the equinox, as that Thales placed it 25 days later. And if it be true, that *Lucida Pleiadum* did really ſet at ſun-riſe on the day of the autumnal equinox, in the age of Heſiod; this will much more refute Sir Iſaac Newton's date of the Argonautic expedition, than the aſſumption, that the morning-ſetting of the ſame ſtar was 25 days later, in the age of Thales, confirms it. For that Heſiod was ſome time later than the Argonautic expedition, is agreed: we have his own teſtimony, that he lived after the war of Troy. The Argonautic expedition happened, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, in that age when the longitude of *Lucida Pleiadum* was in the 20th degree of the ſign of Aries. But when this ſtar ſet at ſun-riſe, on the day of the autumnal equinox, its longitude muſt have been rather behind the vernal equinox: as any aſtronomer, who will take the trouble to make the neceſſary calculations, may eaſily perceive. So that between the age of Heſiod, as thus defined by the morning-ſetting of *Lucida Pleiadum*, and that time which Sir Iſaac Newton aſſigns to the Argonautic expedition, the ſtars muſt have advanced more than 20 degrees in longitude: and a change of 20 degrees, at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years, requires 1440 years. Therefore Sir Iſaac Newton's date of the Argonautic expedition cannot be leſs than 1500 years too late.

To this ſpecious objection our author would probably have replied; that Pliny reports the ſeaſon of the morning-ſetting of this ſtar, in the age of Heſiod, from a book of aſtronomy, of which he ſays only, that it was extant *under the name* of Heſiod: and that this book could not be Heſiod's. For Heſiod ſpeaks of Arcturus as riſing at ſun-ſet ſixty days after the winter ſolſtice. And it is impoſſible that any ſtar of the Pleiades could ſet at ſun-riſe, on the day of the autumnal equinox, in the ſame age when Arcturus roſe at ſun-riſe 60 days after the winter ſolſtice: or that theſe two circumſtances of the ſphere ſhould be removed from each other by a leſs interval of time, than the ſpace of 1440 years. This book of aſtronomy, therefore, that was extant in Pliny's time under the name of Heſiod, our author might have reaſonably contended was certainly a ſuppoſititious work. And probably the performance of ſome petty retailer of ſcience in the decline of the Grecian learning. The extravagant antiquity it would give to the Greek aſtronomy, entirely deſtroys its credit.

(²) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. ſegm 37, 38.

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than at firſt. Now the equinox, after the rate of a degree in ſeventy and two years, goes backwards ſeven degrees in 504 years. Count backwards thoſe years from the 316th year of Nabonaſſar; and the Argonautic expedition will fall upon the 44th year after the death of Solomon, or thereabout, as above. And thus you ſee the truth of what we cited above out of Achilles Tatius, viz. that ſome anciently placed the ſolſtice in the eighth degree of Cancer, others about the twelfth degree, and others about the fifteenth degree thereof.

XXXVIII. Hipparchus, the great aſtronomer, comparing his own obſervations with thoſe of former aſtronomers, concluded firſt of any man, that the equinoxes had a motion backwards in reſpect of the fixed ſtars (1): and his opinion was, that they went backwards one degree in about an hundred years (2). He made his obſervations of the equinoxes between the years of Nabonaſſar 586 and 618 (3): the middle year is 602, which is 286 years after the aforeſaid obſervation of Meton and Euctemon; and in theſe years the equinox muſt have gone backwards four degrees, and ſo have been in the fourth degree of Aries in the days of Hipparchus, and by conſequence have then gone back eleven degrees ſince the Argonautic expedition; that is, in 1090 years, according to the chronology of the ancient Greeks then in uſe (4): and this is after the rate of about 99 years, or, in the next round number, an hundred years to a degree, as was then

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(1) Ptolemy, lib. 7. c. 1.

(2) FROM Hipparchus's words, preſerved by Ptolemy (Synt. lib. 7. c. 2.) it ſhould ſeem that his opinion was, that the cardinal points went back not leſs than a degree in a hundred years. But he did not affirm, that they might not recede faſter: which has turned out to be the truth.

(3) 586 and 621, according to Petavius. Doct. Temp. lib. 4. c. 26.

(4) See § III. note 13.

§ XXXIX.

(1) [illegible]. lin. 564.

(2) I cannot deduce this conſequence from the premiſes. When Arcturus roſe at ſun-ſet fixty days after the winter ſolſtice; I find the longitude of that ſtar muſt have been ♍. 13°. 28'. 38": which exceeds its longitude on the primitive ſphere, by no more than 1'. 46".

Again, taking the longitude and latitude of Arcturus, each ſuch as it was on the primitive ſphere; namely, the longitude ♍. 13°. 26'. 52". the latitude 30°. 52'. 18"; I find, that when the ſtar roſe at ſun ſet, the ſun's true place muſt have been ♓. 00°. 59'. And according to the ſituation of the Aphelion of the earth's orbit, which obtained in that age of the world, when the equinoxes were in ♉. 6'. 27". and ♏. 6'. 27". of the ſphere of 1690; the ſun was in this place

then ſtated by Hipparchus. But it really went back a degree in ſeventy and two years, and eleven degrees in 792 years. Count theſe 792 years backward from the year of Nabonaſſar 602, the year from which we counted the 286 years, and the reckoning will place the Argonautic expedition about 43 years after the death of Solomon. The Greeks have therefore made the Argonautic expedition about 300 years ancienter than the truth, and thereby given occaſion to the opinion of the great Hipparchus, that the equinox went backward after the rate of only a degree in an hundred years. GREEKS.

XXXIX.* Heſiod tells us, that ſixty days after the winter ſolſtice the ſtar Arcturus roſe juſt at ſun-ſet (1): and thence it follows, that Heſiod flouriſhed about an hundred years after the death of Solomon, or in the generation or age next after the Trojan war (2), as Heſiod himſelf declares (3).

XL. From all theſe circumſtances, grounded upon the coarſe obſervations of the ancient aſtronomers, we may reckon it certain, that the Argonautic expedition was not earlier than the reign of Solomon. And if theſe aſtronomical arguments be added to the former arguments taken from the mean length of the reigns of kings, according to the courſe of nature; from them all we may ſafely conclude, that the Argonautic expedition was after the death of Solomon: and moſt probably that it was about 43 years after it.

place ſixty days after the winter ſolſtice. So that the concluſion from this paſſage of Heſiod ſhould rather be, that he flouriſhed in that very age when the Greeks firſt formed their ſphere; that is, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, in the age of the Argonautic expedition.

I take the truth to be, that before the retrograde motion of the equinoctial points was diſcovered, all writers ſpeak of the riſings and ſettings of the ſtars, as they were ſtated by the aſtronomers who firſt formed the ſphere. This is probable of Heſiod in particular, if he lived ſo near the age of the Argonautic expedition, and the beginning of the Greek ſphere, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſuppoſes. No concluſion therefore is to be drawn, concerning the particular age of any writer, much older than Hipparchus, from what he may ſay of the phænomena of the ſphere; unleſs it be certain, that he was a practical aſtronomer, and lived at ſuch a diſtance of time from the beginning of the Greek aſtronomy, as might produce ſenſible changes in the ſeaſons of the riſings and ſettings of the ſtars. Such writers might, indeed, without any knowledge of the motion of the equinoxes, deſcribe the phænomena according to their own obſervations, and impute the difference, between what they ſaw and what their maſters had delivered, to the coarſeneſs of the firſt obſervations.

When I ſpeak of the appearances of the primitive ſphere, I mean the appearances in the latitude of 40 degrees north, at that time when the vernal equinox was in ♉ . 6°. 27'. on the ſphere of 1690.

(3) *Ἐργ.* lin. 164—175.

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XLI. The Trojan war was one generation later than that expedition, as was ſaid above, ſeveral captains of the Greeks in that war being ſons of the Argonauts: and the ancient Greeks reckoned Memnon or Amenophis, king of Egypt, to have reigned in the times of that war, feigning him to be the ſon of Tithonus, the eldeſt brother of Priam, and in the end of that war to have come from Suſa to the aſſiſtance of Priam (1). Amenophis was therefore of the ſame age with the elder children of Priam, and was with his army at Suſa in the laſt year of that war. And after he had there finiſhed the Memnonia; he might return into Egypt, and adorn it with buildings, and obeliſks, and ſtatues, and die there about 90 or 95 years after the death of Solomon; when he had determined and ſettled the beginning of the new Egyptian year of 365 days upon the vernal equinox, ſo as to deſerve the monument above-mentioned in memory thereof.

XLII. Rehoboam was born in the laſt year of king David, being 41 years old at the death of Solomon, 1 Kings xiv. 21 (1), and therefore his father Solomon was probably born in the 18th year of king David's reign, or before: and two or three years before his birth, David beſieged Rabbah, the metropolis of the Ammonites; and committed adultery with Bathſheba (2): and the year before this ſiege began, David vanquiſhed the Ammonites (3), and their confederates the Syrians of Zobah, and Rehob, and Iſhtob, and Maacah (4), and Damaſcus, and extended his dominion over all theſe nations as far as to the entering in of Hamath and the river Euphrates (5): and before this war began he ſmote Moab, and Ammon, and Edom (5); and made the Edomites fly, ſome of them into Egypt with their king Hadad, then a little child (6); and others to the Philiſtims, where they fortified Azoth againſt Iſrael; and others, I think, to the Perſian Gulph, and other places whither they could eſcape: and before this he had ſeveral battles with the Philiſtims: and all this was after the eighth year of his reign, in which he came from Hebron to Jeruſalem.

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(1) Pauſan. p. 875.

§ XLII.

(1) 1 Kings xiv. 21. and xi. 42. (2) 2 Sam. xi. (3) 2 Sam. xi. 1.

ruſalem. We cannot err therefore above two or three years, if we place this victory over Edom in the eleventh or twelfth year of his reign; and that over Ammon and the Syrians in the fourteenth. After the flight of Edom, the king of Edom grew up, and married Tahaphenes or Daphnis, the ſiſter of Pharaoh's queen (7), and before the death of David had by her a ſon called Genubah, and this ſon was brought up among the children of Pharaoh (8): and among theſe children was the chief or firſt-born of her mother's children, whom Solomon married in the beginning of his reign; and her little ſiſter who at that time had no breaſts; and her brother who then ſucked the breaſts of his mother, Cant. vi. 9. and viii. 1, 8: and of about the ſame age with theſe children was Seſac or Seſoſtris; for he became king of Egypt in the reign of Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 40; and before he began to reign he warred under his father; and whilſt he was very young conquered Arabia, Troglodytica, and Libya, and then invaded Ethiopia; and ſucceeding his father, reigned till the fifth year of Aſa: and therefore he was of about the ſame age with the children of Pharaoh above-mentioned; and might be one of them, and be born near the end of David's reign, and be about 46 years old when he came out of Egypt with a great army to invade the eaſt: and by reaſon of his great conqueſts, he was celebrated in ſeveral nations by ſeveral names. The Chaldæans called him Belus; which in their language ſignified the Lord: the Arabians called him Bacchus; which in their language ſignified the great: the Phrygians and Thracians called him Ma-fors, Ma-vors, Mars; which ſignified the valiant: and thence the Amazons, whom he carried from Thrace and left at Thermodon, called themſelves the daughters of Mars. The Egyptians before his reign called him their Hero or Hercules; and after his death, by reaſon of his great works done to the river Nile, dedicated that river to him, and deified him by its names *Sibor*, *Nilus*, and *Ægyptus*; and the Greeks hearing them lament O *Sibor*, *Bôu Sibor*, called him Oſiris and Buſiris. Ar-

(4) 2 Sam. x. (5) 2 Sam. viii. 1. 1 Chron. xviii.
(6) 1 Kings xi. 15—18.
(7) Read, *and married the ſiſter of Tahaphenes, or Daphnis, Pharaoh's queen.* 1 Kings xi. 19.
(8) 1 Kings xi. 20.

rian

rian [a] tells us, that the Arabians worſhipped only two gods, Cœlus and Dionyſus; and that they worſhipped Dionyſus for the glory of leading his army into India. The Dionyſus of the Arabians was Bacchus; and all agree that Bacchus was the ſame king of Egypt with Oſiris: and the Cœlus, or Uranus, or Jupiter Uranius of the Arabians, I take to be the ſame king of Egypt with his father Ammon, according to the poet:

[a] Arrian. L. 7.

Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.

I place the end of the reign of Seſac upon the fifth year of Aſa; becauſe in that year Aſa became free from the dominion of Egypt, ſo as to be able to fortify Judæa, and raiſe that great army with which he met Zerah, and routed him (9). Oſiris was therefore ſlain in the fifth year of Aſa by his brother Japetus, whom the Egyptians called Typhon, Python, and Neptune: and then the Lybians, under Japetus and his ſon Atlas, invaded Egypt, and raiſed that famous war between the gods and giants, from whence the Nile had the name of Eridanus: but Orus the ſon of Oſiris, by the aſſiſtance of the Ethiopians, prevailed, and reigned till the 15th year of Aſa: and then the Ethiopians under Zerah invaded Egypt, drowned Orus in Eridanus, and were routed by Aſa, ſo that Zerah could not recover himſelf. Zerah was ſucceeded by Amenophis, a youth of the royal family of the Ethiopians, and I think the ſon of Zerah: but the people of the lower Egypt revolted from him, and ſet up Oſarſiphus over them, and called to their aſſiſtance a great body of men from Phœnicia, I think a part of the army of Aſa; and thereupon Amenophis, with the remains of his father's army of Ethiopians, retired from the lower Egypt to Memphis, and there turned the river Nile into a new channel, under a new bridge which he built between two mountains; and at the ſame time he built and fortified that city againſt Oſarſiphus, calling it by his own

(9) In the days of Aſa the land was quiet ten years, 2 Chron. xiv. 1, 6. Theſe ten years of reſt Sir Iſaac Newton counts from the death of Seſac to Zerah's invaſion. Zerah's invaſion was in the fifteenth year of Aſa, 2 Chron. xv. 10, 11. Therefore the ten years of reſt, if they ended with this invaſion, began with the fifth of Aſa. And this, according to our author's aſſumptions, muſt

own name, Amenoph or Memphis: and then he retired into Ethiopia, and ſtayed there thirteen years; and then came back with a great army, and ſubdued the lower Egypt, expelling the people which had been called in from Phœnicia: and this I take to be the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds. Dr. Caſtel [a] tells us, that in Coptic this city is called Manphtha; whence by contraction came its names Moph, Noph.

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[a] In Moph.

XLIII. While Amenophis ſtaid in Ethiopia, Egypt was in its greateſt diſtraction: and then it was, as I conceive, that the Greeks, hearing thereof, contrived the Argonautic expedition, and ſent the flower of Greece in the ſhip Argo to perſuade the nations upon the ſea-coaſts of the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas to revolt from Egypt, and ſet up for themſelves, as the Libyans, Ethiopians, and Jews, had done before. And this is a further argument for placing that expedition about 43 years after the death of Solomon; this period being in the middle of the diſtraction of Egypt. Amenophis might return from Ethiopia, and conquer the lower Egypt about eight years after that expedition; and having ſettled his government over it, he might, for putting a ſtop to the revolting of the eaſtern nations, lead his army into Perſia; and leave Proteus at Memphis to govern Egypt in his abſence; and ſtay ſome time at Suſa, and build the Memnonia, fortifying that city, as the metropolis of his dominion in thoſe parts.

XLIV. Androgeus the ſon of Minos, upon his overcoming in the Athenæa, or quadrennial games at Athens in his youth, was perfidiouſly ſlain out of envy (1): and Minos thereupon made war upon the Athenians, and compelled them to ſend every eighth year to Crete ſeven beardleſs youths, and as many young virgins, to be given as a reward to him that ſhould get the victory in the like games inſtituted in Crete in honour of Androgeus (2). Theſe games ſeem to have been celebrated in the beginning of the Octaëteris, and the Athenæa in the beginning of the Tetraëteris,

muſt have been the year of Seſac's death.

§ XLIV.

(1) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § VII. Compare Diod. Sic. p. 183.
(2) Plutarch in Theſeo, Tom. I. p. 6.

then

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then brought into Crete and Greece by the Phœnicians: and upon the third payment of the tribute of children (3), that is, about ſeventeen years after the ſaid war was at an end, and about nineteen or twenty years after the death of Androgeus, Theſeus became victor, and returned from Crete with Ariadne the daughter of Minos; and coming to the iſland Naxus or Dia, [a] Ariadne was there relinquiſhed by him, and taken up by Glaucus, an Egyptian commander at ſea, and became the miſtreſs of the great Bacchus, who at that time returned from India in triumph (4); and [b] by him ſhe had two ſons, Phlyas and Eumedon, who were Argonauts (5). This Bacchus (6) was caught in bed in Phrygia with Venus the mother of Æneas, according [c] to Homer, juſt before he came over the Helleſpont, and invaded Thrace; and he married Ariadne the daughter of Minos, according to Heſiod [d]: and therefore by the teſtimony of both Homer and Heſiod, who wrote before the Greeks and Egyptians corrupted their antiquities, this Bacchus was one generation older than the Argonauts; and ſo being king of Egypt at the ſame time with Seſoſtris, they muſt be one and the ſame king. For they agree alſo in their actions: Bacchus invaded India and Greece; and after he was routed by the army of Perſeus, and the war was compoſed, the Greeks did him great honours, and built a temple to him at Argos, and called it the temple of the Creſian Bacchus, becauſe Ariadne was buried in it, as Pauſanias [e] relates. Ariadne therefore died in the end of the war, juſt before the return of Seſoſtris into Egypt; that is, in the 14th year of Rehoboam. She was taken from Naxus upon the return of Bacchus from India, and then became the miſtreſs of Bacchus, and accompanied him in his triumphs. And therefore the expedition of Theſeus to Crete, and the death of his father Ægeus, was about nine or ten years after the death of Solomon. Theſeus was then a beardleſs young man, ſuppoſe about 19 or 20 years old; and Androgeus was ſlain about twenty years before, being then about 20 or 22 years old; and his father Minos might be about 25 years older, and ſo be born about the middle of David's reign,

[a] Euanthes apud Athenæum, l. 67. p. 296.

[b] Hyginus Fab. 14.

[c] Homer. Odyſſ. l. 8. v. 292.

[d] Heſiod. Theogon. v. 947.

[e] Pauſan. l. 2. c. 23.

(3) Plutarch. in Theſeo. p. 6. (4) Diod. Sic. p. 183. (5) See § XIX. note 2.
(6) That is, if Bacchus and Mars were the ſame perſon, as our author ſuppoſes.

and

and be about 70 years old when he purſued Dædalus into Sicily: GREEKS.
and Europa and her brother Cadmus might come into Europe two or three years before the birth of Minos.

XLV. Juſtin, in his 18th book(¹), tells us: "*A rege Aſcaloniorum expugnati Sidonii navibus appulſi Tyron urbem ante annum ** Trojanæ cladis condiderunt.*" And Strabo,[a] that "Aradus was built by the men who fled from Zidon. Hence [b] Iſaiah calls Tyre "the daughter of Zidon, the inhabitants of the iſle whom the merchants of Zidon have repleniſhed." And [c] Solomon, in the beginning of his reign, calls the people of Tyre Zidonians: "My ſervants," faith he, in a meſſage to Hiram king of Tyre, "ſhall be with thy ſervants, and unto thee will I give "hire for thy ſervants according to all that thou deſireſt: for "thou knoweſt that there is not among us any that can ſkill to "hew timber like the Zidonians." The new inhabitants of Tyre had not yet loſt the name of Zidonians; nor had the old inhabitants, if there were any conſiderable number of them, gained the reputation of the new ones for ſkill in hewing of timber, as they would have done, had navigation been long in uſe at Tyre. The artificers who came from Zidon were not dead; and the flight of the Zidonians was in the reign of David; and by conſequence in the beginning of the reign of Abibalus the father of Hiram, and the firſt king of Tyre mentioned in hiſtory. David, in the twelfth year of his reign, conquered Edom, as above, and made ſome of the Edomites, and chiefly the merchants and ſeamen, fly from the Red Sea to the Philiſtims upon the Mediterranean, where they fortified Azoth. For [d] Stephanus tells us: "Ταυτην εκ]ισεν ἑις των επχνελθον]ων απ' Ερυθρας "θαλασσης φευγαδων: one of the fugitives from the Red Sea "built Azoth:" that is, a prince of Edom, who fled from David, fortified Azoth for the Philiſtims againſt him. The Philiſtims were now grown very ſtrong, by the acceſs of the Edomites and ſhepherds; and by their aſſiſtance invaded and took Zidon, that being a town very convenient for the merchants who fled from the Red Sea: and then did the Zidonians fly by ſea to Tyre

[a] Strabo, l. 16. p. 753. edit. Caſaub.

[b] Iſa. xxiii. 2. 12.

[c] 1 Kings, v. 6.

[d] Steph. in Αζωτος.

§ XLV.

(¹) C. 3.

and Aradus, and to other havens in Aſia Minor, Greece, and Libya, with which, by means of their trade, they had been acquainted before; the great wars and victories of David their enemy, prompting them to fly by ſea. For [a] they went with a great multitude, not to ſeek Europa as was pretended, but to ſeek new ſeats; and therefore fled from their enemies (²): and when ſome of them fled under Cadmus and his brothers to Cilicia, Aſia Minor, and Greece; others fled under other commanders to ſeek new ſeats in Libya, and there built many walled towns, as Nonnus [b] affirms: and their leader was alſo there called Cadmus, which word ſignifies an eaſtern man, and his wife was called Sithonis, a Zidonian. Many from thoſe cities went afterwards with the great Bacchus in his armies: and by theſe things, the taking of Zidon, and the flight of the Zidonians under Abibalus, Cadmus, Cilix, Thaſus, Membliarius, Alymnus, and other captains, to Tyre, Aradus, Cilicia, Rhodes, Caria, Bithynia, Phrygia, Calliſte, Thaſus, Samothrace, Crete, Greece, and Libya, and the building of Tyre and Thebes, and beginning of the reigns of Abibalus and Cadmus over thoſe cities, are fixed upon the fifteenth or ſixteenth year of David's reign, or thereabout. By means of theſe colonies of Phœnicians, the people of Caria learnt ſea-affairs, in ſuch ſmall veſſels with oars as were then in uſe; and began to frequent the Greek Seas, and people ſome of the iſlands therein, before the reign of Minos. For Cadmus, in coming to Greece, arrived firſt at Rhodes, an iſland upon the borders of Caria; and left there a colony of Phœnicians (³), who ſacrificed men to Saturn (⁴); and the Telchines being repulſed by Phoroneus, retired from Argos to Rhodes (⁵) with

[a] Conon. Narrat. 37.

[b] Nonnus Dionyſiac. l. 13. v. 333. & ſequ.

(²) THIS conſequence but ill agrees with Canon's narrative; he ſays, that the Phœnicians, at the time of Cadmus's expedition, were a great people: had ſubdued a great part of Aſia, and that the ſeat of their empire was at Thebes in Egypt: that Cadmus was a great man among them, and that the object of his expedition was to eſtabliſh a kingdom of his own.

(³) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 227.

(⁴) PORPHYRY ap. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 4. p. 92. R. Steph. Porphyry however does not aſſert, that this cuſtom was peculiar to the Phœnician colony ſettled in Rhodes by Cadmus; but ſimply, that it obtained in Rhodes. And our author muſt be underſtood to point at this practice, as an argument that Phœnicians, among whom it had prevailed from very ancient times, had ſettled in this iſland.

(⁵) Euſeb. in Chron. Oroſius. lib. 1. c. 7. The Telchines, according to Diodorus Siculus (lib.

with Phorbas [6], who purged the iſland from ſerpents [7]; and Triopas, the ſon of Phorbas, carried a colony from Rhodes to Caria, and there poſſeſſed himſelf of a promontory, thence called Triopium [8]: and by this and ſuch like colonies Caria was furniſhed with ſhipping and ſeamen, and called [a] Phœnice. Strabo and Herodotus [b] tell us, that the Cares were called Leleges, and became ſubject to Minos; and lived firſt in the iſlands of the Greek Seas, and went thence into Caria, a country poſſeſſed before by ſome of the Leleges and Pelaſgi: whence it is probable, that when Lelex and Pelaſgus came firſt into Greece to ſeek new ſeats, they left part of their colonies in Caria and the neighbouring iſlands.

[a] Athen. l. 4. c. 23.
[b] Strabo. l. 14. p. 661. Herod. l. 1. c. 171.

XLVI. The Zidonians being ſtill poſſeſſed of the trade of the Mediterranean, as far weſtward as Greece and Libya, and the trade of the Red Sea being richer; the Tyrians traded on the Red Sea in conjunction with Solomon and the kings of Judah [1], till after the Trojan war; and ſo alſo did the merchants of Aradus, Arvad, or Arpad. For in the Perſian Gulph [c] were two iſlands called Tyre and Aradus, which had temples like the Phœnician [2]; and therefore the Tyrians and Aradians ſailed thither, and beyond, to the coaſts of India, while the Zidonians frequented the Mediterranean: and hence it is that Homer celebrates Zidon, and makes no mention of Tyre. But at length, [d] in the reign of Jehoram king of Judah, Edom revolted from the dominion of Judah, and made themſelves a king; and the trade of Judah and Tyre upon the Red Sea being thereby interrupted, the Tyrians built ſhips for merchandiſe upon the Mediterranean, and began there to make long voyages to places not yet frequented by the Zidonians; ſome of them going to the coaſts of Afric

[c] Strabo, l. 16. p. 766.
[d] 2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10. & 2 Kings viii. 20, 22.

(lib. 5. c. 55. p. 226) were the original inhabitants of Rhodes. According to Strabo (p. 654) they were originally Cretans, and removed from Crete firſt into Cyprus, and thence into Rhodes.

(6) According to Euſebius (in Chron.) Phorbas took poſſeſſion of Rhodes more than 200 years after the Telchines. According to Diodorus (lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228) this Phorbas was no Argive, but a Theſſalian.

(7) Diod. Sic. lib 5. c. 58. p 228.

(8) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 227. But Diodorus makes this Triopas one of the reputed Heliadæ.

§ XLVI.

(1) 1 Kings ix. 26—28.

(2) See more about theſe iſlands in Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 45.

beyond

beyond the Syrtes, and building Adrymetum, Carthage, Leptis, Utica, and Capſa (3); and others going to the coaſts of Spain, and building Carteia, Gades, and Tarteſſus (4); and others going further to the Fortunate Iſlands, and to Britain and Thule (5). Jehoram reigned eight years; and the two laſt years was ſick in his bowels (6); and before that ſickneſs Edom revolted (7), becauſe of Jehoram's wicked reign. If we place that revolt about the middle of the firſt ſix years, it will fall upon the fifth year of Pygmalion king of Tyre (8); and ſo was about twelve or fifteen years after the taking of Troy: and then, by reaſon of this revolt, the Tyrians retired from the Red Sea, and began long voyages upon the Mediterranean; for in the ſeventh year of Pygmalion, his ſiſter Dido ſailed to the coaſt of Afric beyond the Syrtes, and there built Carthage. This retiring of the Tyrians from the Red Sea to make long voyages on the Mediterranean, together with the flight of the Edomites from David to the Philiſtims, gave occaſion to the tradition both of the ancient Perſians, and of the Phœnicians themſelves, that the Phœnicians came originally from the Red Sea to the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and preſently undertook long voyages, as Herodotus [a] relates. For Herodotus, in the beginning of his firſt book, relates, that the Phœnicians coming from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and beginning to make long voyages with Egyptian and Aſſyrian wares, among other places came to Argos; and having ſold their wares, ſeized and carried away into Egypt ſome of the Grecian women who came to buy them; and amongſt thoſe women was Io the daughter of Inachus. The Phœnicians therefore came from the Red Sea, in the days of Io and her brother Phoroneus king of Argos; and by conſequence, at that time when David conquered the Edomites, and made them fly every way from the Red Sea; ſome into Egypt with their young king, and others to the

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 1. initio, & l. 7. circa medium, c. 89.

(3) Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 24.
(4) ——— lib. 1. c. 34.
(5) ——— lib. 1. c. 39 and 40.
(6) 2 Chron. xxi. 5 and 19.
(7) 2 Chron. xxi. 8 and 18.
(8) The ſeventh of Pygmalion was the 143d from the building of Solomon's Temple. See § XVII. note 7. The 3d of Jehoram was the 119th from the building of the Temple: conſequently, not the 5th of Pygmalion's reign, but the 18th or 19th before the beginning of his reign; and therefore either the twelfth or fifteenth after the taking of Troy, according as a generation

the Philiſtims, their next neighbours and the enemies of David. GREEKS.
And this flight gave occaſion to the Philiſtims to call many places Erythra, in memory of their being Erythreans or Edomites, and of their coming from the Erythrean Sea; for Erythra was the name of a city in Ionia; of another in Libya; of another in Locris; of another in Bœotia; of another in Cyprus; of another in Ætolia; of another in Aſia near Chius; and Erythia Acra was a promontory in Libya; and Erythræum a promontory in Crete; and Erythros a place near Tybur; and Erythini a city or country in Paphlagonia: and the name Erythea or Erythræ was given to the Iſland Gades, peopled by Phœnicians. So Solinus, "[a] *In capite Bæticæ inſula à continenti ſeptingentis paſſibus memo-* [a] Solin, c. 23. edit. Salm.
"*ratur, quam Tyrii, à rubro mari profecti Erythcam, Pœni ſuâ lin-*
"*guâ Gadir, id eſt ſepem, nominârunt.*" And Pliny, [b] concerning [b] Plin. l. 4. c. 22.
a little iſland near it; "*Erythia dicta eſt, quoniam Tyrii, Aborigines*
"*eorum, orti ab Erythræo mari ferebantur.*" Among the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus into Greece, there were [c] Arabians, and [d] Erythreans, or inhabitants of the Red Sea, that is Edomites: and in Thrace there ſettled a people who were circumciſed, and called Odomantes; that is, as ſome think, Edomites. [c] Strabo, l. 9. p. 401. & l. 10. p. 447. [d] Herod. l. 5. c. 5*.
Edom, Erythra and Phœnicia, are names of the ſame ſignification, the words denoting a red colour: which makes it probable, that the Erythreans who fled from David ſettled in great numbers in Phœnicia; that is, in all the ſea-coaſts of Syria from Egypt to Zidon; and by calling themſelves Phœnicians in the language of Syria, inſtead of Erythreans, gave the name of Phœnicia to all that ſea-coaſt, and to that only. So Strabo:
"[e] Οἱ μεν γαρ και τους Φοινικας, και τους Σιδονιους τους καθ' ἡμας, αποικους [e] Strab, l. 1. p. 42.
"ειναι των εν τῳ Ωκεανῳ φασι, προστιθεντες και δια τι Φοινικες εκαλουντο,
"ὁτι και ἡ θαλαττα ερυθρα. *Alii referunt Phœnices & Sidonios noſ-*
"*tros, eſſe colonos eorum qui ſunt in Oceano, addentes illos ideo vo-*
"*cari Phœnices [puniceos] quòd mare rubrum ſit.*"

neration ſhall be reckoned either at 30 or 33 years. For the [illegible]king [illegible] Troy was in the generation before Pygmalion, according to our author's ſyſtem. See § XV[illegible] and note 7. [illegible] that ſection.

* Strabo (p. 401) ſpeaks of Arabians who paſſed over with C[illegible] [illegible] where of Erythræans, unleſs they be included in the general name of Phœ[illegible]: [illegible] the very thing in queſtion. Sir Iſaac Newton ſeems to have imagined, that [illegible] from Erythræans ſettled there by Cadmus: for without th[illegible] ſuppoſi[illegible], the [illegible] to which he refers, in Herodotus and Strabo, are nothing to his [illegible].

CHAPTER FIRST.

XLVII. Strabo [a], mentioning the firſt men who left the ſea-coaſts and ventured out into the deep and undertook long voyages, names Bacchus, Hercules, Jaſon, Ulyſſes, and Menelaus: and ſaith, that the dominion of Minos over the ſea was celebrated, and the navigation of the Phœnicians, who went beyond the pillars of Hercules and built cities there and in the middle of the ſea-coaſts of Afric, preſently after the war of Troy. Theſe Phœnicians [b] were the Tyrians, who at that time built Carthage in Afric, and Carteia in Spain, and Gades in the iſland of that name without the Straights; and gave the name of Hercules to their chief leader, becauſe of his labours and ſucceſs; and that of Heraclea to the City Carteia which he built. So Strabo: " [c] Εκπλεουσιν ουν, εκ της ἡμετερας θαλαττης εις την εξω, δεξιον εστι τουτο· " *και προς αυτο* Καλπη [Καρτηια] *πολις εν τετταρακοντα σταδιοις, αξιολογος* " *και παλαια, ναυσταθμον ποτε γενομενη των* Ιβηρων· *ενιοι δε και* Ηρακλε-" *ους κτισμα λεγουσιν αυτην, ὧν εστι και* Τιμοσθενης· *ὅς φησι και* Ηρακλεια " *ονομαζεσθαι το παλαιον· δεικνυσθαι τε μεγαν περιβολον, και νεωσοικους.* " *Mons Calpe ad dextram eſt è noſtro mari foras navigantibus; &* " *ad quadraginta inde ſtadia urbs Carteia, vetuſta ac memorabilis,* " *olim ſtatio navibus Hiſpanorum. Hanc ab Hercule quidam con-* " *ditam aiunt; inter quos eſt Timoſthenes, qui eam antiquitus He-* " *racleam fuiſſe appellatam refert, oſtendique adhuc magnum mu-* " *rorum circuitum & navalia.*" This Hercules, in memory of his building and reigning over the city Carteia, they called alſo Melcartus; the king of Carteia. Bochart [d] writes, that Carteia was at firſt called Melcarteia, from its founder Melcartus, and by an aphæreſis, Carteia; and that Melcartus ſignifies Melec Kartha, the king of the city; that is, ſaith he, of the city Tyre: but conſidering that no ancient author tells us, that Carteia was ever called Melcarteia, or that Melcartus was king of Tyre; I had rather ſay that Melcartus, or Meleccartus, had his name from being the founder and governor, or prince, of the city Carteia. Under Melcartus the Tyrians ſailed as far as Tarteſſus, or Tarſhiſh, a place in the weſtern part of Spain, between the two mouths of the river Bœtis; and there they [e] met with much ſilver, which they purchaſed for trifles: they ſailed alſo as far as Britain before the death of Melcartus; for [f] Pliny tells us,

" *Plumbum*

[a] Strabo, l. 1. p. 48.

[b] Bochart. Canaan. l. 1. c. 34.

[c] Strabo, l. 3. p. 140. Vid. Phil. Tranſact. N° 359.

[d] Canaan. l. 1. c. 34. p. 682.

[e] Ariſtot. de Mirab. p. 1165. edit. Paris.

[f] Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

“ *Plumbum ex Caſſiteride inſulâ primus apportavit Midacritus* :” and Bochart [a] obſerves, that Midacritus is a Greek name corruptly written for Melcartus; Britain being unknown to the Greeks long after it was diſcovered by the Phœnicians. After the death of Melcartus, they built [b] a temple to him in the iſland Gades; and adorned it with the ſculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his Hydra, and the horſes to whom he threw Diomedes, king of the Biſtones in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden Belt of Teucer, and the golden Olive of Pygmalion bearing Smaragdine fruit: and by theſe conſecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion, you may know that it was built in their days. Pomponius derives it from the times of the Trojan war (¹). For Teucer, ſeven years after that war, according to the marbles, arrived at Cyprus, being baniſhed from home by his father Telamon, and there built Salamis: and he and his poſterity reigned there (²) till Evagoras, the laſt of them, was conquered by the Perſians, in the twelfth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Certainly this Tyrian Hercules could be no older than the Trojan war; becauſe the Tyrians did not begin to navigate the Mediterranean till after that war. For Homer and Heſiod knew nothing of this navigation; and the Tyrian Hercules went to the coaſts of Spain, and was buried in Gades. So Arnobius [c]; “ *Tyrius Hercules ſepultus in finibus Hiſpaniæ* :” and Mela, ſpeaking of the Temple of Hercules in Gades, ſaith, “ *Cur ſanctum ſit, oſſa ejus ibi ſepulta efficiunt.*” Carthage [d] paid tenths to this Hercules, and ſent their payments yearly to Tyre: and thence it is probable, that this Hercules went to the coaſt of Afric, as well as to that of Spain, and by his diſcoveries prepared the way to Dido: Oroſius [e] ond others tell us, that he built Capſa there. Joſephus (³) tells of an earlier Hercules, to whom Hiram built a temple at Tyre: and perhaps there might be alſo an earlier Hercules of Tyre, who ſet on foot their trade on the Red Sea in the days of David or Solomon.

[a] Canaan. l. 1. c. 39.
[b] Philoſtratus in vitâ Apollonii, l. 5. c. 5.
[c] Arnob. l. 1.
[d] Bochart. in Canaan. l. 1. c. 24.
[e] Oroſ. l. 5. c. 15. Florus, l. 3. c. 1. Salluſt. in Jugurtha.

XLVIII. Tatian, in his book againſt the Greeks, relates, that amongſt the Phœnicians flouriſhed three ancient hiſtorians,

§ XLVII.

(¹) Lib. 3. c. 6. (²) Diod. Sic. lib. 15. c. 9. p. 462. (³) Contr. Ap. lib. 1. c 18.

Chapter First.

"Theodotus, Hyſicrates and Mochus: who all of them delivered "in their hiſtories, tranſlated into Greek by Lætus, under "which of the kings happened the rapture of Europa; the "voyage of Menelaus into Phœnicia; and the league and friend-"ſhip between Solomon and Hiram, when Hiram gave his "daughter to Solomon, and furniſhed him with timber for build-"ing the temple: and that the ſame is affirmed by Menander of "Pergamus." Joſephus [a] lets us know, that the annals of the Tyrians, from the days of Abibalus and Hiram, kings of Tyre, were extant in his days; and that Menander of Pergamus ([1]) tranſlated them into Greek; and that Hiram's friendſhip to Solomon, and aſſiſtance in building the temple, was mentioned in them; and that the temple was founded in the eleventh year of Hiram ([2]): and by the teſtimony of Menander and the ancient Phœnician hiſtorians, the rapture of Europa, and by conſequence the coming of her brother Cadmus into Greece, happened within the time of the reigns of the kings of Tyre delivered in theſe hiſtories; and therefore not before the reign of Abibalus, the firſt of them, nor before the reign of king David his contemporary. The voyage of Menelaus might be after the deſtruction of Troy. Solomon therefore reigned in the times between the raptures of Europa and Helena; and Europa and her brother Cadmus flouriſhed in the days of David. Minos, the ſon of Europa ([3]), flouriſhed in the reign of Solomon, and part of the reign of Rehoboam ([4]): and the children of Minos, namely, Androgeus his eldeſt ſon, Deucalion his youngeſt ſon ([5]) and one of the Argonauts ([6]), Ariadne the miſtreſs of Theſeus and Bacchus, and Phædra the wife of Theſeus; flouriſhed in the latter end of Solomon, and in the reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah and Aſa: and Idomeneus the grandſon of Minos ([5]), was at the war of Troy: and Hiram ſucceeded his father Abibalus, in the three and

[a] Antiq. l. 8. c. 2, 5. & l. 9. c. 14.

§ XLVIII.

([1]) Of Epheſus. Contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.
([2]) In the 12th year of Hiram. Contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 18.
([3]) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 1. § I.
([4]) Vide § XLIV.
([5]) Homer. Od. T. 178.
([6]) Hyginus. Fab. 14.

([7]) Hiram ſeems to have been reigning at Tyre, when David took Jeruſalem from the Jebuſites, or very ſoon after. See 2 Sam. v. 11, and 1 Chron. xiv. 1, and Joſeph. lib. 7. c. 3. § II.

It

and twentieth year of David (7): and Abibalus might found the kingdom of Tyre about ſixteen or eighteen years before, when Zidon was taken by the Philiſtims; and the Zidonians fled from thence, under the conduct of Cadmus and other commanders, to ſeek new ſeats. Thus by the annals of Tyre, and the ancient Phœnician hiſtorians who followed them, Abibalus, Alymnus, Cadmus, and Europa, fled from Zidon about the ſixteenth year of David's reign: and the Argonautic expedition being later by about three generations, will be about three hundred years later than where the Greeks have placed it. GREEKS.

XLIX. After navigation in long ſhips with ſails, and one order of oars, had been propagated from Egypt to Phœnicia and Greece, and thereby the Zidonians had extended their trade to Greece, and carried it on about an hundred and fifty years; and then the Tyrians being driven from the Red Sea by the Edomites, had begun a new trade on the Mediterranean with Spain, Afric, Britain, and other remote nations; they carried it on about an hundred and ſixty years; and then the Corinthians began to improve navigation, by building bigger ſhips with three orders of oars, called Triremes. For [a] Thucydides tells us, that the Corinthians were the firſt of the Greeks who built ſuch ſhips, and that a ſhip-carpenter of Corinth went thence to Samos, about 300 years before the end of the Peloponneſian war, and built alſo four ſhips for the Samians; and that 260 years before the end of that war, that is, about the 29th olympiad, there was a fight at ſea between the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, which was the oldeſt ſea-fight mentioned in hiſtory. Thucydides tells us further, that the firſt colony which the Greeks ſent into Sicily came from Chalcis in Eubœa, under the conduct of Thucles, and built Naxus (1); and the next year Archias came from Corinth with a colony, and built Syracuſe (1); and that Lamis

[a] Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13.

It is difficult to reconcile with this what Joſephus affirms, that the Temple was built in the 12th of Hiram. The Temple was begun in the 4th, and finiſhed in the 11th year of Solomon, 1 Kings vi. 1, and 37, 38. Go back eleven years from the earlieſt of theſe two dates; you will get no higher than the 32d of David.

§ XLIX.

(1) Thucydid. lib. 6. c. 3.

CHAPTER FIRST.

came about the ſame time into Sicily, with a colony from Megara and Achaia, and lived firſt at Trotilum, and then at Leontini, and died at Thapſus near Syracuſe; and that after his death this colony was invited by Hyblo to Megara in Sicily, and lived there 245 years, and was then expelled by Gelo king of Sicily ([2]). Now Gelo flouriſhed about 78 years before the end of the Peloponneſian war ([3]): count backwards the 78 and the 245 years, and about 12 years more for the reign of Lamis in Sicily, and the reckoning will place the building of Syracuſe about 335 years before the end of the Peloponneſian war, or in the tenth olympiad; and about that time Euſebius and others place it: but it might be twenty or thirty years later, the antiquities of thoſe days having been raiſed more or leſs by the Greeks. From the colonies henceforward ſent into Italy and Sicily came the name of *Græcia magna.*

L. Thucydides tells us further, that the Greeks began to come into Sicily almoſt 300 years after the Siculi had invaded that iſland with an army out of Italy ([1]): ſuppoſe it 280 years after, and the building of Syracuſe 310 years before the end of the Peloponneſian war; and that invaſion of Sicily by the Siculi will be 590 years before the end of that war, that is, in the 27th ([2]) year of Solomon's reign, or thereabout. Hellanicus [a] tells us, that it was in the third generation before the Trojan war; and in the 26th year of the prieſthood of Alcinoe, prieſteſs of Juno Argiva: and Philiſtius of Syracuſe, that it was 80 years before the Trojan war ([3]). Whence it follows, that the Trojan war and Argonautic expedition were later than the days of Solomon and Rehoboam, and could not be much earlier than where we have placed them.

[a] Apud Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 22. p. 18.

LI.

([2]) Thucyd. l. 6. c. 4.

([3]) For it is certain, that Gelo was reigning at Syracuſe at the time of Xerxes's invaſion of Greece. Herodot. lib. 7. c. 153—157. Pauſanias, lib. 8. c. 42.

§ L.

([1]) Thucydid. lib. 6. c. 2.

([2]) The 21ſt, if the death of Solomon be rightly placed by Petavius in the year of the Julian period 3739.

([3]) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis ſays, that Thucydides makes the ſettlement of the Siculi in Sicily many years later than the Trojan war. But Thucydides gives no ſuch opinion, otherwiſe than

LI. The kingdom of Macedon [a] was founded by Caranus and Perdiccas, who being of the race of Temenus king of Argos, fled from Argos in the reign of Phidon the brother of Caranus (1). Temenus was one of the three brothers who led the Heracles into Peloponneſus, and ſhared the conqueſt among themſelves: he obtained Argos; and after him, and his ſon Ciſus, the kingdom of Argos became divided among the poſterity of Temenus (2), until Phidon reunited it (3), expelling his kindred. Phidon grew potent, appointing weights and meaſures in Peloponneſus, and coined ſilver money (3); and removing the Piſæans and Eleans, preſided in the olympic games (3); but was ſoon after ſubdued by the Eleans and Spartans (3). Herodotus [b] reckons that Perdiccas was the firſt king of Macedon; later writers, as Livy (4), Pauſanias, and Suidas, make Caranus the firſt king: Juſtin calls Perdiccas the ſucceſſor of Caranus (5); and Solinus ſaith that Perdiccas ſucceeded Caranus; and was the firſt that obtained the name of king. It is probable that Caranus and Perdiccas were contemporaries (6), and fled about the ſame time from Phidon, and at firſt erected ſmall principalities in Macedonia, which, after the death of Caranus, became one under Perdiccas. Herodotus [c] tells us, that after Perdiccas reigned Aræus, or Argæus, Philip, Æropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, and Alexander, ſucceſſively. Alexander was contemporary to Xerxes king of Perſia, and died an. 4. olymp. 79 (7), and was ſucceeded by Perdiccas (7), and he by his ſon Archelaus (7): and Thucydides [d] tells us, that there were eight kings of Macedon before this Archelaus: now by reckoning above forty years a-piece to theſe kings, chronologers have made Phidon (8) and Caranus older

GREEKS.
[a] Herod. l. 8. c. 137.
[b] Herod. l. 8. c. 137.
[c] Herod. l. 8. c. 139.
[d] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 100.

than as it may ſeem to be implied, in his ſpeaking of the ſettlement of the Elymi, fugitives from Troy, before he mentions that of the Siculi: and, as Dionyſius would imagine, in his making this ſettlement only 300 years older than the firſt ſettlement of Greeks in Sicily; which, according to the old chronology, was above 400 years after the Trojan war. See Thucydid. lib. 6. c. 2.

§ LI.

(1) Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 45. (2) Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 19 and 26.
(3) Ephorus apud Strabonem, lib. 8. p. 358. (4) Lib. 45. c. 9. (5) Lib. 7. c. 2.
(6) Euſebius (in Chron) makes Perdiccas the fourth in ſucceſſion from Caranus, and aſſigns long reigns to the preceding princes.
(7) Euſebius in Chron.
(8) Euſebius indeed makes Phidon, the inventor of weights and meaſures, older than the olympiads;

older than the olympiads; whereas if we ſhould reckon their reigns at about 18 or 20 years a-piece one with another, the firſt ſeven reigns counted backwards from the death of this Alexander, will place the dominion of Phidon, and the beginning of the kingdom of Macedon under Perdiccas and Caranus, upon the 46th or 47th olympiad, or thereabout. It could ſcarce be earlier, becauſe Leocedes the ſon of Phidon, and Megacles the ſon of Alcmæon, at one and the ſame time courted Agariſta, the daughter of Cliſthenes king of Sicyon, as Herodotus [a] tells us; and the Amphictyons, by the advice of Solon, made Alcmæon (9), and Cliſthenes (10), and Eurolycus king of Theſſaly, commanders of their army, in their war againſt Cirrha; and the Cirrheans were conquered an. 2. olymp. 47. according to the marbles. Phidon therefore and his brother Caranus were contemporary to Solon, Alcmæon, Cliſthenes, and Eurolycus, and flouriſhed about the 48th and 49th olympiads. They were alſo contemporary in their later days to Crœſus; for Solon converſed with Crœſus, and Alcmæon entertained and conducted the meſſengers whom Crœſus ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi (11), an. 1. olymp. 56. according to the marbles, and was ſent for by Crœſus, and rewarded with much riches.

[a] Herod. l. 6. c. 127.

LII. But the times ſet down in the marbles before the Perſian empire began, being collected by reckoning the reigns of kings equipollent to generations, and three generations to an hundred years or above; and the reigns of kings, one with another, being ſhorter in the proportion of about four to ſeven; the chronology ſet down in the marbles, until the conqueſt of Media by Cyrus, an. 4. olymp. 60. will approach the truth much nearer, by ſhortening the times before that conqueſt in the proportion of four to ſeven. So the Cirrheans were conquered an. 2. olymp.

olympiads: but this was not the opinion of Ephorus and Herodotus, who make this Phidon the ſame with him who uſurped the management of the Olympic Games. Strabo, p. 358. Herodot. lib. 6. c. 127.

(9) Plutarch in Solone. Tom. I. p. 84. (10) Pauſanias, lib. 10. c. 37.

(11) Herodot. lib. 6. c. 125.

§ LIII.

(1) I know not what authority there is for this Tripod. The wild olive-crown was firſt uſed in

olymp. 47. according to the marbles, that is 54 years before the conqueſt of Media; and theſe years being ſhortened in the proportion of four to ſeven, become 31 years; which ſubducted from an. 4. olymp. 60. place the conqueſt of Cirrha upon an. 1. olymp. 53: and, by the like correction of the marbles, Alcmæon entertained and conducted the meſſengers whom Crœſus ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi, an. 1. olymp. 58; that is, four years before the conqueſt of Sardes by Cyrus: and the tyranny of Piſiſtratus, which by the marbles began at Athens, an. 4. olymp. 54. by the like correction began an. 3. olymp. 57; and by conſequence Solon died an. 4. olymp. 57. This method may be uſed alone, where other arguments are wanting; but where they are not wanting, the beſt arguments are to be preferred. GREEKS.

LIII. Iphitus [a] preſided both in the temple of Jupiter Olympus, and in the olympic games, and ſo did his ſucceſſors till the 26th olympiad; and ſo long the victors were rewarded with a Tripos (¹): but then the Piſæans getting above the Eleans, began to preſide, and rewarded the victors with a crown, and inſtituted the Cornea to Apollo (²); and continued to preſide till Phidon interrupted them, that is, till about the time of the 49th olympiad: for [b] in the 48th olympiad the Eleans entered the country of the Piſæans, ſuſpecting their deſigns, but were prevailed upon to return home quietly; afterwards the Piſæans confederated with ſeveral other Greek nations, and made war upon the Eleans, and in the end were beaten: in this war I conceive it was that Phidon preſided, ſuppoſe in the 49th olympiad; for [c] in the 50th olympiad, for putting an end to the contentions between the kings about preſiding, two men were choſen by lot out of the city Elis to preſide, and their number in the 65th olympiad was increaſed to nine, and afterwards to ten; and

[a] Strabo, l. 8. p. 355.

[b] Pauſan. l. 6. c. 22.

[c] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 9.

in the 7th olympiad by the injunction of the Delphic oracle, if the authority of Phlegon Trallianus may be relied on. Mr. Weſt imagines that the prize before this was a lamb. (See his Diſſertation on the Olympic Games, § XVI.) From the third olympic ode of Pindar it ſhould ſeem, that the wild olive-crown was one of the original inſtitutions of Hercules. And this is confirmed by Pauſanias, lib. 5 c. 7.

(²) The Carnea was a Spartan feſtival inſtituted in the 26th olympiad. Vide Meurſii Grec. Feriat.

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theſe judges were called Hellenodicæ, judges for or in the name of Greece (3). Pauſanias tells us, that the Eleans called in Phidon and together with him celebrated the 8th olympiad (4); he ſhould have ſaid the 49th olympiad: but Herodotus tells us, that Phidon removed the Eleans (5); and both might be true: the Eleans might call in Phidon againſt the Piſæans, and upon overcoming be refuſed preſiding in the olympic games by Phidon, and confederate with the Spartans, and by their aſſiſtance overthrow the kingdom of Phidon, and recover their ancient right of preſiding in the games.

[a] Strabo, l. 8. p. 358.

LIV. Strabo [a] tells us, that Phidon was the tenth from Temenus; not the tenth king, for between Ciſus and Phidon they reigned not, but the tenth from father to ſon, including Temenus. If 27 years be reckoned to a generation by the eldeſt ſons, the nine intervals will amount unto 243 years, which counted back from the 48th olympiad, in which Phidon flouriſhed, will place the return of the Heraclides about fifty years before the beginning of the olympiads, as above. But chronologers reckon about 515 years from the return of the Heraclides to the 48th olympiad, and account Phidon the ſeventh from Temenus (1); which is after the rate of 85 years to a generation, and therefore not to be admitted.

LV. Cyrus took Babylon, according to Ptolemy's canon, nine years before his death, an. Nabonaſſ. 206, an. 2. olymp. 60: and he took Sardes a little after, namely, an. 1. olymp. 59. as Scaliger collects from Soſicrates (1): Crœſus was then king of

(3) Πεντηκοστη δε ολυμπιαδι ανδρασι δυο, εξ απαντων λαχουσιν Ηλειων, επετραπη ποιησαι τα ολυμπια· και επι πλειστον απ' εκεινου διεμεινε των αγωνοθετων ὁ αριθμος των β. Πεμπτῃ δε Ολυμπιαδι και εικοστη εννεα Ελλανοδικας κατεστησαν. Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 6. Either by this 25th olympiad muſt be underſtood the 25th from the firſt inſtitution of the two Hellanodics; in which ſenſe Mr. Weſt ſeems to have taken the expreſſion; for he ſays, that in the 75th olympiad the number was increaſed to nine; or the paſſage muſt be corrupt, and for εικοστη we ſhould read ἑξηκοστη; which ſeems to have been Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion.

(4) Lib. 6. c. 22.

(5) Lib. 6. c. 127.

§ LIV.

(1) Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 45.

§ LV.

[1] As cited by Diogenes Laertius in Periander. Lib. I. ſegm. 95. See Scaliger animadv. in Euſebii Chron. ad annum MCCCCLXIX.

Sardes,

Sardes, and reigned fourteen years ([2]), and therefore began to reign an. 3. olymp. 55. After Solon had made laws for the Athenians, he obliged them upon oath to obſerve thoſe laws till he returned from his travels ([3]); and then travelled ten years, going to Egypt and Cyprus ([4]), and viſiting Thales of Miletus: and upon his return to Athens, Piſiſtratus began to affect the tyranny of that city, which made Solon travel a ſecond time ([5]); and now ([6]) he was invited ([7]) by Crœſus to Sardes; and Crœſus, before Solon viſited him, had ſubdued all Aſia Minor, as far as to the river Halys ([8]); and therefore he received that viſit towards the latter part of his reign; and we may place it upon the ninth year thereof, an. 3. olymp. 57: and the legiſlature of Solon twelve years earlier, an. 3. olymp. 54: and that of Draco ſtill ten years earlier ([9]), an. 1. olymp. 52. After Solon had viſited Crœſus, he went into Cilicia and ſome other places ([10]), and died [a] in his travels ([11]): and this was in the ſecond year of the tyranny of Piſiſtratus. Comias was archon when Solon returned from his firſt travels to Athens; and the next year Hegeſtratus was archon ([12]), and Solon died before the end of the year, an. 3. olymp. 57. as above: and by this reckoning the objection of Plutarch above-mentioned is removed.

GREEKS.

[a] Phanias Eph. ap. Plut. in vita Solonis.

LVI. We have now ſhewed that the Phœnicians of Zidon, under the conduct of Cadmus and other captains, flying from their enemies, came into Greece, with letters and other arts, about the ſixteenth year of king David's reign; that Europa the ſiſter of Cadmus fled ſome days before him from Zidon and came to Crete, and there became the mother of Minos about the 18th

([2]) Euſeb. in Chron. ([3]) Plutarch in Solone, Tom. I. p. 92. Herodot. lib. 1. c. 29.
([4]) Plutarch, ibid. Herodot. ibid. et lib. 5. c. 113.
([5]) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. ſegm. 50. Meurſius. Solon, c. 28.
([6]) Meurſius, ibid. ([7]) Plutarch. in Solone, Tom. I. p. 93.
([8]) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 28.
([9]) Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. lib. 1. c. 16.) and Euſebius (in Chron.) place the legiſlation of Draco in the 39th olympiad. And Ulpian, in his commentary upon Demoſthenes's oration againſt Timocrates, aſſerts, upon the authority of Diodorus, that Draco was earlier than Solon by 47 years. Vid. Demoſt. edit. Wolf. p. 828. Tzetzes (Chil. 5. 5.) reckons only ſeven years between Draco and Solon.
([10]) Diog. Laert. lib. 1. ſegm. 51. Vid. Meurſium in Solon. c. 26.
([11]) Diogenes Laertius (lib. 1. ſegm. 62.) ſays that he died in Cyprus. Plutarch (in Solone) and Ælian (Var. Hiſt. lib. 8. c. 16.) ſay that he died at Athens.
([12]) Plutarch in Solon. towards the end.

or

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or 20th year of David's reign; that Seſoſtris and the great Bacchus, and by conſequence alſo Oſiris, were one and the ſame king of Egypt with Seſac, and came out of Egypt in the fifth year of Rehoboam to invade the nations, and died 25 years after Solomon; that the Argonautic expedition was about 43 years after the death of Solomon; that Troy was taken about 76 or 78 years after the death of Solomon; that the Phœnicians of Tyre were driven from the Red Sea by the Edomites, about 87 years after the death of Solomon, and within two or three years began to make long voyages upon the Mediterranean, ſailing to Spain, and beyond, under a commander whom, for his induſtry, conduct, and diſcoveries, they honoured with the names of Melcartus and Hercules; that the return of the Heraclides into Peloponneſus was about 158 years after the death of Solomon; that Lycurgus the legiſlator reigned at Sparta, and gave the three diſcs to the olympic treaſury, an. 1. olymp. 18. or 273 years after the death of Solomon, the *Quinquertium* being at that time added to the olympic games; that the Greeks began ſoon after to build Triremes, and to ſend colonies into Sicily and Italy, which gave the name of *Græcia magna* to thoſe countries; that the firſt Meſſenian war ended about 350 years after the death of Solomon, an. 1. olymp. 37; that Phidon was contemporary to Solon, and preſided in the olympic games in the 49th olympiad, that is, 397 years after the death of Solomon; that Draco was archon, and made his laws, an. 1. olymp. 52; and Solon, an. 3. olymp. 54; and that Solon viſited Crœſus an. 3. olymp. 57. or 433 years after the death of Solomon; and Sardes was taken by Cyrus 438 years, and Babylon by Cyrus 443 years, and Ecbatane by Cyrus 445 years after the death of Solomon: and theſe periods being ſettled, they become a foundation for building the chronology of the antient times upon them; and nothing more remains for ſettling ſuch a chronology, than to make theſe periods a little exacter, if it can be, and to ſhew

§ LVII.

(¹) See § XLIV. (²) Euſeb. in Chron.

(³) The archons for life were 13, of whom Medon was the firſt, and Alcmæon the laſt. See Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 134 and 151, and Meurſius de Archont. Athenienſi, lib. 1. c. 1.

how

how the reſt of the antiquities of Greece, Egypt, Aſſyria, Chaldæa, and Media, may ſuit therewith. GREEKS.

LVII. Whilſt Bacchus made his expedition into India, Theſeus left Ariadne in the iſland Naxus or Dia, as above, and ſucceeded his father Ægeus at Athens; and upon the return of Bacchus from India, Ariadne became his miſtreſs, and accompanied him in his triumphs (1); and this was about ten years after the death of Solomon: and from that time reigned eight kings in Athens, viz. Theſeus, Meneſtheus, Demophoon, Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thymætes, Melanthus, and Codrus (2); theſe kings, at 19 years a-piece one with another, might take up about 152 years, and end about 44 years before the olympiads. Then reigned twelve archons for life (3), which at 14 or 15 years a-piece, the ſtate being unſtable, might take up about 174 years, and end an. 2. olymp. 33. Then reigned ſeven (4) decennial archons, which are uſually reckoned at ſeventy years; but ſome of them dying in their regency, they might not take up above forty years, and ſo end about an. 2. olymp. 43. about which time began the ſecond Meſſenian war: theſe decennial archons were followed by the annual archons (5), amongſt whom were the legiſlators Draco and Solon. Soon after the death of Codrus, his ſecond ſon Neleus, not bearing the reign of his lame brother Medon at Athens, retired into Aſia, and was followed by his younger brothers Androcles and Cyaretus, and many others (6). Theſe had the name of Ionians, from Ion the ſon of Xuthus, who commanded the army of the Athenians at the death of Erechtheus (7), and gave the name of Ionia to the country which they invaded: and about 20 or 25 years after the death of Codrus, theſe new colonies, being now lords of Ionia, ſet up over themſelves a common-council called Panionium, and compoſed of counſellors ſent from twelve of their cities; Miletus, Myus, Priene, Epheſus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, Samos, Chios, and Erythræa (8): and this was the Ionic migration.

(4) Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 151. (5) ——— p. 155.
(6) Pauſanias, lib. 7. c. 2.
(7) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 94. and lib. 8. c. 44. and Pauſanias, lib. 2. c. 14.
(8) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 143—149.

Vid. Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. l. 1. p. 44, 45.

LVIII. When the Greeks and Latines were forming their technical chronology, there were great diſputes about the antiquity of Rome: the Greeks made it much older than the olympiads: ſome of them ſaid it was built by Æneas; others by Romus, the ſon or grandſon of Æneas; others by Romus, the ſon or grandſon of Latinus king of the Aborigines; others, by Romus the ſon of Ulyſſes, or of Aſcanius, or of Italus: and ſome of the Latines at firſt fell in with the opinion of the Greeks, ſaying that it was built by Romulus, the ſon or grandſon of Æneas. Timæus Siculus repreſented it built by Romulus, the grandſon of Æneas, above an hundred years before the olympiads (1); and ſo did Nævius the poet, who was twenty years older than Ennius, and ſerved in the firſt Punic war, and wrote the hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon; but about 140 or 150 years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to ſay that Rome was built a ſecond time by Romulus, in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of Troy: by ages they meant reigns of the kings of the Latines at Alba, and reckoned the firſt fourteen reigns at about 432 years (2), and the following reigns of the ſeven kings of Rome at 244 years (3); both which numbers made up the time of about 676 years from the taking of Troy, according to theſe chronologers; but are much too long for the courſe of nature: and by this reckoning they placed the building of Rome upon the ſixth or ſeventh olympiad. Varro placed it on the firſt year of the ſeventh olympiad, and was therein generally followed by the Romans. But this can ſcarce be reconciled to the courſe of nature: for I do not meet with any inſtance in all hiſtory, ſince chronology was certain, wherein ſeven kings, moſt of whom were ſlain, reigned 244 years in continual ſucceſſion. The fourteen reigns of the

§ LVIII.

(1) In the 38th year before the olympiads. Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 74, p. 60.

(2) Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1, c. 71, p. 57. (3) Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 75, p. 61.

(4) The return of the Heraclidæ preceded the olympiads, according to our author's ſyſtem, 46 years (ſee § X.) And upon this ſuppoſition the taking of Troy, which was ſtill 80 years earlier than the return of the Heraclidæ, preceded the olympiads 126 years. Therefore 280 years counted from the taking of Troy, end in the 39th olympiad, upon our author's principles.

(5) For the Regifuge was in the 1ſt year of the 68th olymp. Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 74. p. 61.

§ LIX.

(1) See § XIX. note 1. (2) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 1. § I.

kings

kings of the Latines, at twenty years a-piece one with another, amount unto 280 years; and theſe years, counted from the taking of Troy, end in the 38th olympiad (4). And the ſeven reigns of the kings of Rome, four or five of them being ſlain and one depoſed, may at a moderate reckoning amount to fifteen or ſixteen years apiece one with another: let them be reckoned at ſeventeen years a-piece, and they will amount unto 119 years; which being counted backwards from the Regifuge, end alſo in the 38th olympiad (5): and by theſe two reckonings Rome was built in the 38th olympiad, or thereabout. The 280 years and the 119 years together make up 399 years; and the ſame number of years ariſes by counting the twenty and one reigns at nineteen years a-piece: and this being the whole time between the taking of Troy and the Regifuge, let theſe years be counted backward from the Regifuge, an. 1. olymp. 68. and they will place the taking of Troy about 74 years after the death of Solomon. GREEK.

LIX. When Seſoſtris returned from Thrace into Egypt, he left Æetes with part of his army in Colchis, to guard that paſs (1); and Phryxus and his ſiſter Helle fled from Ino (2), the daughter of Cadmus (3), to Æetes ſoon after, in a ſhip whoſe enſign was a golden ram (4). Ino was therefore alive in the fourteenth year of Rehoboam, the year in which Seſoſtris returned into Egypt (5); and by conſequence her father Cadmus flouriſhed in the reign of David, and not before. Cadmus was the father of Polydorus (6), the father of Labdacus (7), the father of Laius (7), the father of Oedipus (8), the father of Eteocles and Polynices (9) who ſlew one another in their youth, in the war of the ſeven captains at Thebes (10), about ten or twelve years after the Argonautic expedition (11): and Therſander, the ſon of Polynices, warred at Troy (12). Theſe generations being by the

(3) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II. (4) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. 3. 47. p. 174.
(5) See § XIX. (6) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II. (7) ——— c. 5. § V.
(8) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § VII. (9) ——— § IX. (10) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 6.
(11) That the interval of time, between the Argonautic expedition and this war, could not be long is evident. For Taläus and Oileus were Argonauts. (Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 118 and 74.) And their ſons, Adraſtus and Amphiaräus, were two of the ſeven captains. (Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 6. § VI.) And according to Apollodorus, Amphiaräus himſelf was an Argonaut.
(12) Virgil. Æn. 2. 261. Servius upon that place. Hygin. Fab. 108. Dictys Cretenſis, lib. 1. He is not in Homer's Catalogue.

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eldeſt ſons who married young, if they be reckoned at about twenty and four years to a generation, will place the birth of Polydorus upon the 18th year of David's reign, or thereabout (13). And thus Cadmus might be a young man, not yet married, when he came firſt into Greece. At his firſt coming he ſailed to Rhodes; and thence to Samothrace, an iſland near Thrace on the north ſide of Lemnos; and there married Harmonia, the ſiſter of Jaſion and Dardanus (14), which gave occaſion to the Samothracian myſteries: and Polydorus might be their ſon (15), born a year or two after their coming; and his ſiſter Europa might be then a young woman, in the flower of her age. Theſe generations cannot well be ſhorter; and therefore Cadmus, and his ſon Polydorus, were not younger than we have reckoned them: nor can they be much longer, without making Polydorus too old to be born in Europe, and to be the ſon of Harmonia the ſiſter of Jaſion. Labdacus was therefore born in the end of David's reign; Laius in the 24th year of Solomon's; and Oedipus in the ſeventh of Rehoboam's, or thereabout: unleſs you had rather ſay, that Polydorus was born at Zidon, before his father came into Europe; but his name Polydorus is in the language of Greece.

LX. Polydorus married Nyctëis, the daughter of Nycteus a native of Greece; and dying young, left his kingdom and young ſon Labdacus under the adminiſtration of Nycteus. Then Epopeus king of Ægialus, afterwards called Sicyon, ſtole Antiope the daughter of Nycteus; [a] and Nycteus thereupon made war upon

[a] Pauſan. l. 2. c. 6.

(13) At 24 years to a generation, the birth of Polydorus muſt have been 144 years earlier than the taking of Troy; therefore 270 years before the olympiads, according to our author's ſyſtem. (§ LVIII. note 4.) The olympiads began in the year of the Julian period 3938. Therefore Polydorus was born in the year of the Julian period 3668; which, according to Petavius, was the 9th of David's reign the year in which he took Jeruſalem.

(14) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 48. p. 223.

(15) Apolſodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II.

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(1) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § V.

(2) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § VI.

(3) Apoll Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 156, with the Scholiaſt on the place.

(4) Pindar. Olymp. 1. lin. 144, with the Scholiaſt on the place.

(5) EUSTATHIUS, upon Il. A. lin. 7, affirms, that Heſiod among others made Agamemnon the ſon of Pleiſthenes. This Pleiſthenes the ſcholiaſt on the Oreſtes of Euripides makes the ſon of Atreus; and ſays, that Pleiſthenes dying young left his three children, Agamemnon, Menelaus,

upon him, and in a battle wherein Nyćteus overcame, both were GREEKS.
wounded, and died ſoon after. Nyćteus left the tuition of Labdacus, and adminiſtration of the kingdom, to his brother Lycus; and Epopeus, or, as Hyginus [a] calls him, Epaphus the Sicyonian, left his kingdom to Lamedon, who preſently ended the war, by ſending home Antiope: and ſhe, in returning home, brought forth Amphion and Zethus. Labdacus being grown up, received the kingdom from Lycus; and ſoon after dying, left it again to his adminiſtration, for his young ſon Laius (¹). When Amphion and Zethus were about ſeventy years old, at the inſtigation of their mother Antiope, they killed Lycus (¹), and made Laius flee to Pelops (¹), and ſeized the city Thebes, and compaſſed it with a wall (¹); and Amphion married Niobe the ſiſter of Pelops (²), and by her had ſeveral children; amongſt whom was Chloris (²), the mother of Periclymenus the Argonaut (³). Pelops was the father of Pliſthenes, Atreus, and Thyeſtes (⁴); and Agamemnon and Meneläus, the adopted ſons of Atreus (⁵), warred at Troy. Ægiſthus, the ſon of Thyeſtes (⁶), ſlew Agamemnon the year after the taking of Troy; and Atreus died juſt before Paris ſtole Helena; which, according [b] to Homer, was twenty years before the taking of Troy. Deucalion the ſon of Minos, [c] was an Argonaut; and Talus, another ſon of Minos (⁷), was ſlain by the Argonauts; and Idomeneus and Meriones, the grandſons of Minos, were at the Trojan war. All theſe things confirm the ages of Cadmus and Europa, and their poſterity, above aſſigned, and place the death of Epopeus or Epaphus king of Sicyon, and birth of Amphion and Zethus, upon the tenth year of Solomon; and the taking of Thebes by Amphion and

[a] Hygin. Fab. 7 & 8.

[b] Homer. Iliad. Ω. lin. 765.

[c] Hygin. Fab. 14.

laus, and Anaxibia, to his father. Apollodorus (lib. 3. c. 2. § II.) makes Agamemnon and Menelaus the ſons of Pleiſthenes by Ærope. And the ſcholiaſt on Sophocles Ajax, lin. 1314, agrees with Apollodorus in making Pleiſthenes the huſband of Agamemnon's mother. If the learned reader is inclined to enter more deeply into this dark queſtion, he may conſult Meziriac on the 8th of Ovid's Epiſtles.

(⁶) Θυεστιαδης Αἰγισθος. Homer. Od. Δ. 518.

(⁷) TALUS was a brazen man, according to Apollonius (lib. 4. lin. 1638) one that remained of the brazen age: according to Apollodorus (lib. 1. c. 9. § XXVI.) a preſent from Vulcan to Minos. But Lucian calls him the ſon of Minos (Philopſeud. § XIX.) And Plato ſays, that Talus bore the ſame office under Minos in the reſt of Crete, that Rhadamanthus bore in the Capitol. He was Minos's judge of Aſſize, and went a circuit through the towns of Crete three times in the year, carrying about with him the laws engraven on tables of braſs. Hence the fable that he was a brazen man. Plato in Min. p. 568.

Zethus,

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Zethus, and the flight of Laius to Pelops upon the thirtieth year of that king, or thereabout. Amphion might marry the ſiſter of Pelops the ſame year, and Pelops come into Greece three or four years before that flight; or about the 26th year of Solomon.

LXI. In the days of Erechtheus king of Athens (1), and Celus king of Eleuſis (2), Ceres came into Attica; and educated Tripolemus the ſon of Celeus, and taught him to ſow corn. She [a] lay with Jaſion, or Jaſius, the brother of Harmonia the wife of Cadmus; and preſently after her death Erechtheus was ſlain, in a war between the Athenians and Eleuſinians; and, for the benefaction of bringing tillage into Greece, the Eleuſian Sacra were inſtituted to her [b] with Egyptian ceremonies, by Celeus and Eumolpus (3); and a ſepulchre or temple was erected to her in Eleuſine, and in this temple the families of Celeus and Eumolpus became her prieſts: and this temple, and that which Eurydice erected to her daughter Danäe, by the name of Juno Argiva, are the firſt inſtances that I meet with in Greece of deifying the dead, with temples, and ſacred rites, and ſacrifices, and initiations, and a ſucceſſion of prieſts to perform them. Now by this hiſtory it is manifeſt that Erechtheus, Celeus, Eumolpus, Ceres, Jaſius, Cadmus, Harmonia, Aſterius (4), and Dardanus the brother of Jaſius, and one of the founders of the kingdom of Troy, were all contemporary to one another, and flouriſhed in their youth, when Cadmus came firſt into Europe. Erechtheus could not be much older, becauſe his daughter Procris converſed with Minos king of Crete (5); and his grandſon Theſpis (6) had fifty daughters, who lay with Hercules; and his daughter

[a] Homer. Odyſſ. E. lin. 125. Diodor. l. 5. p. 223 & 237 *.

[b] Diodor. l. 1. p. 17.

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(1) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 17. (2) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 5. § I & II.
(3) Homer. Hymn. in Cerer. apud Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 14.
(4) The huſband of Europa. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 1. § II.
(5) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § I.
(6) Read Theſpius, or Theſtius. Diodorus calls him the ſon of Erectheus. He was king of Theſpia. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 29. p. 163. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § X. Pauſan. lib. 9. c. 26 & 28.
(7) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § I and II. Orph. Argonaut. lin. 216—220. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 211—215.

(*) PANDION is called by Euſebius the ſon of Erectheus: but he was the grandſon of Erectheus and the ſon of Cecrops. Upon what authority Sir Iſaac Newton affirms that he depoſed Cecrops, I know

daughter Orithyia was the mother of Calais and Zetes (7), two GREEKS.
of the Argonauts in their youth; and his ſon Orneus [a] was the [a] Pauſan. l. 2. c. 25.
father of Peteos, the father of Meneſtheus, who warred at Troy: nor much younger, becauſe his ſecond ſon (8) Pandion, who with the Metionidæ depoſed his elder brother Cecrops, was the father of Ægeus, the father of Theſeus; and Metion, another of his ſons (9), was the father of Eupalamus, the father of Dædalus (10), who was older than Theſeus; and his daughter Creüſa married Xuthus, the ſon of Hellen, and by him had two ſons, Achæus and Ion (11); and Ion commanded the army of the Athenians againſt the Eleuſians, in the battle in which his grandfather Erechtheus was ſlain: and this was juſt before the inſtitution of the Eleuſinia Sacra, and before the reign of Pandion the father of Ægeus. Erechtheus being an Egyptian, procured corn from Egypt, and for that benefaction was made king of Athens (12); and near the beginning of his reign Ceres came into Attica from Sicily, in queſt of her daughter Proſerpina (12). We cannot err much, if we make Hellen contemporary to the reign of Saul, and to that of David at Hebron; and place the beginning of the reign of Erechtheus in the 25th year, the coming of Ceres into Attica in the 30th year, and the diſperſion of corn by Triptolemus about the 40th year of David's reign; and the death of Ceres and Erechtheneus, and inſtitution of the Eleuſinia Sacra, between the tenth and fifteenth year of Solomon.

LXII. Teucer, Dardanus, Erichthonius, Tros, Ilus, Laomedon, and Priamus, reigned ſucceſſively at Troy (1); and their reigns, at about twenty years a-piece with one another, amount unto an hundred and forty years: which counted back from the taking of Troy, place the beginning of the reign of Teucer about the fifteenth year of the reign of king David; and that of Dardanus,

I know not. He was himſelf depoſed by the Metionidæ, and fled to Megara, Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § V. Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 5. For fuller information, the learned reader may conſult Meurſius *De Regibus Athenienſium*, lib. 2. c. 14 and 15.

(9) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 14. § I. (10) ——— § VIII. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 76. p. 192.

(11) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II. and lib. 3. c. 14. § I.

(12) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 29. p. 17.

* Add Heſiod Theogon. lin. 969.

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(1) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 75. p. 192.

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nus, in the days of Ceres; who lay with Jaſius the brother of Dardanus: whereas chronologers reckon that the laſt ſix of theſe kings reigned 296 years, which is after the rate of $49\frac{1}{3}$ years a-piece with one another; and that they began their reign in the days of Moſes. Dardanus married the daughter of Teucer, the ſon of Scamander, and ſucceeded him (1): whence Teucer was of about the ſame age with David.

LXIII. Upon the return of Seſoſtris into Egypt, his brother Danäus not only attempted his life, as above, but alſo commanded his daughters, who were fifty in number, and had married the ſons of Seſoſtris, to ſlay their huſbands (1); and then fled with his daughters from Egypt in a long ſhip of fifty oars (1). This flight was in the fourteenth year of Rehoboam (2). Danaus came firſt to Lindus, a town in Rhodes, and there built a temple, and erected a ſtatue to Minerva (1), and loſt three of his daughters by a plague which raged there (3); and then ſailed thence with the reſt of his daughters to Argos. He came to Argos therefore in the fifteenth or ſixteenth year of Rehoboam: and at length contending there with Gelanor (4) the brother of Euryſtheus for the crown of Argos, was choſen by the people, and reigned at Argos, while Euryſtheus reigned at Mycenæ; and Euryſtheus was born [a] the ſame year with Hercules. Gelanor and Euryſtheus were the ſons of Sthenelus, by Nicippe the daughter of Pelops (5); and Sthenelus was the ſon of Perſeus, and reigned at Argos; and Danaus, who ſucceeded him at Argos, was ſucceeded

[a] Apollodor. l. 2. ſect. 5.

§ LXIII.

(1) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § IV and V. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 227.

(2) § XIX. (3) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 227.

(4) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § IV and V. Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 19. p. 152. Euſeb. in Chron. lib. 1. p. 13. and lib. 2. p. 79. According to Caſtor (Euſeb Exc. Gr. p. 29) Sthenelus was the prince who was deſpoſed by Danäus. That Gelanor was the brother of Euryſtheus, and that the depoſition of Gelanor happened during the reign of Euryſtheus at Mycenæ, I take to be an error. See the next note.

(5) Euryſtheus, king of Mycenæ, was indeed the ſon of Sthenelus, the ſon of Perſeus by Nicippe the daughter of Pelops. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § V, Gelanor too was the ſon of a Sthenelus, Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 16 and 19. p. 145 and 152. But this Sthenelus, the father of Gelanor, was quite a different perſon from the father of Euryſtheus, being the ſon of Crotopus, the ſon of Agenor, the great-grandſon of Argos. Pauſan. p. 145. Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 29. and Chron. lib. 2. If Sir Iſaac Newton had any authority, which might outweigh that of Pauſanias in this matter, and prove Gelanor of Argos and Euryſtheus of Mycenæ to have been brothers, it is much to be regretted that he did not produce it. For this ſingular poſition, if it be a miſtake,

ſucceeded there by his ſon-in-law Lynceus [6], and he by his ſon Abas [7]; that Abas who is commonly, but erroneouſly, reputed the father of Acriſius and Prætus [8]. In the time of the Argonautic expedition Caſtor and Pollux were beardleſs young men, and their ſiſters Helena and Clytemneſtra were children, and their wives Phœbe and Haira [9] were alſo very young. All theſe [10], with the Argonauts Lynceus and Idas, were the grand-children of Gorgophone, the daughter of Perſeus, the ſon of Danäe, the daughter of Acriſius and Eurydice [11]; and Perieres and Oebalus, the huſbands of Gorgophone, were the ſons of Cynortes, the ſon of Amyclas, the brother of Eurydice [12]. Meſtor or Maſtor, the brother of Sthenelus, married Lyſidice, another of the daughters of Pelops [13]: and Pelops married Hippodamia, the daughter of Evarete, the daughter of Acriſius [14]. Alcmena, the mother of Hercules, was the daughter of Electryo [15]; and Sthenelus, Meſtor and Electryo, were brothers of Gorgophone, and ſons of Perſeus and Andromeda [16]: and the Argonaut Æſculapius was the grandſon of Leucippus and Phlegia [17]; and Leucippus was the ſon of Perieres, the grandſon of Amyclas the brother of Eurydice; and Amyclas and Eurydice were the children of Lacedæmon and Sparta [18]: and Capaneus, one of the ſeven captains againſt Thebes, was the huſband of Euadne the daughter of Iphis [19], the ſon of Alector, the ſon of Anaxagoras, the ſon of Megapenthes, the ſon of Prætus the brother of Acriſius [20]. Now from theſe

as I think it muſt be, makes great confuſion in the chronology of the two antient kingdoms of Argos and Mycenæ.

(6) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 2. Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 16. p. 145. (7) Euſeb. in Chron.

(8) An error however, if it be an error, countenanced by the great authorities of Pauſanias and Apollodorus. See Pauſan. p. 145. Apollodor. p. 77.

(9) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 10. § III. (10) ——— c. 10. § III, VI, VII.

(11) Apollodor. p. 78 and 82.

(12) The deſcent of Perieres is confirmed by Apollodorus, p. 179 and 39. Pauſanias ſays, that Oebalus was a ſon of Cynortus, and the father of Tyndareus by Gorgophone (p. 204) and that Gorgophone bore children both to Perieres and Oebalus (p. 283.)

(13) Apollodor. p. 89. (14) Hygin. Fab. 84.

(15) Apollodor. p. 90. (16) Apollodor. p. 89.

(17) Read, *of Leucippus or Phlegyas.* For Æſculapius was the ſon of Coronis the daughter of Phlegyas, according to ſome; according to others of Arſinoe the daughter of Leucippus. Pauſan. p. 170, 171. Apollodor. p. 179.

(18) Apollodor. p. 196, 107. (19) ——— p. 181.

(20) Pauſan. p. 146 and 150. But between Anaxagoras and Megapenthes inſert Argeus.

 generations

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generations it may be gathered that Perſeus, Perieres and Anaxagoras, were of about the ſame age with Minos, Peleus, Ægeus and Seſac; and that Acriſius, Prætus, Eurydice and Amyclas, being two little generations older, were of about the ſame age with king David and Erechtheus; and that the temple of Juno Argiva was built about the ſame time with the temple of Solomon; the ſame being built by Eurydice to her daughter Danäe, as above; or, as ſome ſay, by Piraſus or Piranthus, the ſon or ſucceſſor of Argus, and great grandſon of Phoroneus. For the firſt prieſteſs of that goddeſs was Callithyia the daughter of Piranthus (21). Callithyia was ſucceeded by Alcyone, about three generations before the taking of Troy, that is about the middle of Solomon's reign: in her prieſthood the Siculi paſſed out of Italy into Sicily (22). Afterwards Hypermneſtra, the daughter of Danäus, became prieſteſs of this goddeſs; and ſhe flouriſhed in the times next before the Argonautic expedition (23): and Admeta (24), the daughter of Euryſtheus, was prieſteſs of this Juno about the times of the Trojan war. Andromeda the wife of Perſeus, was the daughter of Cepheus an Egyptian, the ſon of Belus, according to [a] Herodotus; and the Egyptian Belus was Ammon. Perſeus took her from Joppa (25), where Cepheus, I think a kinſman of Solomon's queen, reſided in the days of Solomon. Acriſius and Prætus were the ſons of Abas (26): but this Abas was not the ſame man with Abas the grandſon of Danäus, but a much older prince, who built Abæa in Phocis, and might be the prince from whom the iſland Eubœa [b] was anciently

[a] Herod. l. 7. c. 61 & 150.

[b] Bochart. Canaan. part 2. c. 13.

(21) Euſeb. Chron. (22) Dionyſ. Hal. p. 18. (23) Euſeb. Chron. (24) Or Admanta. Syncell. p. 172. (25) Conon. Narrat. 40. (26) Apollodor. p. 77. (27) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228.

(28) PAUSANIAS however ſays, that the tomb of Crotopus was in the Argive territory. Nor does he ſpeak of this flight of Crotopus, though he mentions the ſtory of his daughter Pſamathe, which, it is pretended, was the occaſion of it. See Pauſanias, p. 164 and 105.

§ LXIV.

(1) § LX.

(2) PAUSANIAS, in the place to which our author refers (lib. 5. c. 1.) ſeems to fix the arrival of Pelops rather to the time of Epeus the ſon of Endymion, than to that of Endymion. And in another place (lib. 5. c. 8. p. 393) he expreſly makes Pelops a generation later than Endymion. Apollodorus has nothing, that I know, to mark the time of the arrival of Pelops. In the firſt book of Euſebius's Chronicle (p. 16) it is ſaid, that the kingdom of the Argives ended in

ently called Abantis, and the people thereof Abantes: for Apollonius Rhodius [a] tells us, that the Argonaut Canthus was the ſon of Canethus, and that Canethus was of the poſterity of Abas; and the commentator upon Apollonius tells us further, that from this Abas the inhabitants of Eubœa were anciently called Abantes. This Abas therefore flouriſhed three or four generations before the Argonautic expedition; and ſo might be the father of Acriſius. The anceſtors of Acriſius were accounted Egyptians by the Greeks; and they might come from Egypt under Abas into Eubœa, and from thence into Peloponneſus. I do not reckon Phorbas and his ſon Triopas among the kings of Argos; becauſe they fled from that kingdom to the iſland Rhodes (27): nor do I reckon Crotopus among them; becauſe he went from Argos, and built a new city for himſelf in Megaris, as [b] Conon relates (28).

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[a] Apollon. Argonaut. l. 1. v. 77.

[b] Conon. Narrat. 19.

LXIV. We ſaid that Pelops came into Greece about the 26th year of Solomon (1). He [c] came thither in the days of Acriſius, and in thoſe of Endymion (2), and of his ſons, and took Ætolia from Ætolus. Endymion was the ſon of Aëthlius, the ſon of Protogenia, the ſiſter of Hellen, the daughter of Deucalion (3): Phrixus and Helle, the children of Athamas (4), the brother of Siſyphus, and ſon of Æolus, the ſon of Hellen (5), fled from their ſtepmother Ino, the daughter of Cadmus, to Æetes in Colchis, preſently after the return of Seſoſtris into Egypt: and Jaſon the Argonaut was the ſon of Æſon, the ſon of Cretheus, the ſon of Æolus, the ſon of Hellen (6): and Calyce was the wife of Aëthlius, and mother of Endymion (7), and daughter of Æolus (8), and ſiſter of Cretheus, Siſyphus and Athamas:

[c] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 1. Apollodor. l. 1. c. 7.

in Acriſius, having ſtood 544 years until Pelops, who reigned 58. This might induce our author to place the arrival of Pelops in the time of Acriſius. But in the correſponding paſſage in the Greek fragments, Sthenelus and Euryſtheus intervene, as they certainly ought to do, between Acriſius and Pelops. The Argive kingdom was ſaid to ceaſe in Acriſius, becauſe his ſon and ſucceſſor Perſeus fixed his reſidence at Mycenæ; which from that time became the royal ſeat. However, ſince we find the ſons of Perſeus marrying with the daughters of Pelops, it is evident that Perſeus and Pelops muſt have been contemporaries; and there can be no great error, if any, in placing the coming of Pelops into Greece in the days of Acriſius.

(3) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II and V. Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 1.
(4) ——————— 9 § I.
(5) ——————— Ibid. & c. 7. § II.
(6) Scholiaſt. in Pindar. Pyth. 4. l. 190. Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § XVI. & c. 7. § II.
(7) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § V. (8) ——————— § II.

and

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and by theſe circumſtances Cretheus, Siſyphus and Athamas, flouriſhed (9) in the latter part of the reign of Solomon, and in the reign of Rehoboam: Aëthlius, Æolus, Xuthus, Dorus, Tantalus, and Danäe, were contemporary to Erechtheus (10), Jaſius and Cadmus; and Hellen was about one, and Deucalion about two generations older than Erechtheus. They could not be much older; becauſe Xuthus, the youngeſt ſon of Hellen [a], married Crëuſa the daughter of Erechtheus: nor could they be much younger; becauſe Cephalus the ſon of Deioneus (11), the ſon of Æolus (12), the eldeſt ſon of Hellen, [b] married Procris the daughter of Erechtheus (11); and Procris fled from her huſband to Minos (13). Upon the death of Hellen, his youngeſt ſon Xuthus [c] was expelled Theſſaly by his brothers Æolus and Dorus, and fled to Erechtheus, and married Creüſa the daughter of Erechtheus (14); by whom he had two ſons, Achæus and Ion, the youngeſt of which grew up before the death of Erechtheus, and commanded the army of the Athenians, in the war in which Erechtheus was ſlain: and therefore Hellen died about one generation before Erechtheus.

[a] Pauſan. l. 7. 3. 1.

[b] Pauſan. l. 1. c. 37. & l. 10. c. 29.

[c] Pauſan. l. 7. c. 1.

LXV. Siſyphus therefore built Corinth about the latter end of the reign of Solomon, or the beginning of the reign of Rehoboam. Upon the flight of Phrixus and Helle, their father Athamas, a little king in Bœotia, went diſtracted and ſlew his ſon Learchus; and his wife Ino threw herſelf into the ſea, together with her other ſon Melicertus (1); and thereupon Siſyphus inſtituted

(9) THIS concluſion ſeems erroneous, even upon our author's own principles. If Pelops came into Greece in the days of Endymion, and came thither in the 26th of Solomon; the 26th of Solomon muſt have fallen upon the days of Endymion, and Aethlius, the father of Endymion, cannot be put later than the beginning of Solomon. Therefore Calyce, the wife of Aethlius, her brothers Siſyphus, Athamas, and Cretheus, muſt have flouriſhed in the beginning of Solomon. If the arrival of Pelops in Greece was, as Pauſanias intimates, in the reign of Epeus the ſon of Endymion; then Endymion muſt have flouriſhed in the beginning of Solomon's reign, and his father Aethlius and his mother Calyce, with her brothers, in the middle of David's.

(10) See note 14.

(11) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § IV.

(12) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II.

(13) See § LXI. note 5.

(14) HENCE Æolus, Xuthus, and Dorus, the children of Helien, were nearly contemporary with Erechtheus. But theſe children of Hellen were grand-children of Deucalion: therefore contemporary with Aethlius, who alſo was a grandſon of Deucalion. Therefore Aethlius was alſo contemporary with Erechtheus.

Again, Pelops and Perſeus were contemporaries (note 2). And Pelops, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, was contemporary with Endymion. Therefore upon this ſuppoſition, Tantalus the father of Pelops (Pind. Olymp. 1. v. 58) and Danäe the mother of Perſeus will have been contemporary

inſtituted the Iſthmia at Corinth to his nephew Melicertus ([2]). GREEKS. This was preſently after Seſoſtris had left Æetes in Colchis, I think in the fifteenth or ſixteenth year of Rehoboam: ſo that Athamas, the ſon of Æolus and grandſon of Hellen, and Ino the daughter of Cadmus, flouriſhed till about the ſixteenth year of Rehoboam. Siſyphus and his ſucceſſors Ornytion, Thoas, Demophon, Propodas, Doridas, and Hyanthidas, reigned ſucceſſively at Corinth, till the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus ([3]): then reigned the Heraclidæ, Aletes, Ixion, Agelas, Prumnis, Bacchis, Agelas II. Eudemus, Ariſtodemus ([4]), and Teleſtes, ſucceſſively about 170 years ([5]), and then Corinth was governed by *Prytanes*, or annual archons, about 42 years, and after them by Cypſelus and Periander about 48 years more ([6]).

LXVI. Celeus king of Eleuſis, who was contemporary to Erechtheus, [a] was the ſon of Rharus ([1]), the ſon of Cranäus, the ſucceſſor of Cecrops; and in the reign of Cranäus, Deucalion fled with his ſons Hellen and Amphictyon from the flood which then overflowed Theſſaly, and was called Deucalion's flood: they fled into Attica; and there Deucalion died ſoon after; and Pauſanias tells us, that his ſepulchre was to be ſeen near Athens ([2]). His eldeſt ſon Hellen ſucceeded him in Theſſaly; and his other ſon Amphictyon married the daughter of Cranäus ([3]), and reigning at Thermopylæ, erected there the Amphictyonic

[a] Heſych. in Κραναος.

temporary with Aethlius the father of Endymion. But the truth rather ſeems to be, that Tantalus and Danäe were contemporary with Endymion himſelf.

§ LXV.

([1]) Apollodor. lib. c. 9. § I & II. Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 44. p. 108.
([2]) Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 1. p. 111. ([3]) ———— c. 4.
([4]) Between Ariſtodemus and Teleſtes were two uſurpers, Agemon and Alexander. Euſeb. in Chron.

([5]) Diodorus Siculus, as quoted by Euſebius (in Chron. lib. 1) reckons 447 years from the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the reign of Cypſelus; 90 of which he aſſigns to the annual archons. Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 35. Concerning the integrity of theſe numbers, conſult Petavius Doct. Temp. lib. 9. c. 33, and the notes of Weſſelingius upon this fragment, in his edition of Diodorus Siculus.

([6]) By Cypſelus 30 years according to Herodotus (lib. 5. c. 92. § 6.) By Periander 40 years, according to Euſebius (in Chron.) who gives but 28 years to the reign of Cypſelus.

§ LXVI.

([1]) Suidas under the word Ραριας. Others made Rharus the father of Triptolemus. Pauſan. lib. . c. 14. p. 34.
([2]) Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 43. ([3]) ———— c. 2. p. 7.

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phictyonic council; and Acriſius ſoon after erected the like council at Delphi (4). This I conceive was done when Amphictyon and Acriſius were aged, and fit to be counſellors; ſuppoſe in the latter half of the reign of David, and beginning of the reign of Solomon; and ſoon after, ſuppoſe about the middle of the reign of Solomon, did Phemonoë (5) become the firſt prieſteſs of Apollo at Delphi, and gave oracles in hexameter verſe: and then was Acriſius ſlain accidentally by his grandſon Perſeus (6). The council of Thermopylæ included twelve nations of the Greeks, without Attica, and therefore Amphictyon did not then reign at Athens: he might endeavour to ſucceed Cranäus, his wife's father (7), and be prevented by Erechtheus.

LXVII. Between the reigns of Cranäus and Erechtheus, chronologers place alſo Erichthonius, and his ſon Pandion; but I take this Erichthonius and this his ſon Pandion, to be the ſame with Erechtheus and his ſon and ſucceſſor Pandion, the names being only repeated with a little variation in the liſt of the kings of Attica. For Erichthonius, he that was the ſon of the Earth, nurſed up by Minerva, is by Homer (1) called Erechtheus; and Themiſtius [a] tells us, that it was Erechtheus that firſt joined a chariot to horſes; and Plato, [b] alluding to the ſtory of Erichthonius in a baſket (2), ſaith, "The people of magnanimous Erechtheus is beautiful, but it behoves us to behold him taken out (3):" Erechtheus therefore immediately ſucceeded Cranäus, while Amphictyon reigned at Thermopylæ. In the reign of Cranäus

[a] Themiſt. Orat. 19.
[b] Plato in Alcib. I. p. 448.

(4) See Sir J. Marſham, § IX. Tit. *Concilia Amphictyonica.*
(5) Pauſan. lib. 10. c. 5. p. 809. Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 139.
(6) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § IV.
(7) That he depoſed Cranäus is aſſerted by Pauſanias and Apollodorus, and was the opinion of Meurſius.

§ LXVII.

(1) Il. B. lin. 547.
(2) Apoll. lib. 3. c. 13. § VI.
(3) Ευπροσωπος γαρ ὁ του μεγαλητορος δημος Ερεχθεως· αλλ᾽ ἀποδυντα χρη αυτον θεασασθαι. *The people of the magnanimous Erectheus carry a fair outſide; but it is neceſſary to examine them ſtript.* Αυτον relates to δημος, not to Ερεχθεως. Here is no ſort of alluſion to the ſtory of Ericthonius in the baſket.
(4) Varro placed it in the reign of Cranaus. (Auguſtin. de Civ. Dei, lib. 18. c. 10.) Euſebius in that of Cecrops.

§ LXVIII.

(1) ARCAS had three ſons; Azan, Apheidas, Elatus: among whom he ſhared his kingdom: and

Cranäus the poets place the flood of Deucalion (4); and therefore the death of Deucalion, and the reign of his ſons Hellen and Amphictyon, in Theſſaly and Thermopylæ, was but a few years, ſuppoſe eight or ten, before the reign of Erechtheus. GREEKS.

LXVIII. The firſt kings of Arcadia were ſucceſſively [a] Pelaſgus, Lycaon, Nyctimus, Arcas (1), Clitor, Æpytus, Aleus, Lycurgus, Echemus, Agapenor, Hippothous, Æpytus II. Cypſelus, Olæas, &c. Under Cypſelus the Heraclidæ returned into Peloponneſus, as above. Agapenor was one of thoſe who courted Helena; he courted her before he reigned, and afterwards he went to the war at Troy, and thence to Cyprus, and there built Paphos (2). Echemus ſlew Hyllus the ſon of Hercules. Lycurgus, Cepheus, and Auge, were [b] the children of Aleus, the ſon of Aphidas, the ſon of Arcas (3), the ſon of Calliſto, the daughter of Lycaon (4): Auge lay with Hercules (3), and Ancæus the ſon of Lycurgus was an Argonaut (5), and his uncle Cepheus was his governour in that expedition; and Lycurgus ſtaid at home to look after his aged father Aleus, who might be born about 75 years before that expedition (6); and his grandfather Arcas might be born about the end of the reign of Saul, and Lycaon the grandfather of Arcas might be then alive, and die before the middle of David's reign; and his youngeſt ſon Oenotrus (7), the Janus of the Latines, might grow up, and lead a colony into Italy (8) before the reign of Solomon. Arcas received [c] bread-corn from Triptolemus, and taught his people to make bread of it; and ſo did Eumelus (9), the firſt king of a

[a] Pauſan. l. 8. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[b] Pauſan. l. 8. c. 4. Apollon. Argonaut. l. 1. v. 161.

[c] Pauſan. l. 8. c. 4. p. 604.

and the ſhare of each of theſe princes went to their children after them. That of Azas to his ſon Clitor; that of Apheidas to his ſon Aleus; that of Elatus among his five ſons. Clitor in his life-time was the moſt conſiderable of theſe grand-children of Arcas. But after his death the kingdom ſeems to have been re-united under his couſin Æpytus, one of the ſons of Elatus, from whom again it paſſed to Aleus the ſon of Apheidas. Pauſan. lib. 8. c 4. p. 604—606. Between Arcas and Clitor therefore one ſucceſſion is to be inſerted; and the three reigns of Clitor, Æpytus, and Aleus, are not to be reckoned ſucceſſive, but contemporary with ſurvivorſhip to Aleus.

(2) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 5 p. 607. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 9. § VIII.
(3) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 9. § I. Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 606.
(4) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 4. § II. Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 603, & c. 4. p. 604.
(5) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 606. (6) Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 161—166.
(7) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 3. p. 603. (8) Pauſan. ibid. Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 9.
(9) Pauſan. lib. 7. c. 18. p. 568.

region

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region afterwards called Achaia (10): and therefore Arcas and Eumeles were contemporary to Triptolemus, and to his old father Celeus, and to Erechtheus king of Athens; and Calliſto to Rharus, and her father Lycaon to Cranaus (11): but Lycaon died before Cranaus, ſo as to leave room for Deucalion's flood between their deaths (12). The eleven (13) kings of Arcadia, between this flood and the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, that is, between the reigns of Lycaon and Cypſelus, after the rate of about twenty years to a reign one with another, took up about 220 years; and theſe years counted back from the return of the Heraclides, place the flood of Deucalion upon the fourteenth year of David's reign (14), or thereabout.

[a] Herod. l. 5. c. 58.

LXIX. Herodotus [a] tells us, that the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought many doctrines into Greece: for amongſt thoſe Phœnicians were a ſort of men called *Curetes*, who were ſkilled in the arts and ſciences of Phœnicia, above other men; and [b] ſettled ſome in Phrygia, where they were called *Corybantes* (1); ſome in Crete, where they were called *Idæi Dactyli* (2); ſome in Rhodes, where they were called *Telchines* (3); ſome in Samothrace, where they were called *Cabiri*; ſome in Eubœa, where, before the invention of iron, they wrought in copper, in a city thence called Chalcis; ſome in Lemnos, where they aſſiſted Vulcan; and ſome in Imbrus, and other places: and a conſiderable number of them ſettled in Ætolia, which was thence called the country of the Curetes; until Ætolus the ſon of Endymion, having ſlain Apis king of Sicyon, fled thither, and by the aſſiſtance of his father invaded it, and from his own name called it Ætolia (4): and by the aſſiſtance of theſe artificers, Cad-

[b] Strabo, l. 10. p. 462—474.

(10) Read, "*king of a ſmall diſtrict in Achaia, and founder of the city afterwards called Patræ.*" Pauſan. ibid.

(11) Pauſanias differs little, if at all, from our author in the age of Lycaon; making him contemporary with Cecrops the predeceſſor of Cranaus, lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600.

(12) For Deucalion's flood was in the reign of Nyctimus the ſucceſſor of Lycaon. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 8. § II.

(13) They ſhould be reckoned but nine. See note 1.

(14) But reckoning only nine ſucceſſive reigns of Arcadian kings, between Lycaon and Cypſelus; theſe nine reigns, at 20 years each, will amount to 180 years. And Deucalion's flood will fall 180 years before the return of the Heraclidæ: therefore 226 before the firſt olympiad: that is, about the year of the Julian period 3712, which, according to Petavius, was the fourteenth of Solomon.

mus

mus found out gold in the mountain Pangæus in Thrace (5), and copper at Thebes (6); whence copper ore is ſtill called Cadmia. Where they ſettled they wrought firſt in copper, till iron was invented; and then in iron: and when they had made themſelves armour, they danced in it at the ſacrifices with tumult and clamour, and bells, and pipes, and drums, and ſwords, with which they ſtruck upon one another's armour, in muſical times, appearing ſeized with a divine fury; and this is reckoned the original of muſic in Greece. So Solinus, [a] "*Studium muſicum inde cœptum, cùm Idæi Dactyli modulos, crepitu & tinnitu æris depre-henſos, in verſificum ordinem tranſtuliſſent:*" and Iſidorus, [b] "*Studium muſicum ab Idæis Dactylis cœptum.*" Apollo and the Muſes were two generations later. Clemens [c] calls the *Idæi Dactyli* barbarous, that is ſtrangers; and ſaith, that they were reputed the firſt wiſe men, to whom both the letters which they call Epheſian, and the invention of muſical rhythmes are referred. It ſeems that when the Phœnician letters, aſcribed to Cadmus, were brought into Greece, they were at the ſame time brought into Phrygia and Crete by the Curetes; who ſettled in thoſe countries, and called them Epheſian, from the city Epheſus (7), where they were firſt taught. The Curetes, by their manufacturing copper and iron, and making ſwords, and armour, and edged tools for hewing and carving of wood, brought into Europe a new way of fighting; and gave Minos an opportunity of building a fleet, and gaining the dominion of the ſeas; and ſet on foot the trades of ſmiths and carpenters in Greece, which are the foundation of manual trades. The [d] fleet of Minos was without ſails; and Dædalus fled from him, by adding ſails to his veſſel: and therefore ſhips with ſails were not uſed by the Greeks before the flight of

GREEKS.

[a] Solin. Polyhiſt. c. 11.

[b] Iſidor. originum. lib. xi. c. 6.

[c] Clem. Strom. l. 1. c. 15. p. 132.

[d] Pauſan. l. 9. c. 11.

§ LXIX.

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 49. p. 222. (2) —— c. 64. p. 230. Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 7. p. 391.

(3) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 55. p. 226.

(4) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § VI. Conon. Narrat. 14. Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 375, 376.

(5) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57. (6) Hygin. Fab. 274.

(7) THE Ἐφεσια γραμματα, mentioned by Clemens, were not letters of the alphabet, as our author imagines, but certain magical words written on the feet, crown, and girdle of the Epheſian Diana. Euſtath. in Hom. p. 1864, lin. 10—20. edit. Rom. Theſe words, with the interpretation of them, are to be found in Heſychius and Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 242. Wonderful virtues were aſcribed to them; but whether they operated by being uttered, or by being worn about the perſon, ſeems not agreed among the antient writers.

CHAPTER FIRST. Dædalus, and death of Minos, who was ſlain in purſuing him to Sicily (8), in the reign of Rehoboam. Dædalus and his nephew Talus, in the latter part of the reign of Solomon, invented the (9) chip-ax, and ſaw, and wimble, and perpendicular, and compaſs, and turning-lath, and glew, and the potter's wheel; and his father Eupalamus invented the anchor (9): and theſe things gave a beginning to manual arts and trades in Europe.

[a] Strabo, l. 10 p. 472, 473 Diodor. l. 5. c. 64. p. 231.

LXX. The [a] Curetes, who thus introduced letters, and muſic, and poetry, and dancing, and arts, and attended on the ſacrifices, were no leſs active about religious inſtitutions; and for their ſkill and knowledge and myſtical practices, were accounted wiſe men and conjurers by the vulgar. In Phrygia their myſteries were about Rhea, called *Magna Mater*, and from the places where ſhe was worſhipped, Cybele, Berecynthia, Peſſinuntia, Dindymene, Mygdonia, and Idæa Phrygia: and in Crete, and the *Terra Curetum*, they were about Jupiter Olympius, the ſon of the Cretan Rhea. They repreſented, [b] that when Jupiter was born in Crete, his mother Rhea cauſed him to be educated in a cave in mount Ida, under their care and tuition; and [c] that they danced about him in armour with great noiſe, that his father Saturn might not hear him cry; and when he was grown up, aſſiſted him in conquering his father, and his father's friends; and in memory of theſe things inſtituted their myſteries. Bochart [d] brings them from Paleſtine, and thinks that they had the name of Curetes from the people among the Philiſtims called Crethim, or Cerethites: Ezek. xxv. 16. Zeph. ii. 5. 1 Sam. xxx. 14. for the Philiſtims conquered Zidon, and mixed with the Zidonians.

[b] Strabo, l. 10. p. 468. 472. Diodor. l. 5. c. 64. p. 231.
[c] Lucian de ſacrificiis. Apollod. l. 1. c. 1. ſect. 3. & c. 2. ſect. 1.
[d] Boch. in Canaan. l. 1. c. 15.

LXXI. The two firſt kings of Crete, who reigned after the coming of the Curetes, were Aſterius and Minos; and Europa was

(8) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 79. p. 194, and lib. 5. c. 78. p. 238, and Herodot. lib. 7. c. 170.
(9) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 76. p. 192.

§ LXXI.

(1) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 1. § II. (2) —— § I. Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 78. p. 238.
(3) Euſtath in Il. p. 1205. lin. 10—20. edit. Rom.
(4) Read, *Minos and Sarpedon.* See Herodotus, lib. 1. c. 173.

§ LXXII.

(1) LUCIAN, in his diſcourſe about the Syrian goddeſs, ſays, that there was a temple in Phrygia dedicated,

was the queen of Aſterius (1), and mother of Minos (2); and the Idæan Curetes were her countrymen, and came with her and her brother Alymnus into Crete, and dwelt in the Idæan cave in her reign, and there educated Jupiter, and found out iron, and made armour: and therefore theſe three, Aſterius, Europa, and Minos, muſt be the Saturn, Rhea and Jupiter of the Cretans. Minos is uſually called the ſon of Jupiter; but this is in relation to the fable, that Jupiter in the ſhape of a bull, the enſign of the ſhip, carried away Europa from Zidon: for the Phœnicians, upon their firſt coming into Greece, gave the name of Jao-pater, Jupiter, to every king: and thus both Minos and his father were Jupiters. Echemenes, an ancient author cited by Athenæus [a], ſaid that Minos was that Jupiter who committed the rape upon Ganimede; though others ſaid more truly that it was Tantalus (3). Minos alone was that Jupiter who was moſt famous among the Greeks for dominion and juſtice, being the greateſt king in all Greece in thoſe days, and the only legiſlator. Plutarch [b] tells us, that the people of Naxus, contrary to what others write, pretended that there were two Minos's, and two Ariadnes; and that the firſt Ariadne married Bacchus, and the laſt was carried away by Theſeus. But [c] Homer, Heſiod, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Strabo, knew but of one Minos; and Homer deſcribes him to be the ſon of Jupiter and Europa; and the brother of Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon; and the father of Deucalion the Argonaut; and grandfather of Idomeneus who warred at Troy; and that he was the legiſlator of Hell. Herodotus [d] makes Minos and Rhadamanthus (4) the ſons of Europa, contemporary to Ægeus: and [e] Apollodorus and Hyginus ſay, that Minos, the father of Androgeus, Ariadne and Phædra, was the ſon of Jupiter and Europa, and brother of Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon.

GREEKS.

[a] Athen. l. 13. p. 601.

[b] Plutarch. in Theſeo, p. 9.

[c] Homer. Il. N. 450. & Ξ. 321. & Odyſ. Λ. 567. & T. 178.

[d] Herod. l. 1. c. 173.

[e] Apollod. l. 3. c. 1. Hygin. Fab. 40, 41, 42, 43, 178.

LXXII. Lucian [f] lets us know, that Europa the mother of Minos was worſhipped by the name of Rhea (1), in the form of a woman

[f] Lucian. de Dea Syria.

dedicated, as ſome imagined, to Europa. And in another part of the ſame tract, he ſays of the famous temple at Hierapolis, that, among many different opinions concerning the founder of it, and the divinity to which it was conſecrated, one was, that Attis had been the founder, and that the goddeſs was Rhea. And in confirmation of this, he alledges, that the idol of this temple had ſome of the peculiar attributes of Rhea: namely, the Car drawn by lions, the drum, and

woman ſitting in a chariot drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a *Corona turrita* on her head, like Aſtarte and Iſis. And the Cretans [a] anciently ſhewed the houſe where this Rhea lived: and [b] Apollonius Rhodius tells us, that Saturn, while he reigned over the Titans in Olympus, a mountain in Crete, and Jupiter was educated by the Curetes in the Cretan cave, deceived Rhea, and of Philyra begot Chiron. And therefore the Cretan Saturn and Rhea, were but one generation older than Chiron, and by conſequence not older than Aſterius and Europa, the parents of Minos. For Chiron lived till after the Argonautic expedition, and had two grandſons in that expedition (²); and Europa came into Crete above an hundred years before that expedition. Lucian [c] tells us, that the Cretans did not only relate, that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but alſo ſhewed his ſepulchre: and Porphyry [d] tells us, that Pythagoras went down into the Idæan cave to ſee his ſepulchre: and Cicero, [e] in numbering three Jupiters, ſaith, that the third was the Cretan Jupiter, Saturn's ſon, whoſe ſepulchre was ſhewed in Crete: and the ſcholiaſt upon Callimachus [f] lets us know, that this was the ſepulchre of Minos: his words are, "Εν Κρητη επι τω ταφω τυ "Μινωος επεγεγραπτο, ΜΙΝΩΟϹ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟϹ ΤΑΦΟϹ. τω χρονω δε "τυ Μινωος απηλειφθη, ώςε περιλειφθηναι, ΔΙΟϹ ΤΑΦΟϹ. εκ τυτυ "υν εχειν λεγυσι Κρητες τον ταφον τυ Διος. In Crete upon the ſe-"pulchre of Minos was written, *Minois Jovis ſepulchrum:* but "in time *Minois* wore out, ſo that there remained only *Jovis ſe-"pulchrum*, and thence the Cretans called it the ſepulchre of Ju-"piter." By Saturn, Cicero, who was a Latine, underſtood the Saturn ſo called by the Latines: for when Saturn was expelled his kingdom, he fled from Crete by ſea to Italy (³); and this the poets expreſſed by ſaying, that Jupiter caſt him down to Tartarus, that is, into the ſea: and becauſe he lay hid in Italy, the Latines (⁴) called him Saturn; and Italy, Saturnia and Latium; and themſelves Latines. So [g] Cyprian; "*Antrum Jovis in Cre-"tâ*

[a] Diodor. l. 5. c. 4. p. 231.
[b] Argonaut. l. 2. v. 1236.
[c] Lucian. de ſacrificiis, § 10.
[d] Porphyr. in vita Pythag.
[e] Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21.
[f] Callimac. Hymn. 1. v. 8.
[g] Cypr. de Idolorum vanitate.

and the towerd head. But I cannot find that he ſays Europa was Rhea. For this temple at Hierapolis, which ſome ſuppoſed to be Rhea's, was quite different from the Phrygian temple, which ſome ſuppoſed to be Europa's. See Lucian de Deâ Syria, § IV, XI, XV.

(²) [illegible]eus and Telamon. (Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § XVI. Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. 90—94.) They were

"*tâ viſitur, & ſepulchrum ejus oſtenditur: & ab eo Saturnum* GREEKS.
"*fugatum eſſe manifeſtum eſt: unde Latium de latebrâ ejus nomen accepit: hic literas imprimere, hic ſignare nummos in Italiâ primus inſtituit, unde ærarium Saturni vocatur; & ruſticitatis hic cultor fuit, inde falcem ferens ſenex pingitur:*" and Minutius Felix; "*Saturnus Cretâ profugus, Italiam metu filii ſævientis acceſſerat, & Jani ſuſceptus hoſpitio, rudes illos homines & agreſtes multa docuit, ut Græculus & politus; literas imprimere, nummos ſignare, inſtrumenta conficere: itaque latebram ſuam, quòd tutò latuiſſet, vocari maluit Latium, & urbem Saturniam de ſuo nomine. * * Ejus filius Jupiter Cretæ excluſo parente regnavit; illic obiit; illic filios habuit; adhuc antrum Jovis viſitur, & ſepulchrum ejus oſtenditur, & ipſis ſacris ſuis humanitatis arguitur.*" And Tertullian: "[a] *Quantum rerum argumenta docent, nuſquam invenio fideliora quàm apud ipſam Italiam; in quâ Saturnus poſt multas expeditiones, poſtque Attica hoſpitia conſedit, exceptus ab Jano, vel Jane, ut Salii volunt. Mons, quem incoluerat, Saturnius dictus: civitas, quam depalaverat, Saturnia uſque nunc eſt. Tota denique Italia poſt Oenotriam Saturnia cognominabatur. Ab ipſo primùm tabulæ, & imagine ſignatus nummus, & inde ærario præſidet.*" By Saturn's carrying letters into Italy, and coining money, and teaching agriculture, and making inſtruments, and building a town, you may know that he fled from Crete, after letters, and the coining of money, and manual arts were brought into Europe by the Phœnicians; and from Attica, after agriculture was brought into Greece by Ceres; and ſo could not be older than Aſterius, and Europa, and her brother Cadmus: and by Italy's being called Oenotria, before it was called Saturnia, you may know that he came into Italy after Oenotrus, and ſo was not older than the ſons of Lycaon. Oenotrus carried the firſt colony of the Greeks into Italy ([5]), Saturn the ſecond, and Evander the third; and the Latines knew nothing older in Italy than Janus and Saturn: and therefore Oenotrus was the Janus

[a] Tert. Apologet. c. 10.

were the ſons of Æacus by Eudeides the daughter of Chiron. Apollodor. lib. 3. c 11. § VI. In the Orphic Argonautics they are made the ſons of Æacus by Ægina. V. 128, and 182—184.

([3]) Virgil. Æn. 8. lin. 319—323. Servius upon the place. Ovid Faſt. lib. 1. lin. 235.

([4]) Read, *the Latines called Italy Saturnia, and Latinus and themſelves Latins.*

([5]) Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 9.

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nus of the Latines, and Saturn was contemporary to the ſons of Lycaon, and by conſequence alſo to Celeus, Erechtheus, Ceres, and Aſterius. For Ceres educated Triptolemus the ſon of Celeus, in the reign of Erechtheus, and then taught him to plow and ſow corn. Arcas the ſon of Calliſto, and grandſon of Lycaon, received corn from Triptolemus, and taught his people to make bread of it; and Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, fled to Minos the ſon of Aſterius. In memory of Saturn's coming into Italy by ſea, the Latines coined their firſt money with his head on one ſide, and a ſhip on the other ([6]). Macrobius [a] tells us, that when Saturn was dead, Janus erected an altar to him, with ſacred rites as to a God, and inſtituted the Saturnalia, and that human ſacrifices were offered to him; till Hercules, driving the cattle of Geryon through Italy, aboliſhed that cuſtom. By the human ſacrifices, you may know that Janus was of the race of Lycaon ([7]); which character agrees to Oenotrus. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis tells us further, that Oenotrus having found in the weſtern parts of Italy a large region fit for paſturage and tillage, but yet for the moſt part uninhabited, and where it was inhabited, peopled but thinly; in a certain part of it, purged from the Barbarians, he built towns little and numerous, in the mountains; which manner of building was familiar to the ancients ([8]): and this was the original of towns in Italy.

[a] Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. c. 7.

LXXIII. Pauſanias [b] tells us, that "the people of Elis, who "were beſt ſkilled in antiquities, related this to have been the "original of the Olympic Games: that Saturn reigned firſt, and "had a temple built to him in Olympia by the men of the Golden Age; and that when Jupiter was newly born, his mother "Rhea recommended him to the care of the Idæi Dactyli, who "were alſo called Curetes: that afterwards five of them, called "Hercules, Pœonius, Epimedes, Jaſius, and Ida, came from Ida, "a mountain in Crete, into Elis; and Hercules, called alſo Her-

[b] Pauſan. l. 5. c 7. p. 391, 392. vid. et. c. 13, 14. & l. 8. c. 2.

([6]) Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. c. 7.
([7]) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 8. § I.
([8]) Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 10.

§ LXXIII.

(*) With Æolians and Pelaſgians, ſaith Diodorus.

"cules

"cules Idæus, being the oldeſt of them in memory of the war GREEKS.
"between Saturn and Jupiter inſtituted the game of racing, and "that the victor ſhould be rewarded with a crown of olive;" and there erected an altar to Jupiter Olympius, and called theſe games Olympic: and that ſome of the Eleans ſaid, "that Jupiter contended here with Saturn for the kingdom; others that Hercules Idæus inſtituted theſe games in memory of their victory "over the Titans." For the people of Arcadia [a] had a tradition, that the giants fought with the gods in the valley of Bathos, near the river Alpheus and the fountain Olympias. [b] Before the reign of Aſterius, his father Teutamus came into Crete with a colony from Olympia (1); and upon the flight of Aſterius, ſome of his friends might retire with him into their own country, and be purſued and beaten there by the Idæan Hercules. The Eleans ſaid alſo that Clymenus the grandſon (2) of the Idæan Hercules, about fifty years after Deucalion's flood, coming from Crete, celebrated theſe games again in Olympia (3), and erected there an altar to Juno Olympia (4), that is, to Europa, and another to this Hercules and the reſt of the Curetes (3); and reigned in Elis till he was expelled by Endymion, [c] who thereupon celebrated theſe games again (3): and ſo did Pelops (3), who expelled Ætolus the ſon of Endymion (5); and ſo alſo did Hercules the ſon of Alcmena (3), and Atreus the ſon of Pelops (6), and Oxylus (3). They might be celebrated originally in triumph for victories, firſt by Hercules Idæus, upon the conqueſt of Saturn and the Titans; and then by Clymenus, upon his coming to reign in the *Terra Curetum*; then by Endymion, upon his conquering Clymenus; and afterwards by Pelops, upon his conquering Ætolus; and by Hercules, upon his killing Augeus; and by Atreus, upon his repelling the Heraclidæ (7); and by Oxylus, upon the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus. This Jupiter, to whom they were inſtituted, had a tem-

[a] Pauſan. l. 8. c. 29. p. 660.

[b] Diodor. l. 5. p. 183.

[c] Pauſan. l. 5. c. 8. 14.

(2) A deſcendant. (3) Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 393. (4) —— c. 14. p 412.

(5) According to Pauſanias, Ætolus fled for having killed Apis, the ſon of Jaſon of Pallantium in Arcadia, lib. 5. c. 1. p. 376.

(6) Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1. c. 8.

(7) Paterculus ſays, that they were celebrated by Atreus as funeral games, in honour of his father Pelops.

ple

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ple and altar erected to him in Olympia, where the games were celebrated, and from the place was called Jupiter Olympius. Olympia was a place upon the confines of Piſa, near the river Alpheus.

LXXIV. In the [b] iſland Thaſus, where Cadmus left his brother Thaſus (¹), the Phœnicians built a temple to Hercules Olympius (²); that Hercules, whom Cicero [b] calls *ex Idæis Dactylis, cui inferias afferunt* (³). When the myſteries of Ceres were inſtituted in Eleuſis, there were other myſteries inſtituted to her and her daughter and daughter's huſband, in the iſland Samothrace, by the Phœnician names of *Dii Cabiri Axieros, Axiokerſa*, and *Axiokerſes* (⁴), that is, the great gods Ceres, Proſerpina and Pluto: for [c] Jaſius a Samothracian, whoſe ſiſter married Cadmus, was familiar with Ceres; and Cadmus and Jaſius were both of them inſtituted in theſe myſteries. Jaſius was the brother of Dardanus, and married Cybele the daughter of Meones king of Phrygia, and by her had Corybas; and after his death, Dardanus, Cybele, and Corybas, went into Phrygia, and carried thither the myſteries of the mother of the gods, and Cybele called the goddeſs after her own name, and Corybas called her prieſts Corybantes. Thus Diodorus; but Dionyſius ſaith, [d] that Dardanus inſtituted the Samothracian myſteries; and that his wife Chryſes learned them in Arcadia; and that Idæus the ſon of Dardanus inſtituted afterwards the myſteries of the mother of the gods in Phrygia. This Phrygian goddeſs was drawn in a chariot by lions, and had a *corona turrita* on her head, and a drum in her hand, like the Phœnician goddeſs Aſtarte, and the Corybantes danced in armour at her ſacrifices in a furious manner, like the Idæi Dactyli (⁵); and Lucian [e] tells us, that ſhe was the Cretan Rhea (⁶), that is, Europa the mother of Minos. And thus the Phœnicians introduced the practice of deifying dead men and women among the Greeks and Phrygians; for I meet with

[a] Herod. l. 2. c. 44.

[b] Cic. de natura Deorum, lib. 3.

[c] Diodor. lib. 5. c. 48, 49. p. 223.

[d] Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 61. p. 49, 50. & c. 68. p. 55.

[e] Lucian. de ſaltatione.

§ LXXIV.

(¹) Conon. Narrat. 37. Apollodorus calls Thaſus a ſon of Neptune, lib. 3. c. 1. § I.

(²) To Hercules Thaſius, who was the Hercules Olympius of the Greeks. For Hercules the ſon of Alcmena lived in a later age: Herodotus ſays five generations later: according to our author's ſyſtem, three.

(³) Ex Idæis Digitis, cui inferias afferunt. De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 16.

no

no inſtance of deifying dead men and women in Greece, before the coming of Cadmus and Europa from Zidon. Greeks.

LXXV. From theſe originals it came into faſhion among the Greeks, κτερίζειν, *parentare*, to celebrate the funerals of dead parents with feſtivals and invocations and ſacrifices offered to their ghoſts, and to erect magnificent ſepulchres in the form of temples, with altars and ſtatues, to perſons of renown; and there to honour them publickly with ſacrifices and invocations. Every man might do it to his anceſtors; and the cities of Greece did it to all the eminent Greeks: as to Europa the ſiſter, to Alymnus the brother, and to Minos and Rhadamanthus the nephews of Cadmus; to his daughter Ino, and her ſon Melicertus; to Bacchus, the ſon of his daughter Semele; Ariſtarchus, the huſband of his daughter Autonöe; and Jaſius, the brother of his wife Harmonia; to Hercules a Theban, and his mother Alcmena; to Danäe, the daughter of Acriſius; to Æſculapius and Polemocrates the ſon of Machaon; to Pandion and Theſeus kings of Athens; Hippolytus, the ſon of Theſeus; Pan, the ſon of Penelope; Proſerpina, Triptolemus, Celeus, Trophonius, Caſtor, Pollux, Helena, Menelaus, Agamemnon, Amphiaräus, and his ſon Amphilochus, Hector and Alexandra the ſon and daughter of Priam, Phoroneus, Orpheus, Proteſiläus, Achilles and his mother Thetis, Ajax, Arcas, Idomeneus, Meriones, Æacus, Melampus, Britomartis, Adraſtus, Ioläus, and divers others. They deified their dead in divers manners, according to their abilities and circumſtances, and the merits of the perſon; ſome only in private families, as houſhold Gods or *Dii Penates*; others by erecting grave-ſtones to them in publick, to be uſed as altars for annual ſacrifices; others, by building alſo to them ſepulchres in the form of houſes or temples; and ſome by appointing myſteries, and ceremonies, and ſet ſacrifices, and feſtivals, and initiations, and a ſucceſſion

(4) Scholiaſt. in Apoll Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 917. Bochart Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 12.
(5) Lucretius, lib. 2. 598—623.
(6) Lucian tells us, that Rhea firſt inſtituted the dances of the Corybantes in Phrygia, and of the Curetes in Crete. (De Salt. § VIII.) Hence perhaps it may be probably concluded, that Rhea and the Phrygian goddeſs were the ſame. But I cannot find that this is any where expreſsly ſaid by Lucian.

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of prieſts for performing thoſe inſtitutions in the temples, and handing them down to poſterity. Altars might begin to be erected in Europe a little before the days of Cadmus, for ſacrificing to the old god or gods of the colonies; but temples began in the days of Solomon. For [a] Æacus the ſon of Ægina, who was two generations older than the Trojan war (1), is by ſome reputed one of the firſt who built a temple in Greece. Oracles came firſt from Egypt into Greece about the ſame time; as alſo did the cuſtom of forming the images of the gods with their legs bound up in the ſhape of the Egyptian mummies (2): for idolatry began in Chaldæa and Egypt, and ſpread thence into Phœnicia and the neighbouring countries, long before it came into Europe; and the Pelaſgians propagated it in Greece, by the dictates of the oracles (3). The countries upon the Tigris and the Nile being exceeding fertile, were firſt frequented by mankind, and grew firſt into kingdoms; and therefore began firſt to adore their dead kings and queens. Hence came the gods of Laban, the gods and goddeſſes called Baalim and Aſhtaroth by the Canaanites, the dæmons or ghoſts to whom they ſacrificed, and the Moloch to whom they offered their children in the days of Moſes (4) and the judges. Every city ſet up the worſhip of its own founder and kings, and by alliances and conqueſts they ſpread this worſhip, and at length the Phœnicians and Egyptians brought into Europe the practice of deifying the dead. The kingdom of the lower Egypt began to worſhip their kings before the days of Moſes; and to this worſhip the ſecond commandment is oppoſed. When the ſhepherds invaded the lower Egypt, they checked this worſhip of the old Egyptians, and ſpread that of their own

[a] Arnob. adv. gent. l. 6. p. 191.

§ LXXV.

(1) Being the father of Peleus, who was the father of Achilles. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 11. § VI. c. 12. § V & VI.

(2) Heliodor. Æthiop. lib. 3. c. 8. Philoſtrat. Vit. Apollon. lib. 6. c. 4. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 76. p. 192. There is a paſſage at the latter end of the firſt book of Diodorus, where the very reverſe ſeems to be affirmed of the antient ſtatues of the Egyptians; that they were made with a ſeparation of the legs. But the contrary is ſo evident from Heliodorus; who, to apologize for this awkward practice, alledges, that it was not owing to the imperfection of the art among them, but was intended to expreſs the peculiar *gait* of the gods [*—ſmooth gliding without ſtep*] that I have no doubt but the text of Diodorus in that paſſage is corrupt; and that for διαβεβηκότα we ſhould read συμβεβηκότα; which better agrees with what he ſays of the hands of the ſame ſtatue, that they hung ſtrait down.

kings:

kings: and at length the Egyptians of Coptos and Thebais, under Miſphragmuthoſis and Amoſis, expelling the ſhepherds, checked the worſhip of the gods of the ſhepherds, and deifying their own kings and princes, propagated the worſhip of twelve of them into their conqueſts; and made them more univerſal than the falſe gods of any other nation had been before, ſo as to be called *Dii magni majorum gentium.* Seſoſtris conquered Thrace (5), and Amphictyon the ſon of Prometheus (6) brought the twelve gods from Thrace into Greece: Herodotus [a] tells us, that they came from Egypt; and by the names of the cities of Egypt dedicated to many of theſe gods, you may know that they were of an Egyptian original: and the Egyptians, according to Diodorus [b], uſually repreſented, that after their Saturn and Rhea, reigned Jupiter and Juno, the parents of Oſiris and Iſis, the parents of Orus and Bubaſte.

GREEKS.

[a] Herod. l. 2. initio.

[b] Diodor. l. 1. p. 8.

LXXVI. By all this it may be underſtood, that as the Egyptians, who deified their kings, began their monarchy with the reign of the gods and heroes, reckoning Menes the firſt man who reigned after their gods; ſo the Cretans had the ages of their gods and heroes, calling the firſt four ages of their deified kings and princes, the Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages. Heſiod [c], deſcribing theſe four ages of the gods and demi-gods of Greece, repreſents them to be four generations of men; each of which ended, when the men then living grew old and dropt into the grave; and tells us, that the fourth ended with the wars of Thebes and Troy: and ſo many generations there were, from the coming of the Phœnicians and Curetes with Cadmus and Europa into Greece, unto the deſtruction of Troy. Apollonius Rhodius ſaith, that when the Argonauts came to Crete, they ſlew

[c] Heſiod. Opera, v. 108.

(3) Of the progreſs of idolatry from Egypt, by the Phœnicians into Greece, ſee Herodot. lib. 2. c. 43—64, and Diodorus in his firſt book.

(4) Leviticus xviii. 21. xx. 2.

(5) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 103.

(6) Read, *the grandſon of Prometheus.* For he was the ſon of Deucalion, who was the ſon of Prometheus. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 13. § VI. & lib. 1. c. 7. § II. Pliny ſays, that Amphictyon invented the interpretation of prodigies and dreams, lib. 7. c. 57. Pauſanias ſpeaks of a chapel near the temple of Bacchus at Athens, where were ſeveral images of earthen ware, repreſenting Amphictyon giving a banquet to Bacchus and the other gods. What expreſs authority there may be, that he brought the twelve gods from Thrace, I know not.

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* Apollon. Argonaut. l. 4. v. 1643.

Talus, a brazen man, who remained of thoſe that were of the Brazen Age, and guarded that paſs *. Talus was reputed the ſon of Minos (1); and therefore the ſons of Minos lived in the Brazen Age, and Minos reigned in the Silver Age. It was the Silver Age of the Greeks in which they began to plow and ſow corn; and Ceres, that taught them to do it, flouriſhed in the reign of Celeus and Erechtheus and Minos. Mythologiſts tell us, that the laſt woman with whom Jupiter lay was Alcmena (2); and thereby they ſeem to put an end to the reign of Jupiter among mortals, that is to the Silver Age, when Alcmena was with child of Hercules; who therefore was born about the eighth or tenth year of Rehoboam's reign, and was about 34 years old at the time of the Argonautic expedition. Chiron was begot by Saturn of Philyra in the Golden Age, when Jupiter was a child in the Cretan cave (3), as above; and this was in the reign of Aſterius king of Crete: and therefore Aſterius reigned in Crete in the Golden Age; and the Silver Age began when Chiron was a child. If Chiron was born about the 35th year of David's reign, he will be born in the reign of Aſterius, when Jupiter was a child in the Cretan cave, and be about 88 years old in the time of the Argonautic expedition, when he invented the aſteriſms; and this is within the reach of nature. The Golden Age therefore falls in with the reign of Aſterius, and the Silver Age with that of Minos; and to make theſe ages much longer than ordinary generations, is to make Chiron live much longer than according to the courſe of nature. This fable of the four ages ſeems to have been made by the Curetes in the fourth age, in memory of the firſt four ages of their coming into Europe, as into a new world; and in honour of their country-woman Europa, and her huſband Aſterius, the Saturn of the Latines; and of her ſon Minos, the Cretan Jupiter; and grandſon Deucalion, who reigned till the Argonautic expedition, and is ſometimes reckoned among the Argonauts; and of their great grandſon Idomeneus, who warred

§ LXXVI.

(1) See § LX. note 7.
(2) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 155.
(3) Apoll. Rhod. lib. 2. lin. 1235—1245.
(4) Id. lin. 174.

at

at Troy. Heſiod tells us, that he himſelf lived in the fifth age (⁴), the age next after the taking of Troy; and therefore he flouriſhed within 30 or 35 years after it. And Homer was of about the ſame age; for he [a] lived ſome time with Mentor in Ithaca, and there learnt of him many things concerning Ulyſſes, with whom Mentor had been perſonally acquainted. Now Herodotus, the oldeſt hiſtorian of the Greeks now extant, [b] tells us, that Heſiod and Homer were not above 400 years older than himſelf; and therefore they flouriſhed within 110 or 120 years after the death of Solomon: and according to my reckoning the taking of Troy was but one generation earlier. GREEKS.

[a] Vita Homeri Herodoto adſcr.

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 53.

LXXVII. Mythologiſts tell us, that Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, was the firſt woman with whom Jupiter lay (¹); and that of her he begat Argus, who ſucceeded Phoroneus in the kingdom of Argos, and gave his name to that city; and therefore Argus was born in the beginning of the Silver Age. Unleſs you had rather ſay, that by Jupiter they might here mean Aſterius; for the Phœnicians gave the name of Jupiter to every king, from the time of their firſt coming into Greece with Cadmus and Europa, until the invaſion of Greece by Seſoſtris, and the birth of Hercules; and particularly to the fathers of Minos, Pelops, Lacedæmon, Æacus, and Perſeus.

LXXVIII. The four firſt ages ſucceeded the flood of Deucalion; and ſome tell us, that Deucalion was the ſon of Prometheus, the ſon of Japetus (¹), and brother of Atlas. But this was another Deucalion; for Japetus, the father of Prometheus Epimetheus and Atlas, was an Egyptian, the brother of Oſiris, and flouriſhed two generations after the flood of Deucalion.

LXXIX. I have now carried up the chronology of the Greeks as high as to the firſt uſe of letters; the firſt plowing and ſowing of corn; the firſt manufacturing of copper and iron; the beginning of the trades of ſmiths, carpenters, joiners, turners, brick-makers, ſtone-cutters, and potters, in Europe; the firſt

§ LXXVII.

(¹) Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 14. p. 155. Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § I.

§ LXXVIII.

(¹) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 7. § II. & c. 2. § III.

walling

CHAPTER FIRST. walling of cities about; the firſt building of temples; and the original of oracles in Greece; the beginning of navigation by the ſtars in long ſhips with ſails; the erecting of the Amphictyonic council; the firſt ages of Greece, called the Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages, and the flood of Deucalion, which immediately preceded them. Thoſe ages could not be earlier than the invention and uſe of the four metals in Greece, from whence they had their names; and the flood of Ogyges could not be much above two or three ages earlier than that of Deucalion. For among ſuch wandering people as were then in Europe, there could be no memory of things done above three or four ages before the firſt uſe of letters. And the expulſion of the ſhepherds out of Egypt, which gave the firſt occaſion to the coming of people from Egypt into Greece, and to the building of houſes and villages in Greece, was ſcarce earlier than the days of Eli and Samuel: for Manetho (¹) tells us, that when they were forced to quit Abaris and retire out of Egypt, they went through the wilderneſs into Judæa, and built Jeruſalem. I do not think, with Manetho, that they were the Iſraelites under Moſes, but rather believe that they were Canaanites; and upon leaving Abaris mingled with the Philiſtims, their next neighbours: though ſome of them might aſſiſt David and Solomon in building Jeruſalem and the temple.

[a] 1 Sam. ix. 16. & xiii. 5, 19, 20.

LXXX. Saul was made king [a], that he might reſcue Iſrael out of the hand of the Philiſtims, who oppreſſed them; and in the ſecond year of his reign the Philiſtims brought into the field againſt him ‘thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſemen, and people as the ſand which is on the ſea ſhore for multitude.’ The Canaanites had their horſes from Egypt; and yet in the days of Moſes all the chariots of Egypt, with which Pharaoh purſued Iſrael, were but ſix hundred (¹), Exod. xiv. 7. From the great army of the Philiſtims againſt Saul, and the great num-

§ LXXIX.

(¹) Apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 1338.

§ LXXX.

(¹) The choſen chariots, the king's guard, were but 600. Beſides theſe, an indefinite number went on the purſuit. See Warburton Divine Leg. book IV. § V.

ber of their horſes, I ſeem to gather, that the ſhepherds had newly relinquiſhed Egypt, and joined them. The ſhepherds might be beaten and driven out of the greateſt part of Egypt, and ſhut up in Abaris by Miſphragmuthoſis in the latter end of the days of Eli; and ſome of them fly to the Philiſtims, and ſtrengthen them againſt Iſrael, in the laſt year of Eli; and from the Philiſtims ſome of the ſhepherds might go to Zidon; and from Zidon by ſea to Aſia Minor and Greece: and afterwards, in the beginning of the reign of Saul, the ſhepherds who ſtill remained in Egypt might be forced by Tethmoſis or Amoſis, the ſon of Miſphragmuthoſis, to leave Abaris, and retire in very great numbers to the Philiſtims; and upon theſe occaſions ſeveral of them, as Pelaſgus, Inachus, Lelex, Cecrops, and Abas, might come with their people by ſea from Egypt to Zidon and Cyprus, and thence to Aſia Minor and Greece, in the days of Eli, Samuel, and Saul; and thereby begin to open a commerce by ſea between Zidon and Greece, before the revolt of Edom from Judæa, and the final coming of the Phœnicians from the Red Sea. GREEKS.

LXXXI. Pelaſgus reigned in Arcadia, and was the father of Lycaon, according to Pherecydes Athenienſis; and Lycaon died juſt before the flood of Deucalion (¹); and therefore his father Pelaſgus might come into Greece about two generations before Cadmus, or in the latter end of the days of Eli. Lycaon ſacrificed children (²); and therefore his father might come with his people from the ſhepherds in Egypt, and perhaps from the regions of Heliopolis, where they ſacrificed men, till Amoſis aboliſhed that cuſtom (³). Miſphragmuthoſis, the father of Amoſis, drove the ſhepherds out of a great part of Egypt, and ſhut the remainder up in Abaris (⁴): and then great numbers might eſcape to Greece; ſome from the regions of Heliopolis under Pelaſgus; and others from Memphis and other places, under other captains. And hence it might come to paſs, that the Pelaſgians were at the firſt very numerous in Greece, and ſpake a different language

§. LXXXI.

(¹) See § LXVIII. (²) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 2.

(³) Manetho apud Porphyrium. Euſeb. Præp. lib. 4. p. 93.

(⁴) Manetho apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 1338.

from

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from the Greek, and were the ringleaders in bringing into Greece the worſhip of the dead.

LXXXII. Inachus is called the ſon of Oceanus (1), perhaps becauſe he came to Greece by ſea. He might come with his people to Argos from Egypt in the days of Eli, and ſeat himſelf upon the river Inachus, ſo named from him (1), and leave his territories to his ſons Phoroneus (1), Ægialeus (1), and Phegeus (2), in the days of Samuel. For Car, the ſon of Phoroneus, built a temple to Ceres in Megara (3), and therefore was contemporary to Erechtheus. Phoroneus reigned at Argos (4), and Ægialeus at Sicyon (5), and founded thoſe kingdoms; and yet Ægialeus is made above five hundred years older than Phoroneus by ſome chronologers. But [a] Acuſilaus, [b] Anticlides, and [c] Plato, accounted Phoroneus the oldeſt king in Greece; and [d] Apollodorus tells us, Ægialeus was the brother of Phoroneus (6). Ægialeus died without iſſue, and after him reigned Europs, Telchin, Apis, Lamedon, Sicyon, Polybus, Adraſtus, and Agamemnon, &c. and Sicyon gave his name to the kingdom. Herodotus [e] ſaith, that Apis in the Greek tongue is Epaphus; and Hyginus, [f] that Epaphus the Sicyonian got Antiopa with child. But the later Greeks have made two men of the two names Apis and Epaphus, or Epopeus, and between them inſerted twelve feigned kings of Sicyon, who made no wars, nor did any thing memorable; and yet reigned five hundred and twenty years, which is, one with another, above forty and three years a-piece (7). If theſe feigned kings be rejected, and the two kings Apis and Epopeus be reunited, Ægialeus will become contemporary to his brother Phoroneus, as he ought to be. For Apis or Epopeus, and Nycteus the guardian

[a] Clem. Al. Strom. lib. 1. c. 21. p. 138.
[b] Plin. l. 7. c. 57.
[c] Plato in Timæo, 1043.
[d] Apollodor. l. 2. c. 1.
[e] Herod. l. 2. c. 153. & lib. 3. c. 27, 28.
[f] Hygin. Fab. 7 & 8.

§ LXXXII.

(1) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § I.

(2) Stephanus Byzantinus, under the word φηγεια, produces a paſſage from Charax, in which Phegeus is called the brother of Phoroneus.

(3) Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 40. p. 97. compare c. 39. p. 95. (4) —— Lib. 2. c. 15. p. 144, 145.

(5) —— Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 123. The old chronologers did not take Ægialeus, the firſt king of Sicyon, for the ſame perſon with the brother of Phoroneus. For they made the firſt king of Sicyon much older than Inachus, the father of Phoroneus. See Euſeb. in Chron.

(6) And Clemens ſays expreſsly, that the kingdom of Sicyon, where Ægialeus was the firſt king, in the time of Phoroneus the ſucceſſor of Inachus, p. 138.

(7) Euſeb. in Chron.

of Labdacus, were ſlain in battle about the tenth year of Solomon, as above; and the firſt four kings of Sicyon, Ægialeus, Europs, Telchin, Apis, after the rate of about twenty years to a reign, take up about eighty years; and theſe years counted upwards from the tenth year of Solomon, place the beginning of the reign of Ægialeus upon the twelfth year of Samuel, or thereabout: and about that time began the reign of Phoroneus at Argos. Apollodorus [a] calls Adraſtus king of Argos; but Homer [b] tells us, that he reigned firſt at Sicyon: he was in the firſt war againſt Thebes. Some place Janiſcus and Phæſtus between Polybus and Adraſtus, but without any certainty.

GREEKS.

[a] Apollodor. l. 3. c. 6. § 1.

[b] Homer. Il. B. verſ. 572.

LXXXIII. Lelex might come with his people into Laconia in the days of Eli, and leave his territories to his ſons Myles (1), Eurotas (2), Cleſon (3), and Polycaon (1), in the days of Samuel. Myles ſet up a quern (4), or hand-mill to grind corn, and is reputed the firſt among the Greeks who did ſo: but he flouriſhed before Triptolemus, and ſeems to have had his corn and artificers from Egypt. Eurotas the brother, or as ſome ſay the ſon of Myles, built Sparta, and called it after the name of his daughter Sparta, the wife of Lacedæmon, and mother of Eurydice. Cleſon was the father of Pylas, the father of Sciron, who married the daughter of Pandion the ſon of Erechtheus, and contended with Niſus the ſon of Pandion and brother of Ægeus, for the kingdom; and Æacus adjudged it to Niſus (5). Polycaon invaded Meſſene, then peopled only by villages, called it Meſſene after the name of his wife, and built cities therein (6).

LXXXIV. Cecrops (1) came from Sais in Egypt to Cyprus, and thence into Attica: and he might do this in the days of Samuel,

§ LXXXIII.

(1) Pauſan. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 204.
(2) Eurotas was the ſon of Myles, and the grandſon of Lelex, Pauſan. ibid. Scholiaſt. in Oreſt. Euripid.
(3) Pauſan. lib. 1. c. 39. p. 95. (4) —— Lib. 3. c. 20. p. 260.
(5) According to Pauſanias, Lacedæmon was the builder of Sparta, p. 204.
(6) Pauſan. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 280.

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(1) Vid. Sir John Marſham, Chron. ſect. VIII. *Tit. Cecrops.* That he was an Ægyptian, is affirmed by the Scholiaſt on Ariſtoph. Plut. lin. 773: A Saite, by John Tzetzes in Chil. 5. Hiſt. 18.

and marry Agraule the daughter of Actæus, and ſucceed him in Attica ſoon after; and leave his kingdom to Cranäus in the reign of Saul, or in the beginning of the reign of David: for the flood of Deucalion happened in the reign of Cranäus ([2]).

LXXXV. Of about the ſame age with Pelaſgus, Inachus, Lelex, and Actæus, was Ogyges ([1]). He reigned in Bœotia, and ſome of his people were Leleges: and either he or his ſon Eleuſis built the city Eleuſis in Attica; that is, they built a few houſes of clay, which in time grew into a city. Acuſiläus wrote, that Phoroneus was older than Ogyges; and that Ogyges flouriſhed 1020 years before the firſt olympiad ([2]), as above. But Acuſiläus was an Argive, and feigned theſe things in honour of his country. To call things Ogygian has been a phraſe among the ancient Greeks, to ſignify that they are as old as the firſt memory of things; and ſo high we have now carried up the chronology of the Greeks. Inachus might be as old as Ogyges; but Acuſiläus and his followers made them 700 years older than the truth; and chronologers, to make out this reckoning, have lengthened the races of the kings of Argos and Sicyon, and changed ſeveral contemporary princes of Argos into ſucceſſive kings, and inſerted many feigned kings into the race of the kings of Sicyon.

LXXXVI. Inachus had ſeveral ſons, who reigned in ſeveral parts of Peloponneſus, and there built towns; as Phoroneus, who built Phoronicum, afterwards called Argos, from Argus his grandſon ([1]); Ægialeus, who built Ægialea, afterwards called Sicyon ([2]), from Sicyon the grandſon of Erechtheus; Phegeus, who built Phegea, afterwards called Pſophis ([3]), from Pſophis the daughter of Lycaon: and theſe were the oldeſt towns in Peloponneſus. Then Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus and grandſon of Hellen, built Ephyra, afterwards called Corinth ([4]); and Aeth-

([2]) See § LXVII. note 4.

§ LXXXV.

([1]) Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 27. ([2]) Apud African. Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10. p. 287.

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([1]) Pauſan. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 145. ([2]) —— Lib. 2. c. 5. p. 123. and c. 6. p. 125.
([3]) Stephanus in the word Φηγεια. Compare Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 24.

lius,

lius, the ſon of Æolus, built Elis (5): and before them Cecrops built Cecropia, the citadel of Athens; and Lycaon built Lycoſura (6), reckoned by ſome the oldeſt town in Arcadia (7); and his ſons, who were at leaſt four and twenty in number (8), built each of them a town (9); except the youngeſt, called Oenotrus, who grew up after his father's death, and ſailed into Italy with his people, and there ſet on foot the building of towns, and became the Janus of the Latines. Phoroneus had alſo ſeveral children and grand-children, who reigned in ſeveral places, and built new towns, as Car, Apis, &c. And Hæmon, the ſon of Pelaſgus, reigned in Hæmonia (10), afterwards called Theſſaly, and built towns there. This diviſion and ſubdiviſion has made great confuſion in the hiſtory of the firſt kingdoms of Peloponneſus, and thereby give occaſion to the vain-glorious Greeks to make thoſe kingdoms much older than they really were. But by all the reckonings above-mentioned, the firſt civilizing of the Greeks, and teaching them to dwell in houſes and towns, and the oldeſt towns in Europe, could ſcarce be above two or three generations older than the coming of Cadmus from Zidon into Greece; and might moſt probably be occaſioned by the expulſion of the ſhepherds out of Egypt in the days of Eli and Samuel, and their flying into Greece in conſiderable numbers. But it is difficult to ſet right the genealogies and chronology of the fabulous ages of the Greeks; and I leave theſe things to be further examined. GREEKS.

LXXXVII. Before the Phœnicians introduced the deifying of dead men, the Greeks had a council of elders in every town for the government thereof, and a place where the elders and people worſhipped their god with ſacrifices. And when many of thoſe towns, for their common ſafety, united under a common council, they erected a Prytaneum, or court, in one of the towns, where the council and people met at certain times to conſult their

(4) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § III.

(5) Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 375. Aethlius was commonly ſaid to be the ſon of Protogenia by Jupiter. But the Eleans themſelves affirmed, that this Jupiter, the father of Aethlius, was Æolus. Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 393.

(6) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 2. p. 600.

(7) ——— c. 38. p. 678.

(8) Apollodorus ſays fifty, lib. 3. c. 8. § I.

(9) Pauſan. lib. 8. c. 3.

(10) See the Scholiaſt on Apoll. Rhod. lib. 3. l. 1089. Stephanus calls Æmon the grandſon of Pelaſgus.

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common ſafety, and worſhip their common god with ſacrifices, and to buy and ſell. The towns where theſe councils met, the Greeks called δημοι, people or communities, or corporation towns: and at length, when many of theſe δημοι for their common ſafety united by conſent under one common council; they erected a Prytaneum in one of the δημοι for the common council and people to meet in, and to conſult and worſhip in, and feaſt, and buy, and ſell; and this δημος they walled about for its ſafety, and called την πολιν the city. And this I take to have been the original of villages, market-towns, cities, common-councils, veſtal temples, feaſts, and fairs, in Europe. The Prytaneum, πυρος ταμειον, was a court with a place of worſhip, and a perpetual fire kept therein upon an altar for ſacrificing. From the word Εϛια, fire, came the name Veſta; which at length the people turned into a goddeſs, and ſo became fire-worſhippers like the ancient Perſians. And when theſe councils made war upon their neighbours, they had a general commander to lead their armies, and he became their king.

[a] Thucyd. l. 2. c. 15. p. 93. & Plutarch in Theſeo, p. 10.

LXXXVIII. So Thucydides [a] tells us, that "under Cecrops "and the ancient kings, until Theſeus, Attica was always inhabited city by city, each having magiſtrates and Prytanea: neither did they conſult the king when there was no fear of danger; but each apart adminiſtred their own common-wealth, and "had their own council, and even ſometimes made war, as the "Eleuſinians with Eumolpus did againſt Erechtheus. But when "Theſeus, a prudent and potent man, obtained the kingdom, he "took away the courts and magiſtrates of the other cities, and "made them all meet in one council and Prytaneum at Athens." Polemon, as he is cited by [b] Strabo, tells us, that "in this body "of Attica, there were 170 δημοι, one of which was Eleuſis." And Philochorus [c] relates, that "when Attica was infeſted by ſea "and land by the Cares and Bœoti; Cecrops, the firſt of any "man, reduced the multitude," that is the 170 towns, "into "twelve cities, whoſe names were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, "Decelia, Eleuſis, Aphydna, Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephiſſia, and Phalerus; and that Theſeus contracted thoſe "twelve cities into one, which was Athens."

[b] Strabo, l. 9. p. 396.

[c] Apud Strabonem, l. 9. p. 397.

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LXXXIX. The original of the kingdom of the Argives was much after the ſame manner: for Pauſanias[a] tells us, "that "Phoroneus, the ſon of Inachus, was the firſt who gathered into "one community the Argives, who till then were ſcattered, and "lived every where apart; and the place where they were firſt "aſſembled was called Phoronicum, the city of Phoroneus." And Strabo[b] obſerves, that "Homer calls all the places which "he reckons up in Peloponneſus, a few excepted, not cities, but "regions; becauſe each of them conſiſted of a convention of "many δῆμοι, free towns, out of which afterward noble cities "were built and frequented: ſo the Argives compoſed Mantinæa "in Arcadia out of five towns, and Tegea out of nine; and out "of ſo many was Heræa built by Cleombrotus, or by Cleony-"mus: ſo alſo Ægium was built out of ſeven or eight towns, "Patræ out of ſeven, and Dyme out of eight; and ſo Elis was "erected by the conflux of many towns into one city."

GREEKS.

[a] Pauſan. l. 2. c. 15. p. 145.

[b] Strabo, l. 8. p. 337.

XC. Pauſanias[c] tells us, that the Arcadians accounted Pelaſgus the firſt man, and that he was their firſt king; and "taught "the ignorant people to built houſes, for defending themſelves "from heat, and cold, and rain; and to make them garments of "ſkins; and inſtead of herbs and roots, which were ſometimes "noxious, to eat the acorns of the beech tree;" and that his ſon Lycaon built the oldeſt city in all Greece. He tells us alſo, that in the days of Lelex the Spartans lived in villages apart. The Greeks therefore began to build houſes and villages in the days of Pelaſgus the father of Lycaon, and in the days of Lelex the father of Myles; and by conſequence about two or three generations before the flood of Deucalion, and the coming of Cadmus. Till then[d] they lived in woods and caves of the earth. The firſt houſes were of clay; till the brothers Euryalus and Hyperbius taught them to harden the clay into bricks, and to build therewith. In the days of Ogyges, Pelaſgus, Æzeus, Inachus, and Lelex, they began to build houſes and villages of clay, Doxius the ſon of Cœlus teaching them to do it (¹); and in the days of Lycaon, Phoroneus, Ægialeus, Phegeus, Eurotas, Myles, Po-

[c] Pauſan. l. 8. c. 1, 2. p. 598, 599.

[d] Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

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(¹) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57.

lycaon,

lycaon, and Cecrops, and their ſons, to aſſemble the villages into δημοι, and the δημοι into cities.

XCI. When Oenotrus the ſon of Lycaon carried a colony into Italy, " he [a] found that country for the moſt part uninhabited; " and where it was inhabited, peopled but thinly: and ſeizing a " part of it, he built towns in the mountains, little and nume- " rous," as above. Theſe towns were without walls; but after this colony grew numerous, and began to want room, " they " expelled the Siculi, compaſſed many cities with walls, and be- " came poſſeſſed of all the territory between the two rivers Liris " and Tibre (1)." And it is to be underſtood, that thoſe cities had their councils and Prytanea after the manner of the Greeks. For Dionyſius [b] tells us, that the new kingdom of Rome, as Romulus left it, conſiſted of thirty courts or councils (2), in thirty towns, each with the ſacred fire kept in the Prytaneum of the court, for the ſenators who met there to perform ſacred rites, after the manner of the Greeks (3). " But when Numa the ſuc- " ceſſor of Romulus reigned, he leaving the ſeveral fires in their " own courts, inſtituted one common to them all at Rome (4):" whence Rome was not a compleat city before the days of Numa.

[a] Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 12. p. 10.

[b] Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 126.

XCII. When navigation was ſo far improved that the Phœnicians began to leave the ſea-ſhore, and ſail through the Mediterranean by the help of the ſtars, it may be preſumed, that they began to diſcover the iſlands of the Mediterranean, and for the ſake of traffic to ſail as far as Greece: and this was not long before they carried away Io, the daughter of Inachus, from Argos. The Cares (1) firſt infeſted the Greek ſeas with piracy; and then Minos the ſon of Europa got up a potent fleet, and ſent out colonies. For Diodorus [c] tells us, that the Cyclades iſlands, thoſe near Crete, were at firſt deſolate and uninhabited; but Minos, having a potent fleet, ſent many colonies out of Crete, and peopled many of them; and particularly, that the iſland Carpa-

[c] Diodor. l. 5. p. 240.

§ XCI.

(1) Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 8. (2) ——— lib. 2. c. 7. p. 82.
(3) ——— c. 13. p. 93. (4) ——— c. 66. p. 126.

XCII.

(1) Thucydid. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 5. Herodotus ſays, that the Carians manned the fleets of Minos, lib. 1. c. 171.

thus

thus [a] was firſt ſeized by the ſoldiers of Minos. Syme lay waſte and deſolate till Triops came thither with a colony under Chthonius [b]. Strongyle, or Naxus, was firſt inhabited by the Thracians in the days of Boreas [c], a little before the Argonautic expedition. Samos was at firſt deſert, and inhabited only by a great multitude of terrible wild beaſts, till Macareus peopled it, as he did alſo the iſlands Chius and Cos (1). Leſbos lay waſte and deſolate till Xanthus ſailed thither with a colony (2). Tenedos lay deſolate till Tennes, a little before the Trojan war, ſailed thither from Troas (3). Ariſtæus, who married Autonöe the daughter of Cadmus, carried a colony from Thebes into Cæa, an iſland not inhabited before (4). The iſland Rhodes was at firſt called Ophiuſa (5), being full of ſerpents before Phorbas, a prince of Argos, went thither, and made it habitable by deſtroying the ſerpents (6), which was about the end of Solomon's reign; in memory of which he is delineated in the heavens in the conſtellation of Ophiuchus (7). The diſcovery of this and ſome other iſlands made a report, that they roſe out of the ſea. "*In Aſiâ* "*Delos emerſit, & Hiera, & Anaphe, & Rhodus,*" ſaith [d] Ammianus. And [e] Pliny; "*Claræ jampridem inſulæ, Delos & Rhodos memoriæ produntur enatæ; poſtea minores; ultra Melon, Anaphe; inter Lemnum & Helleſpontum, Nea; inter Lebedum & Teon, Halone, &c.*"

GREEKS.

[a] Diodor. l. 5. c. 54. p. 225.
[b] Diodor. l. 5. c. 53. p. 225.
[c] Diodor. l. 5. c. 50. p. 224.
[d] Ammian. l. 17. c. 7.
[e] Plin. l. 2. c. 87.

XCIII. Diodorus [f] tells us alſo, that the ſeven iſlands called Æolides, between Italy and Sicily, were deſert and uninhabited till Lipparus and Æolus, a little before the Trojan war, went thither from Italy, and peopled them. And that [g] Malta and Gaulus, or Gaudus, on the other ſide of Sicily, were firſt peopled by Phœnicians. And ſo was Madera without the Sraits. And Homer writes, that Ulyſſes found the iſland Ogygia covered with wood, and uninhabited, except by Calypſo and her maids (1), who lived in a cave without houſes (2). And it is not likely that

[f] Diodor. l. 5. c. 7. p. 202, 204.
[g] Diodor. l. 5. c. 12. p. 204.

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 81. p. 239. (3) ———— c. 83. p. 240.
(4) ———— lib. 4. c. 81, 82. p. 195. (5) Strabo, lib. 14 p. 653.
(6) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 58. p. 228. Compare Euſeb. Chron.
(7) Polyzelus Rhodius apud Hygin. Poet. Aſtr. lib. 2. c. 14.

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(1) Od. H. 245—248. E. 63—69 & 199. (2) Od. E. 57 & 194.

Great

CHAPTER FIRST. Great Britain and Ireland could be peopled before navigation was propagated beyond the Straits.

XCIV. The Sicaneans were reputed the firſt inhabitants of Sicily. They built little villages or towns upon hills, and every town had its own king; and by this means they ſpread over the country, before they formed themſelves into larger governments with a common king. Philiſtus [a] ſaith, that "they were tranſ- "planted into Sicily from the river Sicanus in Spain;" and Dionyſius, [b] that "they were a Spaniſh people who fled from the "Ligures in Italy." He means the Ligures [c] who oppoſed Hercules when he returned from his expedition againſt Geryon in Spain, and endeavoured to paſs the Alps out of Gaul into Italy. Hercules that year got into Italy, and made ſome conqueſts there, and founded the city Croton ([1]); and [d] after winter, upon the arrival of the fleet from Erythra in Spain, ſailed to Sicily, and there left the Sicani: for "it was his cuſtom to recruit his army "with conquered people, and after they had aſſiſted him in mak- "ing new conqueſts, to reward them with new ſeats [2]." This was the Egyptian Hercules, who had a potent fleet, and in the days of Solomon ſailed to the Straits, and according to his cuſtom ſet up pillars there, and conquered Geryon, and returned back by Italy and Sicily to Egypt, and was by the ancient Gauls called *Ogmius* ([3]), and by the Egyptians [e] *Nilus:* for Erythra and the country of Geryon were without the Straits. Dionyſius [f] repreſents this Hercules contemporary to Evander.

XCV. The firſt inhabitants of Crete, according to Diodorus, were called Eteocretans [g]; but whence they were, and how they came thither, is not ſaid in hiſtory. Then ſailed thither a colony of Pelaſgians from Greece; and ſoon after Teutamus, the grandfather of Minos, carried thither a colony of Dorians from Laconia, and from the territory of Olympia in Peloponneſus ([1]). And theſe ſeveral colonies ſpake ſeveral languages ([2]), and fed on the ſpontaneous fruits of the earth, and lived quietly in caves

[a] Apud Diodor. l. 5. c. 6. p. 201.
[b] Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 22. p. 17.
[c] Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 41. p. 33. 34.
[d] Dionyſ. l. 1. c. 44. p. 35.
[e] Ptol. Hephæſt. l. 2.
[f] Dionyſ. l. 2. p. 34.
[g] Diodor. l. 5. c. 64. p. 230.

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([1]) That Hercules founded Croton, ſeems to be a conjecture of our author's taken from the fable of Myſcelus's dream. See Ovid Metamorph. lib. 15. lin. 1—59. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (lib. 2. c. 59 p. 121) and Strabo (p. 262) mention Myſcelus as the founder of Croton.

([2]) Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 1. c. 42. p. 34. ([3]) Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 42.

3 and

and huts, till the invention of iron tools in the days of Aſterius the ſon of Teutamus; and at length were reduced into one kingdom, and one people, by Minos (3), who was their firſt lawgiver, and built many towns and ſhips, and introduced plowing and ſowing, and in whoſe days the Curetes conquered his father's friends in Crete and Peloponneſus. The Curetes [a] ſacrificed children to Saturn; and, according to Bochart [b], were Philiſtims. And Euſebius ſaith (4) that Crete had its name from Cres, one of the Curetes who nurſed up Jupiter. But whatever was the original of the iſland, it ſeems to have been peopled by colonies which ſpake different languages, till the days of Aſterius and Minos, and might come thither two or three generations before, and not above, for want of navigation in thoſe ſeas.

GREEKS.

[a] Iſter apud Porphyr. abſt. l. 2. ſ. 56. Euſeb. Præp. lib. 4. p. 93.

[b] Bochart. Canaan. l. 1. c. 15.

XCVI. The iſland Cyprus was diſcovered by the Phœnicians not long before: for Eratoſthenes [c] tells us, "that Cyprus was at "firſt ſo overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled; and "that they firſt cut down the wood for the melting of copper and "ſilver; and afterwards, when they began to ſail ſafely upon the "Mediterranean," that is, preſently after the Trojan war, "they "built ſhips and even navies of it: and when they could not thus "deſtroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what "wood he pleaſed, and to poſſeſs all the ground which he cleared "of wood." So alſo Europe at firſt abounded very much with woods; one of which, called the Hercinian, took up a great part of Germany, being full nine days journey broad, and above forty long, in Julius Cæſar's days: and yet the Europeans had been cutting down their woods, to make room for mankind, ever ſince the invention of iron tools in the days of Aſterius and Minos.

[c] Apud Strabonem. lib. 14. p. 684.

XCVII. All theſe footſteps there are of the firſt peopling of Europe, and its iſlands, by ſea. Before thoſe days it ſeems to have been thinly peopled, from the northern coaſt of the Euxine Sea, by Scythians deſcended from Japhet; who wandered without

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(1) Dionyſ. Sic. lib. 5. c. 80. p 238. And all theſe nations, with the Eteocretans and ſome Achæans, who are likewiſe mentioned by Diodorus, inhabited Crete in the days of Ulyſſes. Homer. Od. T. lin. 172—178.

(2) Homer. ibid. (3) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 80. p. 238. (4) In Chron.

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houſes, and ſheltered themſelves from rain and wild beaſts in thickets and caves of the earth; ſuch as were the caves in mount Ida in Crete, in which Minos was educated and buried; the cave of Cacus, and the Catacombs in Italy, near Rome and Naples, afterwards turned into burying-places; the Syringes, and many other caves in the ſides of the mountains of Egypt; the caves of the Troglodytes between Egypt and the Red Sea; and thoſe of the Phaurufii in Africa, mentioned by [a] Strabo; and the caves, and thickets, and rocks, and high places, and pits, in which the Iſraelites hid themſelves from the Philiſtims in the days of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 6. But of the ſtate of mankind in Europe in thoſe days, there is now no hiſtory remaining.

XCVIII. The antiquities of Libya were not much older than thoſe of Europe. For Diodorus [b] tells us, that Uranus the father of Hyperion, and grandfather of Helius and Selene, that is, Ammon the father of Seſac, "was their firſt common king, and "cauſed the people, who till then wandered up and down, to "dwell in towns." And Herodotus [c] tells us, that all Media was peopled by δημοι, towns without walls, till they revolted from the Aſſyrians; which was about 267 years after the death of Solomon. And that after that revolt they ſet up a king over them, and built Ecbatane with walls for his ſeat; the firſt town which they walled about. And about 72 years after the death of Solomon, Benhadad king of Syria [d] had two and thirty kings in his army againſt Ahab. And when Joſhuah conquered the land of Canaan, every city of the Canaanites had its own king, like the cities of Europe, before they conquered one another; and one of thoſe kings, Adonibezek, the king of Bezek, had conquered ſeventy other kings a little before, Judg. i. 7. And therefore towns began to be built in that land not many ages before the days of Joſhuah. For the patriarchs wandered there in tents, and fed their flocks wherever they pleaſed; the fields of Phœnicia not being yet fully appropriated for want of people. The countries firſt inhabited by mankind were in thoſe days ſo thinly peopled, that [e] four kings from the coaſts of Shinar and Elam

[a] Strabo, l. 17. p. 828.

[b] Diodor. l. 3. c. 56, 57. p. 133.

[c] Herod. l. 1. c. 96—98.

[d] 1 Kings xx. 16.

[e] Geneſ. xiv. Deut. ii. 9. 12. 19—22.

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(') This ſeems to be a miſtake. The 318 men were Abraham's own ſervants and dependants.

invaded

invaded and ſpoiled the Rephaims, and the inhabitants of the Greeks.
countries of Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the kingdoms of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim; and yet were purſued and beaten by Abraham with an armed force of only 318 men, the whole force which Abraham and the princes with him (1) could raiſe. And Egypt was ſo thinly peopled before the birth of Moſes, that Pharaoh ſaid of the Iſraelites; "[a] Behold the people of "the children of Iſrael are more and mightier than we." And to prevent their multiplying and growing too ſtrong, he cauſed their male children to be drowned.

[a] Exod. i. 9. 22.

XCIX. Theſe footſteps there are of the firſt peopling of the earth by mankind, not long before the days of Abraham; and of the overſpreading it with villages, towns, and cities, and their growing into kingdoms, firſt ſmaller and then greater, until the riſe of the monarchies of Egypt, Aſſyria, Babylon, Media, Perſia, Greece, and Rome, the firſt great empires on this ſide India. Abraham was the fifth from Peleg (1); and all mankind (2) lived together in Chaldea under the government of Noah and his ſons, until the days of Peleg. So long they were of one language, one ſociety, and one religion. And then they divided the earth, being perhaps diſturbed by the rebellion of Nimrod, and forced to leave off building the Tower of Babel. And from thence they ſpread themſelves into the ſeveral countries, which fell to their ſhares; carrying along with them the laws, cuſtoms, and religion, under which they had till thoſe days been educated and governed by Noah, and his ſons and grand-ſons. And theſe laws were handed down to Abraham, Melchizedek, and Job, and their contemporaries; and for ſome time were obſerved by the judges of the eaſtern countries. So Job[b] tells us, that adultery was "an heinous crime, yea an iniquity to be puniſhed by the "judges." And of idolatry[c] he ſaith, "If I beheld the ſun "when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my "heart hath been ſecretly inticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my "hand, this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judge:

[b] Job xxxi. 11.

[c] Job xxxi. 26—28.

§ XCIX.

(1) Geneſis xi. 18—26. Luke iii. 34, 35.

(2) Geneſis x. 25. xi. 1, 2.

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"for I ſhould have denied the God that is above." And there being no diſpute between Job and his friends about theſe matters, it may be preſumed, that they alſo with their countrymen were of the ſame religion. Melchizedek was a prieſt of the moſt high God, and Abraham voluntarily paid tythes to him (³); which he would ſcarce have done, had they not been of one and the ſame religion. The firſt inhabitants of the land of Canaan ſeem alſo to have been originally of the ſame religion; and to have continued in it till the death of Noah, and the days of Abraham. For Jeruſalem was anciently[a] called Jebus, and its people Jebuſites, and Melchizedek was their prieſt and king. Theſe nations revolted therefore after the days of Melchizedek to the worſhip of falſe gods; as did alſo the poſterity of Iſmael, Eſau, Moab, Ammon, and that of Abraham by Keturah: and the Iſraelites themſelves were very apt to revolt. And one reaſon why Terah went from Ur of the Chaldees, to Haran in his way to the land of Canaan; and why Abraham afterward left Haran, and went into the land of Canaan; might be to avoid the worſhip of falſe gods, which in their days began in Chaldea, and ſpread every way from thence; but did not yet reach into the land of Canaan. Several of the laws and precepts in which this primitive religion conſiſted, are mentioned in the book of Job, chap. i. ver. 5, and chap. xxxi. viz. "Not to blaſpheme God; nor "to worſhip the ſun or moon; nor to kill; nor ſteal; nor to commit adultery; nor truſt in riches; nor oppreſs the poor or fa-"therleſs; nor curſe your enemies; nor rejoice at their misfor-"tunes: but to be friendly, and hoſpitable, and merciful; and to "relieve the poor and needy; and to ſet up judges." This was the morality and religion of the firſt ages, ſtill called by the Jews, "The precepts of the ſons of Noah." This was the religion of Moſes and the prophets, comprehended in the two great commandments, of "loving the Lord our God with all our heart "and ſoul and mind, and our neighbour as ourſelves." This was the religion enjoined by Moſes to the uncircumciſed ſtranger within the gates of Iſrael, as well as to the Iſraelites: and this is the primitive religion of both Jews and Chriſtians, and ought to be

[a] 1 Chron. xi. 4, 5. Judg. i. 21. 2 Sam. v. 6.

(³) Geneſis xiv. 18—20

be the ſtanding religion of all nations, it being for the honour of God, and good of mankind. And Moſes adds the precept of "being merciful even to brute beaſts, ſo as not to ſuck out their "blood; nor to cut off their fleſh alive with the blood in it; nor "to kill them for the ſake of their blood, nor to ſtrangle them; "but in killing them for food, to let out their blood, and ſpill it "upon the ground," Gen. ix. 4, and Levit. xvii. 12, 13. This law was ancienter than the days of Moſes, being given to Noah and his ſons long before the days of Abraham: and therefore when the apoſtles and elders in the council at Jeruſalem declared, that the Gentiles were not obliged to be circumciſed and keep the law of Moſes, they excepted this law of "abſtaining from blood, "and things ſtrangled," as being an earlier law of God, impoſed not on the ſons of Abraham only, but on all nations, while they lived together in Shinar under the dominion of Noah: and of the ſame kind is the law of "abſtaining from meats offered to "idols or falſe gods, and from fornication." So then, "the be-"lieving that the world was framed by one ſupreme God, and is "governed by him; and the loving and worſhipping him, and "honouring our parents; and loving our neighbour as ourſelves; "and being merciful even to brute beaſts;" is the oldeſt of all religions. And the original of letters, agriculture, navigation, muſic, arts and ſciences, metals, ſmiths, and carpenters, towns and houſes, was not older in Europe than the days of Eli, Samuel, and David; and before thoſe days the earth was ſo thinly peopled, and ſo overgrown with woods, that mankind could not be much older than is repreſented in Scripture.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF THE EMPIRE OF EGYPT.

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THE Egyptians anciently boaſted of a very great and laſting empire under their kings Ammon, Oſiris, Bacchus, Seſoſtris, Hercules, Memnon, &c. reaching eaſtward to the Indies, and weſtward to the Atlantic Ocean; and out of vanity have made this monarchy ſome thouſands of years older than the world. Let us now try to rectify the chronology of Egypt, by comparing the affairs of Egypt with the ſynchronizing affairs of the Greeks and Hebrews (1).

II. Bacchus the conqueror loved two women, Venus (1) and Ariadne (2). Venus was the miſtreſs of Anchiſes (3) and Cinyras (4), and mother of Æneas, who all lived till the deſtruction of Troy; and the ſons of Bacchus and Ariadne were Argonauts; as above: and therefore the great Bacchus flouriſhed but one generation before the Argonautic expedition. This Bacchus [a] was potent at ſea; conquered eaſtward as far as India (5); returned in triumph (5); brought his army over the Helleſpont (6); conquered Thrace (6); left muſic, dancing and poetry there; killed Ly-

[a] Vide Hermippum apud Athenæum, l. 1. c. 21. p. 27.

CHAP. II. § I.

(1) The concluſions from the ſuppoſed ſynchroniſms of the Greek and the Egyptian ſtory, are in many inſtances unſound, and perhaps in all precarious. For this reaſon: that our author takes theſe ſynchroniſms from Greek chronologers; who have probably for the moſt part miſrepreſented them, magnifying the antiquity of their own country, and under-rating that of the Egyptians: and then he applies to every Egyptian perſonage that date, which his own ſyſtem aſſigns to the contemporaneous Greeks.

§ II.

(1) Alexand. Aphrodiſ. apud Anonym. de Incredib. c. 16. Scholiaſt. in Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 932. Pauſan. lib. 9. c. 31. p. 771. Diod. Sic. lib. 4. c. 6. p. 149.

(2) Heſiod. Theogon. lin. 947. (3) Ibid. lin. 1008.

curgus king of Thrace, and Pentheus the grandſon of Cadmus (7); gave the kingdom of Lycurgus to Tharops (8); and one of his minſtrells, called by the Greeks Calliope, to Oeagrus the ſon of Tharops; and of Oeagrus and Calliope was born Orpheus, who ſailed with the Argonauts. This Bacchus was therefore contemporary to Seſoſtris (9); and both being kings of Egypt, and potent at ſea, and great conquerors, and carrying on their conqueſts into India and Thrace, they muſt be one and the ſame man. EGYPT.

III. The ancient Greeks, who made the fables of the gods, related that Io, the daughter of Inachus, was carried into Egypt, and there became the Egyptian Iſis (1); and that Apis, the ſon of Phoroneus, after death became the god Serapis (2); and ſome ſaid that Epaphus was the ſon of Io (3). Serapis and Epaphus are Oſiris (3); and therefore Iſis and Oſiris, in the opinion of the ancient Greeks who made the fables of the gods, were not above two or three generations older than the Argonautic expedition. Dicæarchus, as he is cited by the Scholiaſt upon Apollonius, [a] repreſents them two generations older than Seſoſtris; ſaying, that after Orus the ſon of Oſiris and Iſis, reigned Seſonchoſis. He ſeems to have followed the opinion of the people of Naxus, who made Bacchus two generations older than Theſeus, and for that end feigned two Minos's and two Ariadnes: for by the conſent of all antiquity, Oſiris and Bacchus were one and the ſame king of Egypt. This is affirmed by the Egyptians, as well as by the Greeks; and ſome of the antient mythologiſts, as Eumolpus and Orpheus, [b] called Oſiris by the names of Dionyſus and Sirius. Oſiris was king of all Egypt, and a great conqueror, and came

[a] Argonaut. l. 4. v. 272.

[b] Diodor. l. 1. c. 11. p. 7. c. 13. p. 9. c. 15. p. 9. c. 17. p. 10. c. 20. p. 12. Add Plutarch de Iſ. et Oſir. paſſim.

(4) Julius Firmicus de Err. prof relig. Clemens Alex. Protrept. c. 5. p. 12 & 13.
(5) Diod Sic. lib. 2. c. 38. p. 87 lib. 4. c. 3. p. 147. Apollodor lib. 3. c. 5. § I.
(6) Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 64. p. 139. (7) Ibid. Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 5. § I.
(8) Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 64. p. 139.
(9) Admitting, what has not yet been proved; that Seſoſtris lived but one generation before the Argonautic expedition. All the proof that we have of this, in the preceding chapter, reſts on the ill-founded ſuppoſition, that Seſoſtris was the ſame perſon with the Seſac of holy writ.

§ III.

(1) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 1. § III. Euſeb. Exo. Gr. p. 27.
(2) —————— § I.
(3) See Plutarch de Iſ. et Oſ. T. II. p. 362. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 25. p. 15.

over

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over the Helleſpont in the days of Triptolemus, and ſubdued Thrace, and there killed Lycurgus (4); and therefore his expedition falls in with that of the great Bacchus. Oſiris, Bacchus, and Seſoſtris lived about the ſame time; and by the relation of hiſtorians, were all of them kings of Egypt; and reigned at Thebes (5), and adorned that city; and were very potent by land and ſea. All three were great conquerors; and carried on their conqueſts by land through Aſia, as far as India. All three came over the Helleſpont (6); and were there in danger of loſing their army. All three conquered Thrace (6); and there put a ſtop to their victories, and returned back from thence into Egypt. All three left pillars with inſcriptions in their conqueſts (6). And therefore all three muſt be one and the ſame king of Egypt (7); and this king can be no other than Seſac. All Egypt, including Thebais, Ethiopia, and Libya, had no common king before the expulſion of the ſhepherds who reigned in the lower Egypt: no conqueror of Syria, India, Aſia Minor, and Thrace, before Seſac (8): and the ſacred hiſtory admits of no Egyptian conqueror of Paleſtine before this king (9).

[a] Apud Diodorum, l. 3. p. 140.

IV. Thymætes [a], who was contemporary to Orpheus, and wrote a poeſy, called Phrygia, of the actions of Bacchus in very old language and character, ſaid, that Bacchus had Libyan women in his army (1); amongſt whom was Minerva, a woman born in Libya, near the river Triton (2); and that Bacchus commanded the men, and Minerva the women (1). Diodorus [b] calls her Myrina; and ſaith, that ſhe was queen of the Amazons in Libya; and there conquered the Atlantides and Gorgons; and then made a league with Orus the ſon of Iſis, ſent to her by his father

[b] Diodor. l. 3. p. 131, 132.

(4) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 12. (5) ———— c. 15. p. 91.
(6) ———— c. 20. p. 12. c. 55. p. 35. Herodot. lib. 2. c. 103.
(7) Provided the aſſumption be true, that all three lived at one and the ſame time.

(8) From what hiſtory does it appear that Seſac conquered India, Aſia Minor, and Thrace? Not from Joſephus. For admitting that he ſpeaks upon good information, when he ſays, that Herodotus aſcribes to Seſoſtris the actions of Seſac; he is not neceſſarily to be underſtood of any other of the actions aſcribed to Seſoſtris by Herodotus, but the exploits in Syria-paleſtine.
(9) The Chaſms in the ſacred hiſtory, in the period of the judges, admit of any thing.

§ IV.

(1) Diod. Sic. lib 3. c. 70. p. 142. Diodorus, however, does not relate this after Thymœtes; but after one Dionyſius, a compiler of mythology, who from the works of the antients, both

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father Oſiris or Bacchus for that purpoſe, and paſſing through Egypt ſubdued the Arabians, and Syria, and Cilicia, and came through Phrygia, viz. in the army of Bacchus, to the Mediterranean; but paſſing over into Europe, was ſlain with many of her women by the Thracians and Scythians, under the conduct of Sipylus, a Scythian, and Mopſus, a Thracian, whom Lycurgus king of Thrace had baniſhed. This was that Lycurgus who oppoſed the paſſage of Bacchus over the Helleſpont; and was ſoon after conquered by him, and ſlain. But afterwards Bacchus met with a repulſe from the Greeks, under the conduct of Perſeus; who ſlew many of his women, as Pauſanias [a] relates, and was aſſiſted by the Scythians and Thracians under the conduct of Sipylus and Mopſus. Which repulſes, together with a revolt of his brother Danäus in Egypt, put a ſtop to his victories. And in returning home he left part of his men in Colchis and at Mount Caucaſus, under Æetes and Prometheus; and his women upon the river Thermodon near Colchis, under their new queens Martheſia and Lampeto. For Diodorus [b], ſpeaking of the Amazons who were ſeated at Thermodon, ſaith, that they dwelt originally in Libya, and there reigned over the Atlantides, and invading their neighbours, conquered as far as Europe: and Ammianus [c], that the ancient Amazons, breaking through many nations, attacked the Athenians, and there receiving a great ſlaughter (3), retired to Thermodon: and Juſtin [d], that theſe Amazons had at firſt, he means at their firſt coming to Thermodon, two queens who called themſelves daughters of Mars; and that they conquered part of Europe, and ſome cities of Aſia, viz. in the reign of Minerva; and then ſent back part of their

[a] Pauſan. l. 2. c. 20. p. 155.

[b] Diodor. l. 3. p. 130. & Schol. Apollonii. l. 2. v. 967.

[c] Ammian. l. 22. c. 8.

[d] Juſtin. l. 2. c. 4.

both mythologers and poets, had collected a hiſtory of Bacchus and the Amazons, the Argonauts, the Trojan war, and various other things, Diod. lib. 3. c. 65. p. 140. The learned Weſſeling takes this Dionyſius to be the Mileſian, who is mentioned in Suidas as the author of a Cyclus Hiſtoricus, and other works in hiſtory and mythology. It is from this Dionyſius that Diodorus takes the account, which he gives, of Thymœtes and his writings. It does not appear, that Diodorus had himſelf ever ſeen the poems of Thymœtes, or that they were extant in his time.

(2) Diod. Sic. lib. 3 c 69. p. 142.

(3) The unſucceſsful expedition of the Amazons, in times before the Trojan war, was famous in antiquity, and it was a favourite topic with the orators. It is mentioned by Plato in the Menexemus; by Iſocrates, in his Panegyric; and more circumſtantially deſcribed by Lyſias, in his Epitaphium. Lyſias agrees with Iſocrates, that not one of this female army returned home. And he repreſents the unproſperous event of the expedition as the ruin of the nation.

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army, with a great booty, under their ſaid new queens; and that Marpeſia being afterwards ſlain, was ſucceeded by her daughter Orithyia, and ſhe by Pentheſilĕa; and that Theſeus captivated and married Hippolyte the ſiſter of Antiopa. Hercules made war upon the Amazons; and in the reign of Orithyia and Pentheſilĕa they came to the Trojan war. Whence the firſt wars of the Amazons in Europe and Aſia, and their ſettling at Thermodon, were but one generation before thoſe actions of Hercules and Theſeus; and but two, before the Trojan war; and ſo fell in with the expedition of Seſoſtris. And ſince they warred in the days of Iſis and her ſon Orus, and were a part of the army of Bacchus or Oſiris; we have here a further argument for making Oſiris and Bacchus contemporary to Seſoſtris, and all three one and the ſame king with Seſac.

V. The Greeks reckon Oſiris and Bacchus to be ſons of Jupiter; and the Egyptian name of Jupiter is Ammon. Manetho, in his 11th and 12th Dynaſties, as he is cited by Africanus and Euſebius (1), names theſe four kings of Egypt as reigning in order; Ammenemes; Geſongeſes or Seſonchoris, the ſon of Ammenemes; Ammenemes, who was ſlain by his eunuchs; and Seſoſtris, who ſubdued all Aſia and part of Europe. Geſongeſes and Seſonchoris are corruptly written for Seſonchoſis; and the two firſt of theſe four kings, Ammenemes and Seſonchoſis, are the ſame with the two laſt, Ammenemes and Seſoſtris; that is, with Ammon and Seſac. For Diodorus ſaith [a], that Oſiris built in Thebes a magnificent temple to his parents Jupiter and Juno; and two other temples (2) to Jupiter, a larger to Jupiter Uranius, and a leſs to his father Jupiter Ammon, who reigned in that city: and [b] Thymætes above-mentioned, who was contemporary to Orpheus,

[a] Diodor. l. 1. p. 9.

[b] Apud Diodor. l. 3. p. 141.

§ V.

(1) Euſeb. Exc. Gr. p. 15. (2) Not two other temples, but two ſhrines. (3) See § IV. not. 1.

(4) That is, if Seſoſtris be the ſame with Oſiris. For Oſiris was the founder of Thebes. (Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 15. p. 9.) No antient writer mentions Seſoſtris as the founder of this city.

(5) Amnon.

§ VI.

(1) The worſhip of the calf in Egypt was certainly as old as the departure of the Iſraelites. And Egypt was a great corn country in the time of Jacob. The king therefore who taught the Egyptians agriculture, and, for that benefaction, was worſhipped by them in the ox or calf; was older

Orpheus, wrote expreſsly, that the father of Bacchus was Ammon, a king reigning over part of Libya (³); that is, a king of Egypt reigning over all that part of Libya anciently called Ammonia. Stephanus [a] ſaith, "Πασα ἡ Λιβυη ὅτως εκαλειτο απο "Αμμωνος·" "All Libya was anciently called Ammonia from "Ammon." This is that king of Egypt from whom Thebes was called No-Ammon, and Ammon-No, the city of Ammon, and by the Greeks *Dioſpolis*, the city of Jupiter Ammon. Seſoſtris built it ſumptuouſly, and called it by his father's name (⁴); and from the ſame king the [b] river called Ammon (⁵), the people called *Ammonii*, and the [c] promontory *Ammonium* in *Arabia Fœlix* had their names. EGYPT.

[a] Step. in Αμμωνια.

[b] Plin. l. 6. c. 28.

[c] Ptol. l. 6. c. 7.

VI. The lower part of Egypt being yearly overflowed by the Nile, was ſcarce inhabited before the invention of corn, which made it uſeful: and the king, who by this invention firſt peopled it and reigned over it, perhaps the king of the city Meſir, where Memphis was afterwards built, ſeems to have been worſhipped by his ſubjects after death in the ox or calf (¹), for this benefaction. For this city ſtood in the moſt convenient place to people the lower Egypt (²); and from its being compoſed of two parts, ſeated on each ſide of the river Nile, might give the name of Mizraim to its founder and people: unleſs you had rather refer the word to the double people, thoſe above the Delta, and thoſe within it. And this I take to be the ſtate of the lower Egypt, till the ſhepherds or Phœnicians, who fled from Joſhuah, conquered it, and being afterwards conquered by the Ethiopians, fled into Afric and other places. For there was a tradition, that ſome of them fled into Afric; and St. Auſtin [d] confirms this, by telling us, that the common people of Afric being aſked who they were, replied *Chanani*; that is, Canaanites. "*Interrogati* "*ruſtici noſtri*," ſaith he, "*quid ſint, Punicè reſpondentes Chana-* "*ni, corruptâ ſcilicet voce ſicut in talibus ſolet, quid aliud reſpon-*

[d] D. Auguſtin. in expoſit. epiſt. ad Rom. ſub initio. R. Steph.

older than Jacob, and was ſo worſhipped before the departure of the Iſraelites. This argument, againſt our author's notion of the identity of Oſiris and Seſac, is unanſwerable. It is urged with great force by biſhop Warburton in his Divine Legation, book IV. ſect. V.

(²) It ſtood at a very ſmall diſtance to the ſouth of the head of the Delta. The ſtreams, which form the delta, branch off from the main river at different places: of which, that where the Agathodæmon ſeparated, was the ſouthernmoſt, and was called the great Delta. This Ptolemy places in 30° of north latitude, and Memphis in 29° 50′.

"*dent quàm Chananæi?*" Procopius alſo [a] tells us of two pillars in the weſt of Afric, with inſcriptions ſignifying, that the people were Canaanites who fled from Joſhuah: and Euſebius [b] tells us, that theſe Canaanites, flying from the ſons of Iſrael, built Tripolis in Afric; and the Jeruſalem Gemara, [c] that the Gergeſites fled from Joſhua, going into Afric. And Procopius relates their flight in this manner. "Επει δε ἡμας ὁ της ἱϛοριας "λογος ενταυθ' ηγαγεν· επαναϊεες ειπειν ανωθεν, ὅθεν τε τα Μαυρουσιων "εθνη ες Λιβυην ηλθε, και ὅπως ῳκησαντο. Επειδη Ἑβραιοι εξ Αιγυπτου "ανεχωρησαν, και αγχι των Παλαιϛινης ὁριων εγενοντο· Μωσης μεν σο-"φος ανηρ, ὁς αυτος της ὁδου ἡγησατο, θνησκει· διαδεχεται δε την ἡγε-"μονιαν Ιησους ὁ του Ναυη παις· ὅς ες τε την Παλαιϛινην τον λεων του-"τον εισηγαγε· και αρετην εν τῳ πολεμῳ κρεισσω η κατα ανθρωπου φυσιν "επιδειξαμενος, την χωραν εσχε· και τα εθνη απαντα καταϛρεψαμενος, "τας πολεις ευπετως παρεϛησατο· ανικητος τε παντάπασιν εδοξεν ειναι. "τοτε δε ἡ επιθαλασσια χωρα, εκ Σιδωνος μεχρι των Αιγυπτου ὁριων, "Φοινικη ξυμπασα ωνομαζετο. βασιλευς δε εἷς το παλαιον εφειϛηκει· "ὥσπερ ἅπασιν ὡμολογηται, οἱ Φοινικων τα αρχαιοτατα ανεγραψαντο. "ενταυθ' ῳκηντο εθνη πολυανθρωποτατα, Γεργεσαιοι τε και Ιεβουσαιοι, και "αλλα αττα ονοματα εχοντα, οἷς δη αυτα ἡ των Ἑβραιων ἱϛορια καλει. "Οὗτος ὁ λαος επει αμαχον τι χρημα τον επηλυτην ϛρατηγον ειδον· εξ "ηθων των πατριων εξαναϛαντες, επ' Αιγυπτον, ὁμορου ουσης, εχωρησαν. "ενθα χωρον ουδενα σφισιν ἱκανον ενοικησασθαι ἑυροντες, επει εν Αιγυπτῳ "πολυανθρωπια εκ παλαιου ην· ες Λιβυην μεχρι ϛηλων των Ἡρακλεους "εσχον· ενταυθα τε και ες εμε τη Φοινικων φωνη χρωμενοι ῳκηνται." "*Quando ad Mauros nos hiſtoria deduxit; congruens nos exponere, "unde orta gens in Africâ ſedes fixerit. Quo tempore egreſſi Ægyp-"to Hebræi jam prope Paleſtinæ fines venerant, mortuus ibi Moſes, "vir ſapiens, dux itineris. Succeſſor imperii factus Jeſus Navæ "filius intra Palæſtinam duxit popularium agmen; & virtute uſus "ſupra humanum modum, terram occupavit; gentibuſque exciſis, "urbes ditionis ſuæ fecit, & invicti famam tulit. Maritima ora, "quæ à Sidone ad Ægypti limitem extenditur, nomen habet Phœni-"ces. Rex unus* [Hebræis] *imperabat, ut omnes qui res Phœnicias "ſcripſere conſentiunt. In eo tractatu numeroſæ gentes erant,*

[a] Procop. de bello Vandal. l. 2. c. 10.
[b] Chron. l. 1. p. 11.
[c] Gemar. ad tit. Shebijith. cap. 6.

(³) Of which Memphis was the capitol.

"*Ger-*

"Gergeſæi, Jebuſæi, quoſque aliis nominibus Hebræorum annales "memorant. Hi homines, ut impares ſe venienti imperatori videre, "derelicto patriæ ſolo ad finitimam primùm venere Ægyptum; ſed "ibi capacem tantæ multitudinis locum non reperientes, erat enim "Ægyptus ab antiquo fœcunda populis, in Africam profecti, multis "conditis urbibus, omnem eam Herculis columnas uſque, obtinu-"erunt: ubi ad meam ætatem ſermone Phœnicio utentes habitant." By the language and extreme poverty of the Moors, deſcribed alſo by Procopius, and by their being acquainted with merchandiſe and ſea affairs, you may know that they were Canaanites originally, and peopled Afric before the Tyrian merchants came thither. Theſe Canaanites coming from the eaſt, pitched their tents in great numbers in the lower Egypt, in the reign of Timaus, [a] as Manetho writes; and eaſily ſeized the country, and fortifying Peluſium, then called Abaris, they erected a kingdom there (3), and reigned long under their own kings, Salatis, Bæon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, Aſſis, and others ſucceſſively. And in the mean time the upper part of Egypt, called Thebais, and according to [b] Herodotus, Ægyptus, and in Scripture the land of Pathros, was under other kings; reigning perhaps at Coptos, and Thebes, and This, and Syene, and [c] Pathros, and Elephantis, and Heracleopolis, and Meſir, and other great cities, till they conquered one another, or were conquered by the Ethiopians. For cities grew great in thoſe days, by being the ſeats of kingdoms. But at length one of theſe kingdoms conquered the reſt, and made a laſting war upon the ſhepherds; and in the reign of its king Miſphragmuthoſis, and his ſon Amoſis, called alſo Tethmoſis, Tuthmoſis, and Thomoſis (4), drove them out of Egypt, and made them fly into Afric and Syria, and other places, and united all Egypt into one monarchy; and under their next kings, Ammon and Seſac, enlarged it into a great empire. This conquering people worſhipped not the kings of the ſhepherds whom they conquered and expelled, but [d] aboliſhed their religion of ſacrificing men; and after the manner of thoſe days deified their own kings, who founded their new dominion, beginning the hiſtory of their empire with the reign and great acts of their gods

[a] Manetho Apud Joſephum cont. Appion. l. 1. c. 14. p. 1337.

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 15.

[c] Jerem. xliv. 1. Ezek. xxix. 14.

[d] Manetho apud Porphyrium περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. 1. ſect. 55. Et Euſeb. Prep. l. 4. c. 16. p. 155.

(4) Manetho apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 14. p. 1338.

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gods and heroes. Whence their gods Ammon and Rhea, or Uranus and Titæa; Oſiris and Iſis; Orus and Bubaſte; and their ſecretary Thoth: and generals, Hercules and Pan; and admiral Japetus, Neptune, or Typhon; were all of them Thebans, and flouriſhed after the expulſion of the ſhepherds. Homer places Thebes in Ethiopia; and the Ethiopians reported, that [a] the Egyptians were a colony drawn out of them by Oſiris, and that thence it came to paſs that moſt of the laws of Egypt were the ſame with thoſe of Ethiopia; and that the Egyptians learnt from the Ethiopians the cuſtom of deifying their kings.

[a] Diodor. l. 3. c. 3. p. 101.

VII. When Joſeph entertained his brethren in Egypt, they did eat at a table by themſelves, and he did eat at another table by himſelf; and the Egyptians who did eat with him were at another table, "becauſe the Egyptians might not eat bread with "the Hebrews; for that was an abomination to the Egyptians," Gen. xliii. 32. Theſe Egyptians, who did eat with Joſeph, were of the court of Pharaoh; and therefore Pharaoh and his court were at this time not ſhepherds but genuine Egyptians; and theſe Egyptians abominated eating bread with the Hebrews at one and the ſame table: and of theſe Egyptians and their fellow-ſubjects, it is ſaid a little after, that "every ſhepherd is an abomination to "the Egyptians (1)." Egypt at this time was therefore under the government of the genuine Egyptians, and not under that of the ſhepherds.

VIII. After the deſcent of Jacob and his ſons into Egypt, Joſeph lived 70 (1) years, and ſo long continued in favour with the kings of Egypt: and 64 years (2) after his death Moſes was born: and between the death of Joſeph and the birth of Moſes, "there "aroſe

§ VII.

(1) Gen. xlvi. 34.

§ VIII.

(1) Joseph was thirty years of age, when he ſtood before Pharaoh, and interpreted his dream, Gen. xli. 46. Then followed ſeven fruitful years; and Jacob ſettled in Egypt in the third year of the famine, which enſued, Gen. xlv. 6. Joſeph therefore was 40 years of age when his father came into Egypt; and he lived to be 110, Gen. l. 26. Therefore he ſurvived his father's coming into Egypt 70 years.

(2) *Or* 66; according to the reckoning which our author follows, which is founded upon Exodus xii. 40, 41. as it ſtands in the Samaritan copy, and the Greek of the Septuagint. "*For the "ſojourning of the children of Iſrael, which they ſojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of "Canaan, they and their fathers, was 430 years. And after the 430 years, the whole hoſt of the Lord "went out of the land of Egypt in the night.*" Theſe 430 years Newton counts from the promiſe given

"ariſe up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joſeph," Exod. i. 8. But this king of Egypt was not one of the ſhepherds; for he is called Pharaoh, Exod. i. 11, 22. And Moſes told his ſucceſſor, that if the people of Iſrael ſhould ſacrifice in the land of Egypt, "they ſhould ſacrifice the abomination of "the Egyptians before their eyes, and the Egyptians would ſtone "them," Exod. viii. 26: that is, they ſhould ſacrifice ſheep or oxen, contrary to the religion of Egypt. The ſhepherds therefore did not reign over Egypt, while Iſrael was there; but either were driven out of Egypt, before Iſrael went down thither; or did not enter into Egypt, till after Moſes had brought Iſrael from thence: and the latter muſt be true, if they were driven out of Egypt a little before the building of the Temple of Solomon, as Manetho affirms.

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IX. Diodorus[a] ſaith in his 40th book, "that in Egypt there "were formerly multitudes of ſtrangers of ſeveral nations, who "uſed foreign rites and ceremonies in worſhipping the Gods, for "which they were expelled Egypt; and under Danäus, Cadmus, "and other ſkilful commanders, after great hardſhips, came in"to Greece, and other places; but the greateſt part of them "came into Judæa, not far from Egypt, a country then uninha"bited and deſert, being conducted thither by one Moſes, a "wiſe and valiant man, who, after he had poſſeſt himſelf of "the country, among other things built Jeruſalem, and the "Temple." Diodorus here miſtakes the original of the Iſraelites, as Manetho had done before; confounding their flight into the wilderneſs under the conduct of Moſes, with the flight of the ſhepherds from Miſphragmuthoſis, and his ſon Amoſis, into Phœnicia

[a] Diodor. apud Photium in Biblioth.

given to Abraham, that in him ſhould all the families of the earth be bleſſed. Which way of reckoning ſome think juſtified by St. Paul, Gal. iii. 8 and 17. Abraham was 75 years old when he received this promiſe, and ſettled in Canaan in conſequence of it, Gen. xii. 4. Therefore from the promiſe to the birth of Iſaac, when Abraham was 100 years of age, the interval was - - - - 24 years.

From the birth of Iſaac to the birth of Jacob, Gen. xx. 26.	60
From the birth of Jacob to his ſettlement in Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9.	130
From that time to Joſeph's death,	70
Whole interval from the promiſe to Joſeph's death,	284

There remains, of the 430 years of ſojournment, 146, for the whole interval between Joſeph's death and the Exodus. Eighty of theſe 146 intervened between the birth of Moſes and the Exodus: for Moſes died at the age of 120, Deut xxxiv. 7: and the Iſraelites had wandered in the wilderneſs 40 years before his death. Therefore there will remain 66 years for the interval between the death of Joſeph and the birth of Moſes.

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nicia and Afric; and not knowing that Judæa was inhabited by Canaanites, before the Iſraelites under Moſes came thither. But however he lets us know, that the ſhepherds were expelled Egypt by Amoſis a little before the building of Jeruſalem and the Temple; and that after ſeveral hardſhips ſeveral of them came into Greece, and other places, under the conduct of Cadmus, and other captains, but the moſt of them ſettled in Phœnicia next Egypt. We may reckon therefore that the expulſion of the ſhepherds, by the kings of Thebais, was the occaſion that the Philiſtims were ſo numerous in the days of Saul; and that ſo many men came in thoſe times with colonies out of Egypt and Phœnicia into Greece; as Lelex, Inachus, Pelaſgus, Æzeus, Cecrops, Ægialeus, Cadmus, Phænix, Membliarius, Alymnus, Abas, Erechtheus, Peteos, Phorbas, in the days of Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. Some of them fled in the days of Eli from Miſphragmuthoſis, who conquered part of the lower Egypt. Others retired from his ſucceſſor Amoſis into Phœnicia, and Arabia Petræa, and there mixed with the old inhabitants. Who not long after being conquered by David, fled from him and the Philiſtims by ſea, under the conduct of Cadmus, and other captains, into Aſia Minor, Greece, and Libya, to ſeek new ſeats; and there built towns, erected kingdoms, and ſet on foot the worſhip of the dead: and ſome of thoſe who remained in Judæa might aſſiſt David and Solomon in building Jeruſalem and the Temple. Among the foreign rites uſed by the ſtrangers in Egypt, in worſhipping the Gods, was the ſacrificing of men; for Amoſis aboliſhed that cuſtom at Heliopolis (1). And therefore thoſe ſtrangers were Canaanites, ſuch as fled from Joſhua; for the Canaanites gave their ſeed, that is, their children to Moloch, "and burnt "their ſons and their daughters in the fire to their gods," Deut. xii. 31 (2). Manetho calls them Phœnician ſtrangers.

X. After Amoſis had expelled the ſhepherds, and extended his dominion over all Egypt, his ſon and ſucceſſor Ammenemes, or Ammon, by much greater conqueſts laid the foundation of the Egyptian empire. For by the aſſiſtance of his young ſon Seſoſ-

§ IX.

(1) Vid. § VI.
(2) And Levit. xviii. 21.

I tris,

tris, whom he brought up to hunting and other laborious exerciſes, he conquered Arabia, Troglodytica, and Libya (¹): and from him all Libya was anciently called Ammonia: and after his death, in the temples erected to him at Thebes, and in Ammonia, and at Meroe (²) in Ethiopia, they ſet up oracles to him, and made the people worſhip him as the god that acted in them: and theſe are the oldeſt oracles mentioned in hiſtory; the Greeks therein imitating the Egyptians: for the [a] oracle at Dodona was the oldeſt in Greece, and was ſet up by an Egyptian woman, after the example of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes. EGYPT.

[a] Herod. l. 2.

XI. In the days of Ammon a body of the Edomites fled from David into Egypt, with their young king Hadad, as above (¹); and carried thither their ſkill in navigation: and this ſeems to have given occaſion to the Egyptians to build a fleet on the Red Sea near Coptos, and might ingratiate Hadad with Pharaoh. For the Midianites and Iſhmaelites, who bordered upon the Red Sea, near Mount Horeb on the ſouth ſide of Edom, were merchants from the days of Jacob the Patriarch, Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36; and by their merchandiſe the Midianites abounded with gold in the days of Moſes, Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52; and in the days of the judges of Iſrael, " becauſe they were Iſhmaelites," Judg. viii. 24. The Iſhmaelites therefore in thoſe days grew rich by merchandiſe. They carried their merchandiſe on camels through Petra to Rhinocolura, and thence to Egypt. And this traffic at length came into the hands of David, by his conquering the Edomites, and gaining the ports of the Rea Sea called Eloth and Ezion-Geber; as may be underſtood by the 3000 talents of gold of Ophir, which David gave to the temple, 1 Chron. xxix. 4. The Egyptians having the art of making linen-cloth (²); they began about this time to build long ſhips with ſails, in their port on thoſe ſeas near Coptos: and having learnt the ſkill of the Edomites; they began now to obſerve the poſitions of the ſtars, and the length of the ſolar year, for enabling them to know the poſition of the

§ X.

(¹) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 53. p. 34. (²) See Strabo, lib. 17. p. 822.

§ XI.

(¹) Chap. i. § XLII. (²) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 37.

ſtars at any time, and to ſail by them at all times, without ſight of the ſhore: and this gave a beginning to aſtronomy and navigation. For hitherto they had gone only by the ſhore with oars, in round veſſels of burden, firſt invented on that ſhallow ſea by the poſterity of Abraham; and in paſſing from iſland to iſland guided themſelves by the ſight of the iſlands in the day-time, or by the ſight of ſome of the ſtars in the night. Their old year was the luniſolar year, derived from Noah to all his poſterity, till thoſe days; and conſiſted of twelve months, each of thirty days, according to their calendar: and to the end of this calendar-year they now added five days, and thereby made up the ſolar year of twelve months and five days, or 365 days.

[a] Plutarch. de Iſide. p. 355. Diodor. l. 1. p. 9.

XII. The ancient Egyptians feigned[a], that Rhea lay ſecretly with Saturn; and Sol prayed that ſhe might bring forth neither in any month, nor in the year; and that Mercury played at dice with Luna, overcame, and took from the lunar year the 72d. part of every day, and thereof compoſed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that ſhe might bring forth in them; and that the Egyptians celebrated thoſe days as the birth-days of Rhea's five children, Oſiris, Orus ſenior, Typhon, Iſis, and Nephthe, the wife of Typhon. And therefore, according to the opinion of the ancient Egyptians, the five days were added to the luniſolar calendar-year, in the reign of Saturn and Rhea, the parents of Oſiris, Iſis, and Typhon; that is, in the reign of Ammon and Titæa, the parents of the Titans; or in the latter half

§ XIII.

(*) See Plato in the Phædrus (p. 1240), and in the Philebus (p. 374). Plato, the moſt antient, and perhaps the beſt informed, of the Greek writers now extant who mention this Thoth, or as he calls him Theuth, ſays, that he flouriſhed when Thamoun, the ſame whom the Greeks call Ammon, was king of all Egypt reſiding at Thebes. Philo Byblius, as he is quoted by Euſebius (Præp. Evang. p. 231) ſays, that Thoth was he whom the Greeks called Hermes; and Diodorus makes Hermes the ſecretary of Oſiris, lib. 1. c. 15, 16. p 10. Plato's aſſertion however is confirmed by the authority of Sanchoniathon; who, as he is quoted by Euſebius (Præp. Evang. lib p. 24) makes Hermes the ſecretary of Saturn; that is, of Ammon, the father of Oſiris. And the title which Hermes bore among the Eleans, of *Parammon* (Pauſan lib. 5. c. 15. p. 416) ſeems alſo to make for this tradition. Manetho, according to Syncellus, ſpeaks of two Hermes; the elder he calls Thoth; the ſecond the ſon of Agathodæmon and the father of Tat (Syncell. p. 40). Tully (De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 21) ſays, that the Thoth of the Egyptians, who taught them letters, was that Mercury who killed Argus; and that he fled into Egypt for that murder. This may ſeem ſomewhat in favour of our author's ſyſtem; ſince it appears, that it was Tully's opinion as well as his, that the Thoth, who taught the Egyptians the uſe of letters, was no native Egyptian;

half of the reign of David, when thoſe Titans were born; and by conſequence ſoon after the flight of the Edomites from David into Egypt. But the ſolſtices not being yet ſettled, the beginning of this new year might not be fixed to the vernal equinox before the reign of Amenophis, the ſucceſſor of Orus junior, the ſon of Oſiris and Iſis. EGYPT.

XIII. When the Edomites fled from David with their young king Hadad into Egypt, it is probable that they carried thither alſo the uſe of letters. For letters were then in uſe among the poſterity of Abraham in Arabia Petræa, and upon the borders of the Red Sea; the Law being written there by Moſes in a book, and in tables of ſtone, long before. For Moſes marrying the daughter of the prince of Midian, and dwelling with him forty years, learnt them among the Midianites. And Job, who lived [a] among their neighbours the Edomites, mentions the writing down of words, as there in uſe in his days, Job xix. 23, 24; and there is no inſtance of letters for writing down ſounds, being in uſe before the days of David, in any other nation beſides the poſterity of Abraham. The Egyptians aſcribed this invention to Thoth (¹), the ſecretary of Oſiris; and therefore letters began to be in uſe in Egypt in the days of Thoth; that is, a little after the flight of the Edomites from David, or about the time that Cadmus brought them into Europe.

[a] Auguſtin. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 47.

XIV. Helladius [b] tells us, that a man called Oes, who appeared in the Red Sea with the tail of a fiſh, ſo they painted a ſeaman, taught aſtronomy and letters: and Hyginus, [c] that Euhad-

[b] Apud Photium, c. 279.

[c] Fab. 274.

Egyptian; and that Tully reckoned him little older than our author does. Porphyry alſo ſpeaks of Thoth as a Phœnician (Euſeb. Præp. p. 26). If this Hermes was the Triſmegiſtus, he was the younger, not the firſt, Hermes. For Triſmegiſtus was the father of Tat; and Tat, according to Euſebius (in Chron.) was about the time of Cadmus. Triſmegiſtus therefore himſelf ſhould be of the generation before Cadmus; i. e. in our author's ſyſtem, one generation younger than Inachus the father of Io: which agrees well with Tully's opinion, that Thoth was the Argiphontes, and may ſeem to be a further confirmation of our author's opinion. Which however is too improbable in itſelf to be eſtabliſhed by this ſpecious collection of authorities. Tully and Euſebius unqueſtionably follow the old Greek chronologers, in what they deliver of the Egyptian Thoth. The Greek chronologers, it ſeems, have made their Inachus as old as the Egyptian Thoth. It is but a lame concluſion, that the Egyptian Thoth was therefore as young as Newton's ſyſtem makes the Greek Inachus. Plato, Sanchoniathon, Manetho, and Porphyry, had they ſaid any thing explicit on the queſtion, might deſerve a hearing. But all we learn from them is, that there were two, if not three, great men among the Egyptians, whom the Greeks were apt to confound, when they ſpoke of Thoth or Hermes: that one of theſe taught the Egyptians letters, and lived in the unknown age of Ammon.

 nes,

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nes, who came out of the ſea in Chaldæa, taught the Chaldæans aſtrology the firſt of any man; he means aſtronomy. And Alexander Polyhiſtor [a] tells us from Beroſus, that Oannes (1) taught the Chaldæans letters, mathematicks, arts, agriculture, cohabitation in cities, and the conſtruction of temples; and that ſeveral ſuch men came thither ſucceſſively. Oes, Euhadnes, and Oannes, ſeem to be the ſame name a little varied by corruption; and this name ſeems to have been given in common to ſeveral ſeamen, who came thither from time to time, and by conſequence were merchants, and frequented thoſe ſeas with their merchandiſe, or elſe fled from their enemies. So that letters, aſtronomy, architecture and agriculture, came into Chaldæa by ſea; and were carried thither by ſeamen, who frequented the Perſian Gulph, and came thither from time to time, after all thoſe things were practiſed in other countries whence they came; and by conſequence in the days of Ammon and Seſac, David and Solomon, and their ſucceſſors, or not long before. The Chaldæans indeed made Oannes older than the flood of Xiſuthrus; but the Egyptians made Oſiris as old; and I make them contemporary.

[a] Apud Euſeb. Chron.

XV. The Red Sea had its name not from its colour, but from Edom and Erythra, the names of Eſau, which ſignify that colour. And ſome [b] tell us, that king Erythra, meaning Eſau, invented the veſſels, *rates*, in which they navigated that ſea, and was buried in an iſland thereof near the Perſian Gulph. Whence it follows, that the Edomites navigated that ſea from the days of Eſau; and there is no need that the oldeſt Oannes ſhould be older. There were boats upon rivers before; ſuch as were the boats which carried the patriarchs over Euphrates and Jordan, and the firſt nations over many other rivers, for peopling the earth, ſeeking new ſeas, and invading one another's territories. And after the example of ſuch veſſels, Iſhmael and Midian, the ſons of Abraham, and Eſau his grandſon, might build larger veſſels to go to the iſlands upon the Red Sea, in ſearching for new ſeats; and by degrees learn to navigate that ſea as far as to the Perſian Gulph: for ſhips were as old, even upon the Medi-

[b] Plin. l. 6. c. 23, 28. & l. 7. c. 56.

§ XIV.
(1) A monſter compounded of man and fiſh, which roſe out of the Red Sea.

terranean,

terranean, as the days of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 13. Judg. v. 17. But it is probable, that the merchants of that ſea were not forward to diſcover their arts and ſciences, upon which their trade depended. It ſeems therefore that letters and aſtronomy, and the trade of carpenters, were invented by the merchants of the Red Sea for writing down their merchandiſe, and keeping their accounts, and guiding their ſhips in the night by the ſtars, and building ſhips; and that they were propagated from Arabia Petræa into Egypt, Chaldæa, Syria, Aſia Minor, and Europe, much about one and the ſame time; the time in which David conquered and diſperſed thoſe merchants. For we hear nothing of letters before the days of David, except among the poſterity of Abraham; nothing of aſtronomy, before the Egyptians under Ammon and Seſac applied themſelves to that ſtudy, except the conſtellations mentioned by Job, who lived in Arabia Petræa among the merchants; nothing of the trade of carpenters, or good architecture, before Solomon ſent to Hiram king of Tyre, to ſupply him with ſuch artificers, ſaying, that "there were not "in Iſrael, who could ſkill to hew timber like the Zidonians." Egypt.

XVI. Diodorus [a] tells us, "that the Egyptians ſent many colonies out of Egypt into other countries; and that Belus, the "ſon of Neptune and Libya, carried colonies thence into Babylonia; and ſeating himſelf on Euphrates, inſtituted prieſts free "from taxes and publick expences, after the manner of Egypt, "who were called Chaldæans, and who after the manner of "Egypt might obſerve the ſtars." And Pauſanias [b] tells us, "that "the Belus of the Babylonians had his name from Belus an "Egyptian, the ſon of Libya." And Apollodorus; "[c] that "Belus, the ſon of Neptune and Libya, and king of Egypt, "was the father of Ægyptus and Danäus, that is, Ammon." He tells us alſo, "that Buſiris, the ſon of Neptune and Liſianaſſa [Libyanaſſa] the daughter of Epaphus, was king of "Egypt (¹):" and Euſebius calls this king, "Buſiris the ſon of "Neptune, and of Libya the daughter of Epaphus (²)." By

[a] Diodor. l. 1. c. 28. p. 17.

[b] Pauſan. l. 4. c. 23. p. 337.

[c] Apollodor. l. 2. c. 1. § 4.

§ XVI.

(¹) Lib. 2. c. 4. § II.

(²) In Chron. Iſocrates alſo ſays, that the father of Buſiris was Neptune; his mother, Libya the daughter of Epaphus the ſon of Jupiter. Encom. Buſirid.

theſe

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theſe things the later Egyptians ſeem to have made two Belus's; the one the father of Oſiris, Iſis, and Neptune; the other, the ſon of Neptune, and father of Ægyptus and Danäus: and hence came the opinion of the people of Naxus, that there were two Minos's and two Ariadnes, the one two generations older than the other; which we have confuted. The father of Ægyptus and Danäus was the father of Oſiris, Iſis, and Typhon; and Typhon was not the grandfather of Neptune, but Neptune himſelf.

XVII. Seſoſtris being brought up to hard labour by his father Ammon (1), warred firſt under his father, being the hero or Hercules of the Egyptians (2) during his father's reign, and afterward their king. Under his father, whilſt he was very young, he invaded and conquered Troglodytica (3), and thereby ſecured the harbour of the Red Sea, near Coptos in Egypt. And then he invaded Ethiopia; and carried on his conqueſt ſouthward, as far as to the region bearing cinnamon (4): and his father, by the aſſiſtance of the Edomites, having built a fleet on the Red Sea, he put to ſea, and coaſted Arabia Fælix; going to the Perſian Gulph and beyond, and in thoſe countries ſet up columns with inſcriptions denoting his conqueſts (5); and particularly he ſet up a pillar at Dira (6), a promontory in the ſtraits of the Red Sea, next Ethiopia; and two pillars in India, on the mountains near the mouth of the river Ganges; ſo [a] Dionyſius:

[a] Dionyſ. in Perie. v. 623.

"Ενθα τε και ϛηλαι Θηβαιγενεος Διονυσυ
"Εϛασιν, πυματοιο παρα ῥοον Ωκεανοιο,
"Ινδων ἐϛατιοισιν εν ϰρεσιν· ενθα τε Γαγγης
"Λευκον ὑδωρ Νυσσαιον επι πλαταμωνα κυλινδει."

"*Ubi etiamnum columnæ Thebis geniti Bacchi*
"*Stant, extremi juxta fluxum Oceani,*
"*Indorum ultimis in montibus: ubi & Ganges*
"*Claram aquam Nyſæam ad planitiem devolvit.*"

§ XVII.

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 53. p. 34. by *hard labour*, underſtand *manly exerciſes*.

(2) I can find no authority for this. It appears indeed that, in the Orphic Theology, Bacchus and Hercules were not different perſonages, but different titles only of the ſun. (See Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. c. 18—21.) And, with our author, Bacchus and Seſoſtris are the ſame.

(3) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 53. p. 34. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 769.

After

After theſe things he invaded Libya (7), and fought the Africans with clubs; and thence is painted with a club in his hand. So [a] Hyginus; "*Afri & Ægyptii primum fuſtibus dimicaverunt*; "*poſtea Belus Neptuni filius gladio belligeratus eſt; unde bellum dic*- "*tum eſt.*" And after the conqueſt of Libya, by which Egypt was furniſhed with horſes (8), and furniſhed Solomon and his friends; he prepared a fleet on the Mediterranean, and went on weſtward upon the coaſt of Afric, to ſearch thoſe countries, as far as to the ocean and iſland Erythra or Gades in Spain; as Macrobius [b] informs us from Panyaſis and Pherecydes (9): and there he conquered Geryon, and at the mouth of the Straits ſet up the famous pillars.

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[a] Fab. 274.

[b] Saturnal. l. 5. c. 21.

"[c] *Venit ad occaſum mundique extrema Seſoſtris.*"

[c] Lucan. l. 10.

Then he returned through Spain and the ſouthern coaſts of France and Italy, with the cattle of Geryon, his fleet attending him by ſea; and left in Sicily the Sicani, a people which he had brought from Spain: and after his father's death he built temples to him in his conqueſts; whence it came to paſs, that Jupiter Ammon was worſhipped in Ammonia, and Ethiopia, and Arabia, and as far as India, according to the [d] poet:

[d] Lucan. l. 9.

"*Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis*
"*Gentibus, atque Indis unus ſit Jupiter Ammon.*"

The Arabians worſhipped only two gods; Cœlus, otherwiſe called Ouranus, or Jupiter Uranius; and Bacchus (10); and theſe were Jupiter Ammon and Seſac, as above: and ſo alſo the people of Meroë above Egypt [e] worſhipped no other gods but Jupiter and Bacchus, and had an oracle of Jupiter; and theſe two gods were Jupiter Ammon and Oſiris, according to the language of Egypt.

[e] Herod. l. 2. c. 29.

(4) Strabo, lib. 17. p. 79. The conqueſt of Ethiopia, according to Diodorus, was after his father's death. Strabo ſpeaks only of the extent, not of the time of it.

(5) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 102. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 55. p. 35.

(6) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 769. (7) Diod. Sic. lib. 1 c. 53. p. 34.

(8) Of the great antiquity of the Egyptian cavalry, ſee biſhop Warburton's Divine Legation, book IV. ſect. V.

(9) That is to ſay, Macrobius relates this of Hercules, whom our author takes to be Seſoſtris.

(10) According to Herodotus, Bacchus and Urania under the names of Urotal and Alilat, lib. 3. c. 8.

XVIII. At length Seſoſtris, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, came out of Egypt with a great army of Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians, and ſpoiled the temple, and reduced Judæa into ſervitude; and went on conquering, firſt eaſtward toward India, which he invaded; and then weſtward, as far as Thrace: for "God had given him the kingdoms of the countries," 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3, 8. In [a] this expedition he ſpent nine years, ſetting up pillars with inſcriptions in all his conqueſts, ſome of which remained in Syria till the days of Herodotus. He was accompanied with his ſon Orus, or Apollo (¹); and with ſome ſinging women, called "the Muſes (²)"; one of which, called Calliope, was the mother of Orpheus, an Argonaut: and the two tops of the mountain Parnaſſus, which were very high, were dedicated [b] the one to this Bacchus, and the other to his ſon Apollo: whence Lucan [c]:

[a] Diodor. l. 1. c. 54, 55. p. 35. Herod. l. 2. c. 102, 103, 106.

[b] Pauſan. l. 10. c. 32. p. 878. Suidas in Παρνασιοι.

[c] Lucan. l. 5. v. 72 *.

> "*Parnaſſus gemino petit æthera colle,*
> *Mons Phœbo, Bromioque ſacer.*"

In the fourteenth year of Rehoboam he returned back into Egypt, leaving Æetes in Colchis (³), and his nephew Prometheus at mount Caucaſus, with part of his army, to defend his conqueſts from the Scythians. Apollonius [d] Rhodius and his ſcholiaſt tell us, that Seſonchoſis, king of all Egypt, that is Seſac, invading all Aſia, and a great part of Europe, peopled many cities which he took; and that Æa, the metropolis of Colchis, "remained ſtable ever ſince his days with the poſterity of thoſe "Egyptians which he placed there; and that they preſerved pil-"lars or tables in which all the journies and the bounds of ſea "and land were deſcribed, for the uſe of them that were to go "any whither." Theſe tables therefore gave a beginning to geography.

[d] Argonaut. l. 4. v. 272.

XIX. Seſoſtris, upon his returning home, [e] divided Egypt by meaſure amongſt the Egyptians; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying and geometry: and [f] Jamblichus derives this diviſion of

[e] Herod. l. 2. c. 109.

[f] In vitâ Pythag. c. 29.

§ XVIII.

(¹) Diodorus calls Apollo the brother of Oſiris, lib. 1. c. 17. Apollo was the Horus of the Egyptians (Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. c. 21) and accompanied Oſiris, that is, according to our author,

of Egypt, and beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of Egypt. Seſoſtris alſo [a] divided Egypt into 36 *Nomes* or counties; and dug a canal from the Nile to the head city of every Nome; and with the earth dug out of it he cauſed the ground of the city to be raiſed higher; and built a temple in every city for the worſhip of the Nome, and in the temples ſet up oracles, ſome of which remained till the days of Herodotus. And by this means the Egyptians of every Nome were induced to worſhip the great men of the kingdom, to whom the Nome, the city, and the temple or ſepulchre of the god, was dedicated: for every temple had its proper god, and modes of worſhip, and annual feſtivals; at which the council and people of the Nome met at certain times to ſacrifice, and regulate the affairs of the Nome, and adminiſter juſtice, and buy and ſell. But Seſac and his queen, by the names of Oſiris and Iſis, were worſhipped in all Egypt: and becauſe Seſac, to render the Nile more uſeful, dug channels from it to all the capital cities of Egypt; that river was conſecrated to him, and he was called by its names Ægyptus, Siris, Nilus. Dionyſius [b] tells us, that the Nile was called Siris by the Ethiopians, and Nilus by the people of Syene. From the word Nahal, which ſignifies a torrent, that river was called Nilus; and Diodorus [c] tells us, that Nilus was that king, who cut Egypt into canals, to make the river uſeful. In Scripture the river is called Schichor, or Sihor; and thence the Greeks formed the words Siris, Sirius, Ser-Apis, O-Siris; but Plutarch [d] tells us, that the ſyllable O, put before the word Siris by the Greeks, made it ſcarce intelligible to the Egyptians.

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[a] Diodor. l. 1. c. 54. p. 35.

[b] Dionyſ. de ſitu Orbis, lin. 223, 224.

[c] Diodor. l. 1. c. 63. p. 59.

[d] Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, Tom. II. p. 372.

XX. I have now told you the original of the Nomes of Egypt; and of the religions and temples of the Nomes; and of the cities built there by the gods, and called by their names: whence Diodorus [e] tells us, that "of all the provinces of the world, there "were in Egypt only many cities built by the ancient gods; as by "Jupiter, Sol, Hermes, Apollo, Pan, Eilithyia, and many others." And Lucian [f], an Aſſyrian, who had travelled into Phœnicia and

[e] Diodor. l. 1. c. 12. p. 8.

[f] Lucian. de Dea Syria.

thor, Seſoſtris or Seſac, in his great expedition, Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 17. p. 10.

(4) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 18. p. 11. (5) See chap. i. § XIX. note 1.

* See the Scholiaſt on Lucan, lib. 3. lin. 173.

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Egypt, tells us, that "the temples of Egypt were very old; thoſe "in Phœnicia built by Cinyras as old; and thoſe in Aſſyria al- "moſt as old as the former, but not altogether ſo old." Which ſhews that the monarchy of Aſſyria roſe up after the monarchy of Egypt, as is repreſented in Scripture; and that the temples of Egypt, then ſtanding, were thoſe built by Seſoſtris about the ſame time that the temples of Phœnicia and Cyprus were built by Cinyras, Benhadad, and Hiram. This was not the firſt original of idolatry, but only the erecting of much more ſumptuous temples than formerly to the founders of new kingdoms. For temples at firſt were very ſmall:

Jupiter anguſtâ vix totus ſtabat in æde.

Ovid. Faſt. l. 1.

Altars were at firſt erected without temples; and this cuſtom continued in Perſia till after the days of Herodotus (1). In Phœnicia they had altars with little houſes for eating the ſacrifices much earlier, and theſe they called High Places. Such was the High Place where Samuel entertained Saul (2); ſuch was the houſe of Dagon at Aſhdod (3), into which the Philiſtims brought the ark; and the houſe of Baal, in which Jehu ſlew the prophets of Baal (4); and ſuch were the High Places of the Canaanites, which Moſes commanded Iſrael to deſtroy. He [a] commanded Iſrael to deſtroy the altars, images, high places and groves of the Canaanites; but made no mention of their temples; as he would have done, had there been any in thoſe days. I meet with no mention of ſumptuous temples before the days of Solomon. New

[a] Exod. xxxiv. 13. Num. xxxiii. 52. Deut. vii. 5. & xii. 3.

§ XX.

(1) The Perſians, in the days of Herodotus, had neither ſtatues, temples, nor altars. Herodot. lib. 1. c. 131.

(2) 1 Sam. ix. 11—14, and 25. (3) 1 Sam. v. 1, 2. (4) 2 Kings x. 18—28.

§ XXI.

(1) 1 Kings xv. 18. (2) 2 Kings viii. 7. (3) 2 Kings viii. 28. x. 32. xii. 17. (4) 2 Kings xiii. 3 and 24. (5) 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5—9. (6) Iſ. vii. 6.

(7) Benhadad, the ſon of Tabrimon, was contemporary with Aſa the grandſon of Rehoboam, 1 Kings xv. The reign of Abijam, the father of Aſa, was very ſhort: not four years. Therefore Tabrimon muſt have lived in the reign of Rehoboam; therefore in that of Seſac. Therefore if Seſac was Seſoſtris; Syria, which was one of the countries conquered by Seſoſtris, muſt have become ſubject to the Egyptian in the reign of Tabrimon.

(8) By the event of Seſac's death, and the conqueſt of Egypt by the Ethiopians. See chap. i. § XLII.

kingdoms

Egypt.

kingdoms begun then to build ſepulchres to their founders in the form of ſumptuous temples; and ſuch temples Hiram built in Tyre; Seſac in all Egypt; and Benhadad in Damaſcus.

XXI. For when David [a] ſmote Hadad-Ezer king of Zobah, and ſlew the Syrians of Damaſcus, who came to aſſiſt him; "Rezon, the ſon of Eliadah, fled from his lord Hadad-Ezer, and "gathered men unto him; and became captain over a band, and "reigned in Damaſcus over Syria." He is called Hezion, 1 King. xv. 18. and his ſucceſſors mentioned in hiſtory were Tabrimon (1), Hadad or Benhadad (1), Benhadad II (2), Hazael (3), Benhadad III (4), ** and Rezin (5) the ſon of Tabeah (6). Syria became ſubject to Egypt in the days of Tabrimon (7), and recovered her liberty (8) under Benhadad I; and in the days of Benhadad III (9), until the reign of the laſt Rezin (10), they became ſubject to Iſrael: and in the ninth year of Hoſhea king of Judah, Tiglath-pileſer king of Aſſyria captivated the Syrians (11), and put an end to their kingdom. Now Joſephus [b] tells us, that "the "Syrians till his days worſhipped both Adar, that is Hadad or "Benhadad, and his ſucceſſor Hazael, as gods, for their bene-"factions, and for building temples by which they adorned the "city of Damaſcus: for, ſaith he, they daily celebrate ſolem-"nities in honour of theſe kings, and boaſt their antiquity, not "knowing that they are novel, and lived not above eleven hun-"dred years ago." It ſeems theſe kings built ſumptuous ſepulchres for themſelves, and were worſhipped therein. Juſtin [c] calls the firſt of theſe two kings Damaſcus; ſaying, that "the "city had its name from him, and that the Syrians in honour of "him worſhipped his wife Arathes as a goddeſs, uſing her ſe-"pulchre for a temple."

[a] 2 Sam. viii. 3—5. & 1 King. xi. 23.

[b] Antiq. l. 9. c. 4. p. 404.

[c] Juſtin. l. 36. c. 2.

(9) 2 Kings xiii. 25 xiv. 21—28. In 2 Kings xiii. 2. it is ſaid, "that the Lord delivered Iſrael "into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Benhadad the ſon of Hazael *all* "*days*." Our tranſlation has *all their days*; as if it were meant, that the Iſraelites were oppreſſed by the Syrians, during the whole reigns of Hazael and Benhadad. But from the 22d verſe of the ſame chapter, and from the ſequel of the Jewiſh ſtory, it appears that *all days* are to be underſtood of all the days of the wicked king Jehoahaz. In his time God delivered Iſrael into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Hazael's ſon Benhadad, probably as the general of his father's forces. In the reign of Joaſh, the ſon of Jehoahaz, and his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Iſrael, probably therefore in the reign of Benhadad, the ſon of Hazael, and his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Syria, the deliverance of Iſrael and the ſubjection of the Syrians began. 2 Kings xiii. 25.

(10) 2 Kings xvi. 6.

(11) 2 Kings xvi. 9. Compare xvii. 6.

XXII.

CHAPTER SECOND.

XXII. Another inſtance we have in the kingdom of Byblus: In the [a] reign of Minos king of Crete, when Rhadamanthus, the brother of Minos, carried colonies from Crete to the Greek iſlands, and gave the iſlands to his captains; he gave Lemnos to Thoas, or Theias, or Thoantes, the father of Hypſipyle (1), a Cretan worker in metals (2), and by conſequence a diſciple of the *Idæi Dactyli*, and perhaps a Phœnician: for the *Idæi Dactyli*, and Telchines, and Corybantes, brought their arts and ſciences from Phœnicia. And [b] Suidas ſaith, that he was deſcended from Pharnaces king of Cyprus (3). Apollodorus [c], that he was the ſon of Sandochus, a Syrian (4). And Apollonius Rhodius [d], that "Hypſipyle gave Jaſon the purple cloak which the Graces made "for Bacchus; who gave it to his ſon Thoas, the father of Hyp"ſipyle, and king of Lemnos." Thoas married [e] Calycopis, the mother of Æneas, and daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia; and for his ſkill on the harp was called Cinyras; and was ſaid to be exceedingly beloved by Apollo or Orus (5). The great Bacchus loved his wife; and being caught in bed with her in Phrygia appeaſed him with wine, and compoſed the matter, by making him king of Byblus and Cyprus; and then came over the Helleſpont with

a Diodor. l. 5. c. 79. p. 238.

b Suidas in Σαρδανάπαλος.

c Apollod. l. 3. c. 13. § III

d Argonaut. l. 4. v. 424. & l. 1. v. 621.

e Homer. Odyſſ. Θ. v. 268, 292 & Hymn. 1, 2. in Venerem. & Heſiod. Theogon. v. 192.

§ XXII.

(1) Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 9. § XVII. (2) Plin. lib. 7. c. 57.

(3) Suidas, in the place to which our author refers, ſays this of Cinyras, whom our author ſuppoſes to be Thoas. In the article Κινύρας, he ſays that Cinyras was the ſon of Theias; and the ſame thing is ſaid by Euſtatius in Il. Λ. 20.

(4) This Apollodorus ſays of Cinyras, not of Thoas.

(5) That Calycopis, a daughter of Otreus king of Phrygia, was the mother of Æneas, may with ſome colour of probability be conjectured from the firſt of the Homeric hymns to Venus; in which Venus introduces herſelf to Anchiſes, as the daughter of this Otreus: and when ſhe takes her leave; ſhe charges him to give it out, when the ſon, who was to be the fruit of their amour, ſhould appear at Troy, that his mother was Calycopis, a nymph of Ida. That Cinyras took his name from the muſical inſtrument Cinyra, is likewiſe aſſerted by Euſtathius in Il. Λ. 20. That Thoas, the father of Hipſipyle, was the ſame perſon as Cinyras, our author might perhaps infer from this circumſtance. Apollodorus (lib. 3. c. 13 § III.) makes Cinyras the father of Adonis. Ovid (Metamorph. 10) makes Cinyras the father of Adonis by his own daughter Myrrha. And in the ſame ſtory Hyginus (fab. 58.) Servius (in Virg. Ecl. 10. lin. 18,) and the ſcholiaſt on Theocritus (Id. 1. lin. 109) agree. But Apollodorus relates, that Panyaſis made Adonis the ſon of Thoas, a king of the Aſſyrians, by his own daughter Myrrha. (Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 13. § IV.) And with Panyaſis, Antoninus Liberalis ſeems to agree (c. 34. § IV.) Cinyras therefore had a ſon by his own daughter Myrrha. Thoas had a ſon by his own daughter Myrrha. Therefore Thoas and Cinyras were the ſame. Allowing the concluſion ſo far to be good; ſtill it does not at all appear, that this Thoas was the Cretan Thoas, the father of Hypſipyle. The great age indeed, which authors aſcribe to Cinyras, obviates the objection that would otherwiſe ariſe, from making the ſame man reign in Lemnos in the generation before the Argonautic expedition; and in Cyprus during the Trojan war. Apollo's friendſhip for Cinyras is

with his army and conquered Thrace (⁶). And to theſe things the poets allude, in feigning that Vulcan fell from heaven into Lemnos, and that Bacchus [a] appeaſed him with wine, and reduced him back into heaven. He fell from the heaven of the Cretan gods, when he went from Crete to Lemnos to work in metals (⁷); and was reduced back into heaven, when Bacchus made him king of Cyprus and Byblus. He reigned there till a very great age, living to the times of the Trojan war, and becoming exceeding rich (⁸): and after the death of his wife Calycopis [b], he built temples to her at Paphos, and Amathus, in Cyprus; and at Byblus in Syria; and inſtituted prieſts to her with ſacred rites and luſtful *Orgia*; whence ſhe became the *Dea Cypria*, and the *Dea Syria*. And from temples erected to her in theſe and other places, ſhe was alſo called Paphia, Amathuſia, Byblia, Cytherea, Salaminia, Cnidia, Erycina, Idalia. "*Fama* "*tradit à Cinyra ſacratum vetuſtiſſimum Paphiæ Veneris templum,* "*Deamque ipſam conceptam mari huc appulſam.*" Tacit. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 3. From her ſailing from Phrygia to the iſland Cytherea, and from thence to be queen of Cyprus; ſhe was ſaid by the Cyprians to be born of the froth of the ſea, and was painted ſailing upon a ſhell (⁹). Cinyras deified alſo his ſon Gingris by the name

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[a] Pauſan. l. 1. c. 20. p. 46.

[b] Clem. Al. Admon. ad Gent. p. 10. Apollodor. l. 3. c. 13. Pindar. Pyth. Ode 2. Heſych. in Κινυραδαι. Steph. in Αμαθους. Strabo, l. 16. p. 755.

is mentioned by Pindar, Pyth. 2. 27—30. Some accounted him the ſon of Apollo. Scholiaſt ad locum, & Heſych. in voce Κινυρας.

(⁶) Sir Iſaac Newton (chap. 1. § XLIV.) refers to Homer's ſtory of the amours of Mars and Venus, as if he took it for granted, that the Mars of that ſtory was Bacchus. It is upon the ſame principle, as I ſuſpect, that he here affirms, that Bacchus's conqueſt of Thrace was immediately after his affair with Cinyras's wife. For in Homer, as ſoon as Mars and Venus are releaſed, Mars goes to Thrace, Venus to Cyprus:

> Ὁ μεν Θρηκηνδε βεβηκει,
> Ἡ δ' αρα Κυπρον ικανε φιλομμειδης Αφροδιτη. Homer. Od. Θ. l. 361.

(⁷) Vide infra.

(⁸) The great age of Cinyras is mentioned by Pliny, lib. 7. c. 48. His wealth by Pindar, Nem. 8. Stroph 2. and by Euſtath. in Il. Λ. 20.

( ) It is probable that Cinyras introduced the worſhip of Venus in Cyprus, when he ſettled there. But there is reaſon to believe, that ſhe was worſhipped in Syria before his time; and that ſhe could not be his miſtreſs or his wife Cinyras, according to Apollodorus, lib. 3. c. 13. § III. was the great-grandſon of Phaëthon: and this Phaëthon, according to Heſiod, was a prieſt of Venus. Whence it ſhould ſeem, that the prieſthood of Venus devolved to Cinyras by inheritance:

> Αυταρ τοι Κεφαλῳ φιτυσατο φαιδιμον υιον
> Ιφθιμον Φαεθοντα, θεοις επιεικελον ανδρα.
> Τον ῥα νεον, τερεν ανθος εχοντ' ερικυδεος ἡβης,
> Παιδ' ἀπαλα φρονεοντα φιλομμειδης Αφροδιτη
> Ωρτ' ανερειψαμενη και μιν ζαθεοις ενι νηοις
> Νηοπολον νυχιον ποιησατο, δαιμονα διον. Theogon. 986—991.

There

name of Adonis (10); and for aſſiſting the Egyptians with armour, it is probable, that he himſelf was deified by his friends the Egyptians by the name of Baal-Canaan, or Vulcan. For Vulcan was celebrated principally by the Egyptians, and was a king, according to Homer, and reigned in Lemnos (11); and Cinyras was an inventor of arts, [a] and found out copper in Cyprus, and the ſmiths hammer, and anvil, and tongs, and laver; and employed workmen in making armour, and other things of braſs and iron; and was the only king celebrated in hiſtory for working in metals, and was king of Lemnos (12), and the huſband of Venus; all which are the characters of Vulcan. And the Egyptians about the time of the death of Cinyras, viz. in the reign of their king Amenophis, built a very ſumptuous temple at Memphis to Vulcan (13), and near it a ſmaller temple to Venus Hoſpita (14); not an Egyptian woman but a foreigner; not Helena but Vulcan's Venus: for [b] Herodotus tells us, that the region round about this temple was inhabited by Tyrian Phœnicians, and that [c] Cambyſes going into this temple at Memphis, very much derided the ſtatue of Vulcan for its littleneſs: "for," ſaith he, "this ſtatue is moſt like thoſe gods which the Phœni-"cians call Patæci, and carry about in the fore part of their "ſhips in the form of Pygmies." And [d] Bochart ſaith of this Venus Hoſpita, "*Phœniciam Venerem in Ægypto pro peregrinâ* "*habitam.*"

[a] Clem. Al. Admon. ad Gent. p. 21. Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 112.

[c] Herod. l. 3. c. 37.

[d] Bochart. Canaan. l. 1. c. 4.

XXIII. As the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Syrians, in thoſe days deified their kings and princes; ſo upon their coming into Aſia Minor and Greece, they taught thoſe nations to do the like; as hath been ſhewed above. In thoſe days the writing of the Thebans and Ethiopians was in hieroglypicks; and this way of

There is no room to doubt, that the Phaéton of Heſiod and Apollodorus are the ſame. For both derive him from Cephalus; of whom Heſiod makes him the ſon, Apollodorus the grandſon. The opinion that Venus was the wife or miſtreſs of Cinyras, and was deified by him after her death, reſts, if I miſtake not, on the ſingle authority of Clemens Alexandrinus; for I imagine that Arnobius and Julius Firmicus, who ſay the ſame thing, take it from him. The authority of Clemens, great as it is in points of antiquity, cannot be allowed to outweigh the teſtimony of Heſiod: which is in ſome meaſure confirmed by what Herodotus ſays of the antiquity of the Syrian Venus, lib. 1. c. 105. It is remarkable, that the hiſtory of this Cinyras was become uncertain and obſcure, ſo early as in the age of Pindar. See Pindar's 8th Nemean, Stroph. 2.

(10) THAT Adonis was the ſon of Cinyras; ſee Apollodorus, lib. 3. c. 13. § III. That his Phœnician name was Gingris, ſee Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 2. c. 7. Lycophron calls him Ganas, lin. 833. Tzetzes ſays this was his Cyprian name.

writing ſeems to have ſpread into the lower Egypt before the days of Moſes: for thence came the worſhip of their gods in the various ſhapes of birds, beaſts, and fiſhes, forbidden in the ſecond commandment. Now this emblematical way of writing gave occaſion to the Thebans and Ethiopians, who in the days of Samuel, David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, conquered Egypt, and the nations round about, and erected a great empire, to repreſent and ſignify their conquering kings and princes, not by writing down their names, but by making various hieroglyphical figures; as by painting Ammon with ram's horns; to ſignify the king who conquered Libya, a country abounding with ſheep: his father Amoſis with a ſcithe; to ſignify that king who conquered the lower Egypt, a country abounding with corn: his ſon Oſiris by an ox; becauſe he taught the conquered nations to plow with oxen: Bacchus with bull's horns, for the ſame reaſon; and with grapes, becauſe he taught the nations to plant vines; and upon a tyger, becauſe he ſubdued India: Orus, the ſon of Oſiris, with a harp; to ſignify the prince who was eminently ſkilled on that inſtrument: Jupiter upon an eagle, to ſignify the ſublimity of his dominion; and with a thunderbolt, to repreſent him a warrior: Venus in a chariot drawn with two doves; to repreſent her amorous and luſtful: Neptune with a trident; to ſignify the commander of a fleet compoſed of three ſquadrons: Ægeon, a giant, with 50 heads, and an hundred hands; to ſignify Neptune with his men in a ſhip of fifty oars: Thoth with a dog's head, and wings at his cap and feet, and a Caduceus writhen about with two ſerpents; to ſignify a man of craft, and an embaſſador who reconciled two contending nations: Pan with a pipe EGYPT.

(11) HOMER often gives him, in common with all the gods, the title of ἀναξ. But it appears not from Homer where his kingdom was. The negative however appears, that it was not in Lemnos. For Homer, relating the intrigue of Mars and Venus, lays the ſcene in *Vulcan's houſe*: and makes Vulcan, in order to detect them, feign a journey *from home* to Lemnos, Od. Θ. lin. 268, 283, 287, 293. Neither were his works in Lemnos, Od. Θ. lin. 272—284. The ſcholiaſt on Apollodorus Rhodius, lib. 4. lin. 761. places them in Lipara and Strongyle; and with him Virgil (Æn. 8. lin. 416—422.) and other Latin poets agree. Tully is the only reſpectable authority I know, for a forge of Vulcan in Lemnos. De Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 22.

(12) Does this aſſertion reſt on any other ground than the precarious conjecture, that Cinyras was the Lemnian Thoas?

(13) The temple of Vulcan at Memphis was built by Menes, whom our author conceives to be the ſame with Amenophis. Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99.

(14) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 112.

and

Chapter Second.

and the legs of a goat; to ſignify a man delighted in piping and dancing: and Hercules with pillars and a club; becauſe Seſoſtris ſet up pillars in all his conqueſts, and fought againſt the Libyans with clubs. This is that Hercules who, according to [a] Eudoxus, was ſlain by Typhon; and according to Ptolemeus [b] Hephæſtion was called Nilus; and who conquered Geryon with his three ſons in Spain, and ſet up the famous pillars at the mouth of the Straits. For Diodorus [c] mentioning three Hercules's, the Egyptian, the Tyrian (¹), and the ſon of Alcmena, ſaith, that "the oldeſt "flouriſhed among the Egyptians, and having conquered a great "part of the world, ſet up the pillars in Afric." And Vaſæus [d], that Oſiris, called alſo Dionyſius, "came into Spain and con-"quered Geryon, and was the firſt who brought idolatry into "Spain." Strabo [e] tells us, that the Ethiopians called Megabars fought with clubs: and ſome of the Greeks [f] did ſo till the times of the Trojan war. Now from this hieroglyphical way of writing it came to paſs, that upon the diviſion of Egypt into Nomes by Seſoſtris, the great men of the kingdom to whom the Nomes were dedicated, were repreſented in their ſepulchres or temples of the Nomes by various hieroglyphicks; as by an ox, a cat, a dog, a cebus, a goat, a lyon, a ſcarabæus, an ichneumon, a crocodile, an hippopotamus, an oxyrinchus, an ibis, a crow, a hawk, a leek, and were worſhipped by the Nomes in the ſhape of theſe creatures.

XXIV. The [g] Atlantides, a people upon mount Atlas conquered by the Egyptians in the reign of Ammon, related, that Uranus was their firſt king; and reduced them from a ſavage courſe of life, and cauſed them to dwell in towns and cities, and lay up and uſe the fruits of the earth; and that he reigned over a great part of the world; and by his wife Titæa had eighteen children; among which were Hyperion and Baſilea the parents of Helius and Selene; that the brothers of Hyperion ſlew him, and drowned his ſon Helius, the Phaeton of the ancients, in the Nile,

[a] Apud Athenæum, l. 9. c. 11. p. 392.
[b] Ptol. l. 2.
[c] Diod. l. 3. c. 73. p. 145.
[d] Vaſ. Chron. Hiſp. c. 10.
[e] Strabo, l. 16 p. 776.
[f] Homer.
[g] Diodor. l. 3. c. 56, 57. p. 132, 133.

§ XXIII.

(¹) The Cretan, who was one of the Idæi Dactyli.

§ XXIV.

(²) Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 60. p. 135.

and

and divided his kingdom amongſt themſelves (1); and the country bordering upon the ocean fell to the lot of Atlas, from whom the people were called Atlantides. By Uranus or Jupiter Uranius, Hyperion, Baſilea, Helius and Selene, I underſtand Jupiter Ammon, Oſiris, Iſis, Orus and Bubaſte; and by the ſharing of the kingdom of Hyperion amongſt his brothers the Titans, I underſtand the diviſion of the earth among the gods mentioned in the poem of Solon. EGYPT.

XXV. For Solon having travelled into Egypt, and converſed with the prieſts of Sais (1) about their antiquities, wrote a poem of what he had learnt, but did not finiſh it (2): [a] and this poem fell into the hands of Plato; who relates out of it, that at the mouth of the Straits, near Hercules's pillars, there was an iſland called Atlantis; the people of which, nine thouſand years before the days of Solon (3), reigned over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Europe as far as the Tyrrhene ſea (4); and all this force, collected into one body, invaded Egypt and Greece, and whatever was contained within the pillars of Hercules; but was reſiſted and ſtopt by the Athenians and other Greeks, and thereby the reſt of the nations not yet conquered were preſerved (5). He ſaith alſo, that in thoſe days the gods having finiſhed their conqueſts divided the whole earth amongſt themſelves, partly into larger, partly into ſmall portions (6), and inſtituted temples and ſacred rites to themſelves (6); and that the iſland Atlantis fell to the lot of Neptune; who made his eldeſt ſon Atlas king of the whole iſland (6), a part of which was called Gadir (6); and that "in "the hiſtory of the ſaid wars mention was made of Cecrops, "Erechtheus, Erichthonius, and others before Theſeus; and alſo "of the women who warred with the men; and of the habit and "ſtatue of Minerva; the ſtudy of war in thoſe days being com"mon to men and women (7)." By all theſe circumſtances it is manifeſt, that theſe gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and lived between the age of Cecrops and Theſeus; and that the

[a] Plato in Timæo, & Critia.

§ XXV.

(1) Plato in Timæo, p. 1043. (2) ——— p. 1042.
(3) ——— p. 1044, et in Critia, p. 1100. (4) ——— p. 1045.
(5) In Critia, p. 1100. (6) ——— p. 1103.
(7) In Critia, p. 1101.

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wars which Seſoſtris with his brother Neptune made upon the nations by land and ſea, and the reſiſtance he met with in Greece, and the following invaſion of Egypt by Neptune, are here deſcribed; and how the captains of Seſoſtris ſhared his conqueſts amongſt themſelves, as the captains of Alexander the Great did his conqueſts long after; and inſtituting temples and prieſts and ſacred rites to themſelves, cauſed the nations to worſhip them after death as gods: and that the iſland Gadir or Gades, with all Libya, fell to the lot of him who after death was deified by the name of Neptune. The time therefore when theſe things were done, is by Solon limited to the age of Neptune, the father of Atlas (8); for Homer tells us, that "Ulyſſes preſently after the "Trojan war found Calypſo, the daughter of Atlas (9), in the "Ogygian iſland, perhaps Gadir; and therefore it was but two "generations before the Trojan war." This is that Neptune, who with Apollo or Orus fortified Troy with a wall, in the reign of Laomedon the father of Priamus (10); and left many natural children in Greece (11), ſome of which were Argonauts (12), and others were contemporary to the Argonauts. And therefore he flouriſhed but one generation before the Argonautic expedition, and by conſequence about 400 years before Solon went into Egypt (13). But the prieſts of Egypt in thoſe 400 years had magnified the ſtories and antiquity of their gods ſo exceedingly, as to make them nine thouſand years older than Solon, and the iſland Atlantis bigger than all Afric and Aſia together, and full of people; and becauſe in the days of Solon this great iſland did not appear, they pretended that it was ſunk into the ſea with all its people. Thus great was the vanity of the prieſts of Egypt in magnifying their antiquities.

[a] Apud Diodor. l. 5. c. 69. p. 233.

XXVI. The Cretans [a] affirmed, that "Neptune was the firſt "man who ſet out a fleet, having obtained this præfecture of "his father Saturn; whence poſterity reckoned things done in "the ſea to be under his government, and mariners honoured "him with ſacrifices." The invention of tall ſhips with ſails [b] is alſo aſcribed to him. He was firſt worſhipped in Africa, as

[b] Pamphus apud Pauſan. l. 7. c. 21. p. 577.

(8) *For Homer ———— ; and therefore ——— Trojan war.* Read, *and therefore it was but two generations before the Trojan war; for Homer tells us, that Ulyſſes*, &c.

(9) Od. A. lin. 48—52. and H. 244.

(10) Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § IX.

(11) See Natalis Comes, Myth. lib. 2. c. 8.

He-

Herodotus [a] affirms; and therefore reigned over that province. For his eldeſt ſon Atlas, who ſucceeded him, was not only Lord of the iſland Atlantis, but alſo reigned over a great part of Afric, giving his name to the people called *Atlantii*, and to the mountain Atlas, and the Atlantic Ocean. The [b] outmoſt parts of the earth and promontories, and whatever bordered upon the ſea and was waſhed by it, the Egyptians called Nepthys; and on the coaſts of Marmorica and Cyrene, Bochart and Arius Montanus place the Naphthuhim, a people ſprung from Mizraim, Gen. x. 13; and thence Neptune and his wife Nepthys might have their names; the words Neptune, Nepthys, and Naphthuhim, ſignifying the king, queen, and people of the ſea-coaſts. The Greeks tell us, that Japetus was the father of Atlas (1); and Bochart derives Japetus and Neptune from the ſame original (2). He and his ſon Atlas are celebrated in the ancient fables for making war upon the gods of Egypt; as when Lucian [c] ſaith, that Corinth being full of fables, tells the fight of Sol and Neptune, that is, of Apollo and Python, or Orus and Typhon; and where Agatharchides [d] relates how the gods of Egypt fled from the giants, till the Titans came in and ſaved them, by putting Neptune to flight; and where Hyginus [e] tells the war between the gods of Ægypt, and the Titans commanded by Atlas. The Titans are the poſterity of Titæa (3); ſome of whom under Hercules aſſiſted the gods, others under Neptune and Atlas warred againſt them: "for which reaſon," ſaith Plutarch [f], "the prieſts of "Egypt abominated the ſea, and had Neptune in no honour." By Hercules, I underſtand here the general of the forces of Thebais and Ethiopia, whom the gods or great men of Egypt called to their aſſiſtance againſt the giants or great men of Libya, who had ſlain Oſiris and invaded Egypt. For Diodorus [g] ſaith, that "when Oſiris made his expedition over the world, he left his "kinſman Hercules general of his forces over all his dominions,

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[a] Herod. l. 2. c. 50.

[b] Plutarch in Iſide, p. 366.

[c] Lucian de Saltatione, ſect. 42.

[d] Agatharc. apud Photium, CCL. c. 4.

[e] Hygin. fab. 150.

[f] Plutarch. in Iſide, p. 353 & 363.

[g] Diodor. l. 1. p. 10.

(12) Namely, Polyphemus, Erginus, Ancæus (Apoll. Rhod. lib. 1. lin. 179—187) and Nauplius, according to the Orphic Argonautics, lin. 200. But Apollonius Rhodius makes Nauplius the ſixth in deſcent from Neptune.

(13) See chap. 1. § LVI.

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(1) Apollor. lib. 1. c. 2. § III.

(2) Phaleg. lib. 1. c. 1.

(3) Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 57. p. 133.

"and Antæus governor of Libya and Ethiopia." Antæus reigned over all Afric to the Atlantic Ocean, and built Tingis (4) or Tangieres. Pindar [a] tells us, that he reigned at Iraſa, a town of Libya, where Cyrene was afterwards built. He invaded Egypt and Thebais; for he was beaten by Hercules and the Egyptians near Antæa or Antæopolis, a town of Thebais; and Diodorus [b] tells us, that "this town had its name from Antæus, whom Hercules ſlew in the days of Oſiris." Hercules overthrew him ſeveral times, and every time he grew ſtronger by recruits from Libya, his mother earth; but Hercules intercepted his recruits, and at length ſlew him. In theſe wars Hercules took the Libyan world from Atlas, and made Atlas pay tribute out of his golden orchard, the kingdom of Afric (5). Antæus and Atlas were both of them ſons of Neptune; both of them reigned over all Libya and Afric, between mount Atlas and the Mediterranean to the very ocean; both of them invaded Egypt, and contended with Hercules in the wars of the gods: and therefore they are but two names of one and the ſame man; and even the name Atlas, in the oblique caſes, ſeems to have been compounded of the name Antæus, and ſome other word; perhaps the word Atal, *curſed*, put before it. The invaſion of Egypt by Antæus, Ovid hath relation unto, where he makes Hercules ſay,

Sævoque alimenta parentis
Antæo eripui.

This war was at length compoſed by the intervention of Mercury; who in memory thereof was ſaid to reconcile two contending ſerpents, by caſting his ambaſſador's rod between them. And thus much concerning the ancient ſtate of Egypt, Libya, and Greece, deſcribed by Solon.

XXVII. The mythology of the Cretans (1) differed in ſome things from that of Egypt and Libya. For in the Cretan mythology, Cœlus and Terra, or Uranus and Titæa, were the parents of Saturn and Rhea; and Saturn and Rhea were the parents of

[a] Pindar. Pyth. ode 9.

[b] Diodor. l. 1. c. 21. p. 12.

(4) Plin. lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo (p. 829.) and Plutarch (in Sertorio, p. 572.) relate, that Antæus was buried there. Sertorius opened the tomb, and found a ſkeleton of 50 cubits.

(5) See Apollodor. lib. 2. c. 4. § 11. and Bochart. Chanaan. lib. 1. c. 24.

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(1) For the particulars of which ſee the Theogony of Heſiod, and Diodor. lib. 5. c. 64—79. p. 230—238.

Jupiter

Jupiter and Juno; and Hyperion, Japetus, and the Titans, were one generation older than Jupiter; and Saturn was expelled his kingdom and caſtrated by his ſon Jupiter (²): which fable hath no place in the mythology of Egypt. Egypt.

XXVIII. During the reign of Seſac, Jeroboam being in ſubjection to Egypt (¹), ſet up the gods of Egypt in Dan and Bethel (²); and Iſrael "was without the true God, and without a "teaching prieſt, and without law: and in thoſe times there was "no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in; but "great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries; "and nation was deſtroyed of nation, and city of city: for God "did vex them with all adverſity," 2 Chron. xv. 3, 5, 6. But in the fifth year of Aſa (³) the land of Judah became quiet from war, and from thence had quiet ten years. And Aſa took away the altars of ſtrange gods, and brake down the images, and built the fenced cities of Judah with walls, and towers, and gates, and bars, having reſt on every ſide; and got up an army of 580,000 men (⁴); with which, in the fifteenth year of his reign, he met Zerah the Ethiopian, who came out againſt him with an army of a thouſand thouſand Ethiopians and Libyans (⁵). The way of the Libyans was through Egypt; and therefore Zerah was now lord of Egypt. They fought at Mareſhah near Gerar, between Egypt and Judæa; and Zerah was beaten, ſo that he could not recover himſelf. And from all this I ſeem to gather, that Oſiris was ſlain in the fifth year of Aſa, and thereupon Egypt fell into civil wars, being invaded by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians for a time; and after ten years more being invaded by the Ethiopians, who ſlew Orus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Oſiris, drowning him in the Nile (⁶), and ſeized his kingdom. By theſe civil wars of Egypt, the land of Judah had reſt ten years. Oſiris or Seſoſtris reigned long, Manetho ſaith 48 years (⁷); and by this reckoning he began to reign about the

17th

(²) Here our author ſeems to confound two fables. Cælus or Uranus was caſtrated by Saturn. Apollodor. lib. 1. c. 1. § III. Heſiod Theogon. 168—182. And Saturn, according to ſome, was depoſed, not caſtrated, by Jupiter.

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(¹) See 1 Kings xi. 40.
(²) See 1 Kings xii. 25—33.
(³) See chap. 1. § XLII. note 9.
(⁴) 2 Chron. xiv. 1—8.
(⁵) 2 Chron. xiv. 9—15. and xvi. 8.

(⁶) No antient author, I believe, hath ſaid either that Orus, the ſon of Oſiris, or that the ſon

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[a] Plin. l. 6. c. 29.

17th year of Solomon; and Orus his ſon was drowned in the 15th year of Aſa. For Pliny [a] tells us ([8]), "*Ægyptiorum bellis attrita eſt Æthiopia, viciſſim imperitando ſerviendoque, clara & potens etiam uſque ad Trojana bella Memnone regnante.*" Ethiopia ſerved Egypt till the death of Seſoſtris, and no longer; for Herodotus [b] tells us, that "he alone enjoyed the empire of Ethiopia." Then the Ethiopians became free, and after ten years became lords of Egypt and Libya under Zerah and Amenophis ([9]).

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 110.

XXIX. When Aſa, by his victory over Zerah, became ſafe from Egypt, he aſſembled all the people, and they offered ſacrifices out of the ſpoils, and entered into a covenant upon oath to ſeek the Lord; and in lieu of the veſſels taken away by Seſac, "he brought into the houſe of God the things that his father had dedicated, and that he himſelf had dedicated, ſilver and gold, and veſſels," 2 Chron. xv.

XXX. When Zerah was beaten, ſo that he could not recover himſelf, the people [c] of the lower Egypt revolted from the Ethiopians, and called in to their aſſiſtance two hundred thouſand Jews and Canaanites; and under the conduct of one Oſarſiphus, a prieſt of Egypt, called Uſorthon, Oſorchon, Oſorchor, and Hercules Ægyptius by Manetho, cauſed the Ethiopians, now under Memnon ([1]), to retire to Memphis: and there Memnon turned the river Nile ([2]) into a new channel, built a bridge over it, and fortified that paſs, and then went back into Ethiopia. But after thirteen years, he and his young ſon Rameſſes came down with an army from Ethiopia, conquered the lower Egypt, and drove out the Jews and Phœnicians; and this action the Egyptian writ-

[c] Manetho apud Joſephum cont. Apion. c 26. p. 1352—1354.

ſon of Seſoſtris, was drowned in the Nile. But it is ſaid of the Atlantæan Helius, that he was drowned in the Eridanus. Diod. Sic. lib. 3. c. 57. p. 133. This Helius our author conceives to have been the Egyptian Horus (ſee § XXIV.) and conſequently that the Eridanus, in which he was drowned, was the Nile.

([7]) MANETHO ſays this of Seſoſtris, (Apud Euſeb. Chron. Gr. p. 15.) But of Oſiris he ſays, that he reigned 35 (p. 7.)

([8]) This quotation ſeems to be miſplaced. It ſhould ſtand at the end of this ſection, after the words *under Zerah and Amenophis.*

([9]) Africanus (apud Euſeb. Chron. Gr. p. 26.) ſays that Amenophis, the 40th of the Meſtræan kings, was Memnon.

§ XXX.

([1]) THAT the Ethiopians claimed Memnon, ſee Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 22. p. 77, 78. Euſtathius in Od. Λ. 522. ſpeaks of Memnon, who aſſiſted the Trojans, as an Ethiopian.

4 ers,

ers, and their followers, call the ſecond expulſion of the ſhep- Egypt.
herds, taking Oſarſiphus for Moſes.

XXXI. Tithonus, a beautiful youth, the elder brother of Priamus, went into Ethiopia (¹), being carried thither among many captives by Seſoſtris: and the Greeks, before the days of Heſiod, feigned that Memnon was his ſon (²). Memnon therefore, in the opinion of thoſe ancient Greeks, was one generation younger than Tithonus, and was born after the return of Seſoſtris into Egypt: ſuppoſe about 16 or 20 years after the death of Solomon. He is ſaid to have lived very long *(²), and ſo might die about 95 years after Solomon, as we reckoned above: his mother, called Ciſſia by Æſchylus (³), in a ſtatue erected to her in Egypt [a], was repreſented as the daughter, the wife, and the mother of a king (⁴); and therefore he was the ſon of a king: which makes it probable that Zerah, whom he ſucceeded in the kingdom of Ethiopia, was his father.

[a] Diodor. l. 1. c. 47. p. 31.

XXXII. Hiſtorians [b] agree that Menes reigned in Egypt next after the gods, and turned the river into a new channel, and built a bridge over it, and built Memphis and the magnificent temple of Vulcan. He built Memphis over-againſt the place where Grand Cairo now ſtands, called by the Arabian hiſtorians Meſir. He built only the body of the temple of Vulcan, and his ſucceſſors Rameſſes or Rhampſinitus, Mœris, Aſychis, and Pſammiticus, built the weſtern, northern, eaſtern, and ſouthern portico's thereof (¹). Pſammiticus, who built the laſt portico of this temple, reigned three hundred years after the victory of Aſa

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 4 & 99 *.

(²) Herodotus aſcribes this work to his firſt king Menes, whom our author conceives to have been Memnon. His opinion has ſome countenance from Philoſtratus Heroic. 3, 4.

§ XXXI.

(¹) Apollodor. lib. 3. c. 11. § IV.
(²) Heſiod. Theogon. lin. 984.
*(²) According to Euſtathius in Od. Λ. 520. and Pindar, Nem. 6. he was ſlain in battle by Achilles.

(³) Rather ſaid by Æſchylus to be a Ciſſian. See Strabo, p. 728. The Ciſſian land was the name of the particular diſtrict in which Suſa ſtood. Herodot. lib. 5. c. 49.

(⁴) This is not otherwiſe ſaid of Memnon's mother, than as it is ſaid by Diodorus of the mother of the Egyptian king Oſymanduas. The name Oſymanduas differs little from Iſmandes, And Iſmandes, according to Strabo, lib. 17. p. 813. was ſaid to be the Egyptian name of Memnon.

§ XXXII.

* Add Diod Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29.
(¹) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99, 101, 121, 136, 153.

over Zerah; and it is not likely that this temple could be above three hundred years in building, or that any Menes could be king of all Egypt before the expulſion of the ſhepherds. The laſt of the gods of Egypt was Orus, with his mother Iſis, and ſiſter Bubaſte, and ſecretary Thoth, and uncle Typhon; and the king who reigned next after all their deaths, and turned the river and built a bridge over it, and built Memphis and the temple of Vulcan, was Memnon or Amenophis, called by the Egyptians Amenoph; and therefore he is Menes. For the names Amenoph, or Menoph, and Menes, do not much differ. And from Amenoph the city Memphis, built by Menes, had its Egyptian names, Moph, Nopth, Menoph or Menuf, as it is ſtill called by the Arabian hiſtorians. The neceſſity of fortifying this place againſt Oſarſiphus gave occaſion to the building of it.

XXXIII. In the time of the revolt of the lower Egypt under Oſarſiphus, and the retirement of Amenophis into Ethiopia, Egypt being then in the greateſt diſtraction, the Greeks built the ſhip Argo, and ſent in it the flower of Greece to Æetes in Colchis, and to many other princes on the coaſts of the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas. And this ſhip was built after the pattern of an Egyptian ſhip with fifty oars; in which Danäus, with his fifty daughters a few years before, fled from Egypt into Greece; and was the firſt long ſhip with ſails built by the Greeks: and ſuch an improvement of navigation, with a deſign to ſend the flower of Greece to many princes upon the ſea-coaſts of the Euxine and Mediterranean ſeas, was too great an undertaking to be ſet on foot, without the concurrence of the princes and ſtates of Greece, and perhaps the approbation of the Amphictyonic council; for it was done by the dictate of the oracle. This council met every half year upon ſtate-affairs for the welfare of Greece (¹); and therefore knew of this expedition, and might ſend the Argonauts upon an embaſſy to the ſaid princes; and for concealing their deſign, might make the fable of the golden fleece, in relation to the ſhip of Phrixus, whoſe enſign was a golden ram. And probably their deſign was to notify the diſtraction of Egypt, and the invaſion thereof by the Ethiopians and Iſraelites to the

§ XXXIII.

(¹) Strabo, lib. 9. p. 420.

ſaid

ſaid princes, and to perſuade them to take that opportunity to re- EGYPT.
volt from Egypt, and ſet up for themſelves, and make a league with the Greeks. For the Argonauts went through [a] the kingdom of Colchis by land to the Armenians; and through Armenia, to the Medes; which could not have been done, if they had not made friendſhip with the nations through which they paſſed. They viſited alſo Laomedon king of the Trojans; Phineus, king of the Thracians; Cyzicus, king of the Doliones; Lycus, king of the Mariandyni; the coaſts of Myſia and Taurica Cherſoneſus; the nations upon the Tanais; the people about Byzantium, and the coaſts of Epirus; Corſica, Melita, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Gallia upon the Mediterranean; and from thence [b] they croſſed the ſea to Afric, and there conferred with Eurypylus king of Cyrene. And [c] Strabo tells us, that "in Armenia and Media, and the neighbouring places, there were frequent monuments of the expedition of Jaſon; as alſo about Sinope, and its ſea-coaſts; the Propontis and the Helleſpont, and in the Mediterranean." And a meſſage by the flower of Greece to ſo many nations could be on no other account than ſtate-policy. Theſe nations had been invaded by the Egyptians; but after this expedition we hear no more of their continuing in ſubjection to Egypt.

[a] Strabo, l. 1 p. 45. and p. 45.

[b] Pindar. Pyth. ode 4.

[c] Strabo, l. 1. p. 21, 45, 46.

XXXIV. The Egyptians originally lived on the fruits of the earth, and fared hardly, and abſtained from animals, and therefore abominated ſhepherds. Menes [d] taught them to adorn their beds and tables with rich furniture and carpets; and brought in amongſt them a ſumptuous, delicious, and voluptuous way of life ([1]). And about a hundred years after his death Gnephacthus, one of his ſucceſſors, curſed him for it; and to reduce the luxury of Egypt, cauſed the curſe to be entered in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes; and by this curſe the honour of Menes was diminiſhed among the Egyptians.

[d] Diodor. l. 1 c. 43. p. 28. & c. 45. p. 29.

XXXV. The kings of Egypt, who expelled the ſhepherds and ſucceeded them, reigned, I think, firſt at Coptos, and then at Thebes,

§ XXXIV.

([1]) But whoever brought in the eating of fleſh, and a voluptuous life, was older than the patriarch Joſeph. See Warburton's Divine Legation, book IV. § V.

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Thebes, and then at Memphis. At Coptos I place Miſphragmuthoſis and Amoſis, or Thomoſis; who expelled the ſhepherds, and aboliſhed their cuſtom of ſacrificing men; and extended the Coptic language, and the name of *Αια Κοπ]ε*, *Ægyptus*, to the conqueſt. Then Thebes became the royal city of Ammon, and from him was called No-Ammon; and his conqueſt on the weſt of Egypt was called Ammonia. After him, in the ſame city of Thebes, reigned Oſiris, Orus, Menes or Amenophis, and Rameſſes. But Memphis and her miracles were not yet celebrated in Greece; for Homer celebrates Thebes as in its glory in his days, and makes no mention of Memphis. After Menes had built Memphis (1); Mœris, the ſucceſſor of Rameſſes, adorned it (2), and made it the ſeat of the kingdom; and this was almoſt two generations after the Trojan war. Cinyras, the Vulcan who married Venus, and under the kings of Egypt reigned over Cyprus and part of Phœnicia, and made armour for thoſe kings, lived till the times of the Trojan war: and upon his death Menes, or Memnon, might deify him, and found the famous temple of Vulcan in that city for his worſhip, but not live to finiſh it. In a plain [a] not far from Memphis are many ſmall pyramids, ſaid to be built by Venephes or Enephes (3); and I ſuſpect that Venephes and Enephes have been corruptly written for Menephes or Amenophis, the letters AM being almoſt worn out in ſome old manuſcript. For after the example of theſe pyramids, the following kings, Mœris and his ſucceſſors, built others much larger (4). The plain, in which they were built, was the buryingplace of that city; as appears by the mummies there found: and therefore the pyramids were the ſepulchral monuments of the kings and princes of that city: and by theſe and ſuch like works the city grew famous ſoon after the days of Homer; who therefore flouriſhed in the reign of Rameſſes.

[a] Manetho.

XXXVI. Herodotus [b] is the oldeſt hiſtorian now extant who wrote of the antiquities of Egypt, and had what he wrote from the prieſts of that country: and Diodorus, who wrote almoſt

[b] Herod. l. 2. c. 3, 5, 9, &c.

§ XXXV.

(1) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99. (2) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 102. Diod. Sic lib. 1. c. 11. p. 33.
(3) The fourth prince of the firſt Dynaſty after the flood. Manetho apud Euſeb. in Chron. Gr. p. 14.

400 years after him, and had his relations alſo from the prieſts Egypt
of Egypt, placed many nameleſs kings between thoſe whom Herodotus placed in continual ſucceſſion. The prieſts of Egypt had therefore, between the days of Herodotus and Diodorus, out of vanity, very much increaſed the number of their kings: and what they did after the days of Herodotus, they began to do before his days. For he tells us, that they recited to him out of their books, the names of 330 kings (1) who reigned after Menes, but did nothing memorable, except Nitocris and Mœris the laſt of them. All theſe reigned at Thebes, till Mœris tranſlated the ſeat of the empire from Thebes to Memphis. After Mœris he reckons Seſoſtris, Pheron, Proteus, Rhampſinitus, Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, Aſychis, Anyſis, Sabacon, Anyſis again, Sethon, twelve contemporary kings, Pſammitichus, Nechus, Pſammis, Apries, Amaſis (2), and Pſammenitus (3). The Egyptians had, before the days of Solon, made their monarchy 9000 years old; and now they reckoned to Herodotus a ſucceſſion of 330 kings reigning ſo many generations, that is about 11000 years before Seſoſtris. But the kings who reigned long before Seſoſtris might reign over ſeveral little kingdoms in ſeveral parts of Egypt, before the riſe of their monarchy; and by conſequence before the days of Eli and Samuel, and ſo are not under our conſideration: and theſe names may have been multiplied by corruption; and ſome of them, as Athothes or Thoth, the ſecretary of Oſiris; Toſorthrus or Æſculapius, a phyſician who invented building with ſquare ſtones; and Thuor, or Polybus, the huſband of Alcandra, were only princes of Egypt. If with Herodotus we omit the names of thoſe kings who did nothing memorable, and conſider only thoſe whoſe actions are recorded, and who left ſplendid monuments of their having reigned over Egypt; ſuch as were temples, ſtatues, pyramids, obeliſks, and palaces, dedicated or aſcribed to them; theſe kings, reduced into good order, will give us all, or almoſt all, the kings of Egypt,

(4) Herodot. & Diod. Sic.

§ XXXVI.

(1) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 100.
(2) ——— c. 101—172.
(3) ——— lib. 3. c. 10.

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from the days of the expulſion of the ſhepherds and founding of the monarchy, downwards to the conqueſt of Egypt by Cambyſes. For Seſoſtris reigned in the age of the gods of Egypt, being deified by the names of Oſiris, Hercules, and Bacchus, as above; and therefore Menes, Nitocris, and Mœris, are to be placed after him. Menes, and his ſon Rameſſes, reigned next after the gods; and therefore Nitocris and Mœris reigned after Rameſſes. Mœris is ſet down immediately before Cheops, three times in the dynaſties of the kings of Egypt compoſed by Eratoſthenes, and once in the dynaſties of Manetho. And in the ſame dynaſties Nitocris is ſet after the builders of the three great pyramids; and, according to Herodotus, her brother reigned before her, and was ſlain, and ſhe revenged his death (4); and, according to Syncellus, ſhe built the third great pyramid; and the builders of the pyramids reigned at Memphis, and by conſequence after Mœris. Now from theſe things I gather, that the kings of Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus, ought to be placed in this order: Seſoſtris, Pheron, Proteus, Menes, Rhampſinitus, Mœris, Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, Nitocris, Aſychis, Anyſis, Sabacon, Anyſis again, Sethon, twelve contemporary kings, Pſammitichus, Nechus, Pſammis, Apries, Amaſis, Pſammenitus.

XXXVII. Pheron is by Herodotus ſaid to be the ſon and ſucceſſor of Seſoſtris (1). He was deified by the name of Orus.

XXXVIII. Proteus reigned in the lower Egypt, when Paris ſailed thither, that is at the end of the Trojan war, according to [a] Herodotus (1): and at that time Amenophis was king of Egypt and Ethiopia: but in his abſence Proteus might be governor of ſome part of the lower Egypt under him. For Homer places Proteus

[a] Herod. l. 2. c. 112—119.

(4) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 100.

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(1) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 111.

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(1) Proteus reigned in Egypt, according to Herodotus, both when Paris was driven to that coast with Helen, before the Trojan war; and when Menelaus ſailed thither, after Troy was taken.

(2) Od. Δ. 384—386.

(3) This is ſaid by Diodorus, lib. 1. c. 62. p. 39; not, that I know of, by Herodotus; who mentions only this one circumſtance of his extraction, that he was a Memphite, lib. 2. c. 112.

upon the ſea-coaſts, and makes him a ſea god, and calls him the ſervant of Neptune (²); and Herodotus ſaith, that he roſe up from among the common people (³), and that Proteus was his name tranſlated into Greek (⁴); and this name in Greek ſignifies only a prince or preſident. He ſucceeded Pheron, and was ſucceeded by Rhampſinitus, according to Herodotus; and ſo was contemporary to Amenophis. EGYPT.

XXXIX. Amenophis reigned next after Orus and Iſis, the laſt of the gods. He reigned at firſt over all Egypt; and then over Memphis, and the upper parts of Egypt; and by conquering Oſarſiphus, who had revolted from him, became king of all Egypt again, about 51 years after the death of Solomon. He built Memphis (¹), and ordered the worſhip of the gods of Egypt (²), and built a palace at Abydus (³), and the Memnonia at This (⁴) and Suſa (⁵), and the magnificent temple of Vulcan in Memphis (⁶); the building with ſquare ſtones being found out before by Toſorthrus (⁷), the Æſculapius of Egypt. He is, by corruption of his name, called Menes, Mines, Minæus, Mineus, Minies, Mnevis, Enephes, Venephes, Phamenophis, Oſymanthyas, Oſimandes, Iſmandes, Imandes, Memnon, Arminon.

XL. Amenophis was ſucceeded by his ſon, called by Herodotus, Rhampſinitus, and by others Ramſes, Ramiſes, Rameſes, Rameſſes, [a] Rameſtes, Rhampſes, Remphis. Upon an obeliſk erected by this king in Heliopolis, and ſent to Rome by the emperor Conſtantius, was an inſcription, interpreted by Hermapion, an Egyptian prieſt, expreſſing, that the king was long lived, and reigned over a great part of the earth. And Strabo [b], an eye-witneſs, tells us, that in the monuments of the kings of Egypt, above the Memnonium, were inſcriptions upon obeliſks, ex-

[a] Ammian. l. 17. c. 4.

[b] Strabo, l. 17. p. 816.

(⁴) Herodot. & Diod. Sic. ibid.

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(¹) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99. (²) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29.

(³) At Abydus in the upper Egypt. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 813.

(⁴) STEPHANUS Byzantinus mentions a town of Egypt of this name, not far from Abydus. But I ſuſpect, that it is written here by miſtake for Thebes. For beſides that, I find no authority for any Memnonian works at This; if Thebes be not intended here, our author hath entirely omitted the moſt remarkable of the Egyptian Memnonia. See Strabo, lib. 17. p. 813 and 816.

(⁵) Strabo, lib. 15. p. 728. Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 22. p. 77. (⁶) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 99.

(⁷) The ſecond prince of Manetho's third dynaſty. See Syncell. p. 56. and Euſeb. Chron. Gr. p. 14.

preſſing

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preſſing the riches of the kings, and their reigning as far as Scythia, Bactria, India, and Ionia. And Tacitus [a] tells us, from an inſcription ſeen at Thebes by Cæſar Germanicus, and interpreted to him by the Egyptian prieſts, that this king Rameſſes had an army of 700000 men; and reigned over Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Perſia, Bactria, Scythia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Lycia ([1]); whence the monarchy of Aſſyria was not yet riſen. This king was very covetous, and a great collector of taxes, and one of the richeſt of all the kings of Egypt, and built the weſtern portico of the temple of Vulcan ([2]).

[a] Annal. l. 2. c. 60.

XLI. Mœris inheriting the riches of Rameſſes, built the northern portico of that temple more ſumptuouſly; and made the lake of Mœris with two great pyramids of brick in the midſt of it ([1]). And for preſerving the diviſion of Egypt into equal ſhares amongſt the ſoldiers, this king wrote a book of ſurveying; which gave a beginning to geometry ([2]). He is called alſo Maris, Myris, Meres, Marres, Smarres; and more corruptly, by changing M into A, T, B, Σ, YX, Λ, &c. Ayres, Tyris, Byires, Soris, Uchoreus, Lachares, Labaris, &c.

XLII. Diodorus [b] places Uchoreus between Oſymanduas and Myris, that is between Amenophis and Mœris; and ſaith that he built Memphis, and fortified it to admiration with a mighty rampaat of earth, and a broad and deep trench, which was filled with the water of the Nile; and made there a vaſt and deep lake for receiving the water of the Nile in the time of its overflowing; and built palaces in the city; and that this place was ſo commodiouſly ſeated, that moſt of the kings who reigned after him preferred it before Thebes, and removed the court from

[b] Diodor. l. 1. c. 50. p. 32.

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([1]) The inſcription, as Tacitus relates it, ſet forth that Rameſſes was the conqueror of theſe countries.

( ) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 121.

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([1]) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 101.

([2]) AUTHORS differ much about the firſt inventor of geometry. Herodotus (lib. 2. c. 109.) and Proclus (on the firſt of Euclid) agree that the inundations of the Nile gave occaſion to it. Herodotus refers the invention to the age of Seſoſtris. Diodorus (lib. 1. c. 94.) aſcribes it to the king Satychis. Plato gives the honour of it to Thoth. Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Pythagoras, mentions Mœris, as ſaid by Anticlides, to be the firſt inventor. lib. 8. ſegm. 11. Where our author found that Mœris wrote a book of ſurveying, I know not.

thence to this place; ſo that the magnificence of Thebes from EGYPT. that time began to decreaſe, and that of Memphis to increaſe, till Alexander, king of Macedon, built Alexandria. Theſe great works of Uchoreus, and thoſe of Mœris, ſavour of one and the ſame genius, and were certainly done by one and the ſame king, diſtinguiſhed into two by a corruption of the name as above; for this lake of Uchoreus was certainly the ſame with that of Mœris.

XLIII. After the example of the two brick pyramids made by Mœris, the three next kings, Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, built the three great pyramids at Memphis (1); and therefore reigned in that city. Cheops ſhut up the temples of the Nomes, and prohibited the worſhip of the gods of Egypt (2); deſigning no doubt to have been worſhipped himſelf after death. He is called alſo Chembis, Chemmis, Chemnis, Phiops, Apathus, Apappus, Suphis, Saophis, Syphoas, Syphaoſis, Soiphis, Syphuris, Anoiphis, Anoiſis. He built the biggeſt of the three great pyramids, which ſtand together; and his brother Cephren, or Cerpheres, built the ſecond, and his ſon Mycerinus founded the third. This laſt king was celebrated for clemency and juſtice (3). He ſhut up the dead body of his daughter in a hollow ox, and cauſed her to be worſhipped daily with odours (4). He is called alſo Cheres, Cherinus, Bicheres, Moſcheres, Mencheres. He died before the third pyramid was finiſhed (5); and his ſiſter and ſucceſſor Nitocris finiſhed it (6).

XLIV. Then reigned Aſychis, who built the eaſtern portico of the temple of Vulcan very ſplendidly; and among the ſmall pyramids a large pyramid of brick, made of mud dug out of the

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(1) Herodot. lib. 2 c. 124, 127, 134. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 63, 64. p. 39—41.
(2) Herodot. lib. 2, c. 129. (3) ———— c. 129. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 64. p. 41.
(4) ———— c. 129, 130. (5) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 64. p. 40.

(6) In the ſixth of Manetho's dynaſties, Nitocris is mentioned, as the princeſs who ſet up the third pyramid. The third pyramid, according to Diodorus, was begun, but not finiſhed, by Mycerinus. Therefore Nitocris reigned after Mycerinus, and finiſhed the pyramid which he begun. Nitocris, according to Herodotus, lib. 2. c. 100, was the ſiſter of the prince whom ſhe ſucceeded. Since ſhe finiſhed Mycerinus's works, ſhe reigned not long after him, and cheriſhed an affection for his memory. Mycerinus therefore was that brother of this princeſs, whom ſhe ſucceeded. Theſe ſeem to have been the reaſons by which our author perſuaded himſelf, that Nitocris held the place, which he aſſigns to her, in the ſucceſſion of the Egyptian monarchs.

lake

lake of Mœris ([1]). And theſe are the kings who reigned at Memphis, and ſpent their time in adorning that city, until the Ethiopians and the Aſſyrians and others revolted, and Egypt loſt all her dominion abroad, and became again divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms.

XLV. One of thoſe kingdoms was, I think, at Memphis, under Gnephactus, and his ſon ([1]) and ſucceſſor Bocchoris. Africanus calls Bocchoris a Saite ([2]); but Sais at this time had other kings. Gnephactus, otherwiſe called Neochabis and Technatis, curſed Menes for his luxury, and cauſed the curſe to be entered in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes ([3]); and therefore reigned over Thebais: and Bocchoris ſent in a wild bull upon the god Mnevis ([4]), which was worſhipped at Heliopolis. Another of thoſe kingdoms was at Anyſis, or Hanes, Iſa. xxx. 4. under its king Anyſis or Amoſis; a third was at Sais, under Stephanathis, Nechepſos, and Nechus ([5]): and a fourth was at Tanis, or Zoan, under Petubaſtes, Oſorchon, and Pſammis ([6]). And Egypt being weakened by this diviſion, was invaded and conquered by the Ethiopians under Sabacon, who ſlew Bocchoris ([7]) and Nechus ([8]), and made Anyſis fly ([9]). The olympiads began in the reign of Petubaſtes ([6]), and the æra of Nabonaſſar in the 22d year of the reign of Bocchoris ([10]), according to Africanus; and therefore the diviſion of Egypt into many kingdoms began before the olympiads, but not above the length of two kings reign before them.

XLVI. After the ſtudy of aſtronomy was ſet on foot for the uſe of navigation, and the Egyptians by the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars had determined the length of the ſolar year of 365 days, and by other obſervations had fixed the ſolſtices, and formed the fixed ſtars into aſteriſms (all which was done in the reign of Ammon, Seſac, Orus, and Memnon) it may be preſumed that they continued to obſerve the motions of the pla-

§ XLIV.

([1]) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 136.

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([1]) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29.

([2]) See the 24th dynaſty.

([3]) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. c. 45. p. 29. Plutarch de Iſ. & Oſ. p. 354.

nets.

nets. For they called them after the names of their gods; and Egypt.
Nechepſos, or Nicepſos, king of Sais, by the aſſiſtance of Petoſiris, a prieſt of Egypt, invented aſtrology; grounding it upon the aſpects of the planets, and the qualities of the men and women to whom they were dedicated ([1]). And in the beginning of the reign of Nabonaſſar king of Babylon, about which time the Ethiopians under Sabacon invaded Egypt, thoſe Egyptians who fled from him to Babylon carried thither the Egyptian year of 365 days, and the ſtudy of aſtronomy and aſtrology, and founded the æra of Nabonaſſar; dating it from the firſt year of that king's reign, which was the 22d year of Bocchoris as above, and beginning the year on the ſame day with the Egyptians for the ſake of their calculations. So Diodorus [a]: "They ſay that the "Chaldæans in Babylon, being colonies of the Egyptians, be-"came famous for aſtrology, having learnt it from the prieſts "of Egypt." And Hiſtiæus, who wrote an hiſtory of Egypt, ſpeaking of a diſaſter of the invaded Egyptians, ſaith, [b] that "the prieſts who ſurvived this diſaſter, taking with them the Sa-"cra of Jupiter Enyalius, came to Sennaar in Babylonia." From the 15th year of Aſa, in which Zerah was beaten, and Menes, or Amenophis, began his reign, to the beginning of the æra of Nabonaſſar, were 200 years. And this interval of time allows room for about nine or ten reigns of kings, at about twenty years to a reign one with another; and ſo many reigns there were, according to the account ſet down above out of Herodotus; and therefore that account, as it is the oldeſt, and was received by Herodotus from the prieſts of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, three principal cities of Egypt, agrees alſo with the courſe of nature, and leaves no room for the reigns of the many nameleſs kings which we have omitted. Theſe omitted kings reigned before Mœris, and by conſequence at Thebes; for Mœ-

[a] Diodor. l. 1. 81. p. 51.

[b] Joſeph. Ant. l. 1. c. 4.

(4) Sir John Marſham from Ælian. (5) See the 26th dynaſty.
(6) See the 23d dynaſty. (7) See the 25th dynaſty.
(8) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 152. (9) ——— c. 137. (10) See the 24th dynaſty.

§ XLVI.

(1) See Sir John Marſham, Sect. IX. Tit. *Moſis.* § III. and § XVI. Tit. *Nacepſos rex.*

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ris tranſlated the ſeat of the empire from Thebes to Memphis. They reigned after Rameſſes; for Rameſſes was the ſon and ſucceſſor of Menes, who reigned next after the gods. Now Menes built the body of the temple of Vulcan; Rameſſes, the firſt portico; and Mœris, the ſecond portico thereof. But the Egyptians, for making their gods and kingdom look ancient, have inſerted, between the builders of the firſt and ſecond portico of this temple, three hundred and thirty kings of Thebes; and ſuppoſed that theſe kings reigned eleven thouſand years; as if any temple could ſtand ſo long. This being a manifeſt fiction, we have corrected it, by omitting thoſe interpoſed kings who did nothing, and placing Mœris the builder of the ſecond portico, next after Rameſſes the builder of the firſt.

XLVII. In the dynaſties of Manetho, Sevechus (1) is made the ſucceſſor of Sabacon, being his ſon; and perhaps he is the Sethon of Herodotus, who became prieſt of Vulcan, and neglected military diſcipline (2). For Sabacon is that So, or Sau, with whom Hoſhea king of Iſrael conſpired againſt the Aſſyrians, in the fourth year of Hezekiah, anno Nabonaſſ. 24. Herodotus tells us twice or thrice, that Sabacon, after a long reign of fifty years, relinquiſhed Egypt voluntarily; and that Anyſis, who fled from him, returned and reigned again in the lower Egypt after him (3), or rather with him: and that Sethon reigned after Sabacon, and went to Peluſium againſt the army of Sennacherib, and was relieved with a great multitude of mice, which eat the bow-ſtrings of the Aſſyrians; in memory of which the ſtatue of Sethon, ſeen by Herodotus [a], was made with a mouſe in its hand. A mouſe was the Egyptian ſymbol of deſtruction; and the mouſe in the hand of Sethon ſignifies only, that he overcame the Aſſyrians with a great deſtruction. The Scriptures inform us, that when Sennacherib invaded Judæa, and beſieged Lachiſh and Libnah, which was in the 14th year of Hezekiah (4), anno Nabonaſſ. 34. the king of Judah truſted upon Pharaoh king of Egypt, that is upon Sethon; and that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, came out alſo to fight againſt Sennacherib, 2 King. xviii. 21. and xix. 9 (5).

[a] Herodot. l. 2. c. 141.

(1) See the 25th dynaſty.
(2) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 141.
(3) ——— lib. 3. c. 137—140.
(4) 2 Kings xviii. 13.
(5) ——— 21.

Which makes it probable, that when Sennacherib heard of the Egypt.
kings of Egypt and Ethiopia coming againſt him, he went from Libnah towards Peluſium to oppoſe them; and was there ſurprized and ſet upon in the night by them both (6); and routed with as great a ſlaughter, as if the bow-ſtrings of the Aſſyrians had been eaten by mice. Some think that the Aſſyrians were ſmitten by lightning; or by a fiery wind; which ſometimes comes from the ſouthern parts of Chaldæa. After this victory Tirhakah ſucceeding Sethon, carried his arms weſtward through Libya and Afric to the mouth of the Straits (7). But Herodotus tells us, that the prieſts of Egypt reckoned Sethon the laſt king of Egypt, who reigned before the diviſion of Egypt into twelve contemporary kingdoms (8), and by conſequence before the invaſion of Egypt by the Aſſyrians.

XLVIII. For Aſſerhadon king of Aſſyria, in the 68th year of Nabonaſſar, after he had reigned about thirty years over Aſſyria, invaded the kingdom of Babylon; and then carried into captivity many people from Babylon, and Cuthah, and Ava, and Hamath, and Sepharvaim; placing them in the regions of Samaria and Damaſcus: and from thence they carried into Babylonia and Aſſyria the remainder of the people of Iſrael and Syria, which had been left there by Tiglath-pileſer. This captivity was 65 years after the firſt year of Ahaz, Iſa. vii. 1, 8. and 2 King. xv. 37. and xvi. 5. and by conſequence in the twentieth year of Manaſſeh, anno Nabonaſſ. 69. And then Tartan was ſent by Aſſerhadon with an army againſt Aſhdod, or Azoth, a town at that time ſubject to Judæa, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. and took it, Iſa. xx. 1. And this poſt being ſecured, the Aſſyrians beat the Jews, and captivated Manaſſeh, and ſubdued Judæa: and in theſe wars Iſaiah was ſawed aſunder by the command of Manaſſeh, for propheſying againſt him. Then the Aſſyrians invaded and ſubdued Egypt and Ethiopia, and carried the Egyptians and Ethiopians into captivity, and thereby put an end to the reign of the Ethiopians over Egypt, Iſa. vii. 18. and viii. 7. and x. 11, 12. and

(6) 2 Kings xix. 35.
(7) See Strabo, lib. 15. p. 686, 687.
(8) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 142, 147.

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xix. 23. and xx. 4 (1). In this war the city Nò-Ammon, or Thebes, which had hitherto continued in a flouriſhing condition, was miſerably waſted and led into captivity, as is deſcribed by Nahum, chap. iii. ver. 8, 9, 10; for Nahum wrote after the laſt invaſion of Judæa by the Aſſyrians, chap. 1. ver. 15; and therefore deſcribes this captivity as freſh in memory: and this and other following invaſions of Egypt under Nebuchadnezzar and Cambyſes, put an end to the glory of that city. Aſſerhadon reigned over the Egyptians and Ethiopians three years, Iſa. xx. 3, 4. that is until his death, which was in the year of Nabonaſſar 81; and therefore invaded Egypt, and put an end to the reign of the Ethiopians over the Egyptians, in the year of Nabonaſſar 78. So that the Ethiopians under Sabacon, and his ſucceſſors Sethon and Tirhakah, reigned over Egypt about 80 years. Herodotus allots 50 years to Sabacon; and Africanus, 14 years to Sethon, and 18 to Tirhakah (2).

XLIX. The diviſion of Egypt into more kingdoms than one, both before and after the reign of the Ethiopians, and the conqueſt of the Egyptians by Aſſerhadon, the prophet Iſaiah [a] ſeems to allude unto in theſe words: "I will ſet," ſaith he, "the Egyptians againſt the Egyptians, and they ſhall fight every one "againſt his brother, and every one againſt his neighbour, city "againſt city, and kingdom againſt kingdom; and the ſpirit of "Egypt ſhall fail.—And the Egyptians will I give over into the "hand of a cruel lord [viz. Aſſerhadon] and a fierce king ſhall "reign over them.—Surely the princes of Zoan [Tanis] are fools, "the counſel of the wiſe councellors of Pharaoh is become brutiſh: how long ſay ye unto Pharaoh, I am the ſon of the ancient kings?—The princes of Zoan are become fools: the "princes of Noph [Memphis] are deceived,—even they that "were the ſtay of the tribes thereof.—In that day there ſhall be "a high-way out of Egypt into Aſſyria, and the Egyptians ſhall "ſerve the Aſſyrians."

[a] Iſa. xix. 2, 4, 11, 13, 23.

§ XLVIII.

(1) See chap. iii. § XIII.

(2) See the 25th dynaſty.

§ L.

(1) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 151, 152.

L.

L. After the death of Aſſerhadon, Egypt remained ſubject to twelve contemporary kings, who revolted from the Aſſyrians, and reigned together fifteen years; including, I think, the three years of Aſſerhadon, becauſe the Egyptians do not reckon him among their kings. They [a] built the labyrinth adjoining to the lake of Mœris, which was a very magnificent ſtructure, with twelve halls in it, for their palaces: and then Pſammitichus, who was one of the twelve, conquered all the reſt ([1]). He built the laſt portico of the temple of Vulcan, founded by Menes about 260 years before; and reigned 54 years ([2]), including the fifteen years ([3]) of his reign with the twelve kings. Then reigned Nechaoh, or Nechus, 17 years ([4]); Pſammis ſix years ([5]); Vaphres, Apries, Eraphius, or Hophra, 25 years ([6]); Amaſis 44 years ([7]); and Pſammenitus ſix months, according to Herodotus ([8]). Egypt was ſubdued by Nebuchadnezzar in the laſt year but one of Hophra, anno Nabonaſſ. 178, and remained in ſubjection to Babylon forty years, Jer. xliv. 30. and Ezek. xxix. 12, 13, 14, 17, 19; that is, almoſt all the reign of Amaſis, a plebeian ([9]) ſet over Egypt by the conqueror. The forty years ended with the death of Cyrus; for he reigned over Egypt and Ethiopia, according to Xenophon. At that time therefore thoſe nations recovered their liberty; but after four or five years more they were invaded and conquered by Cambyſes, anno Nabonaſſ. 223 or 224, and have almoſt ever ſince remained in ſervitude, as was predicted by the prophets.

Egypt.

[a] Herod. l. 2. c. 148, &c.

LI. The reigns of Pſammitichus, Nechus, Pſammis, Apries, Amaſis, and Pſammenitus, ſet down by Herodotus, amount unto 146½ years: and ſo many years there were from the 78th year of Nabonaſſar, in which the dominion of the Ethiopians over Egypt came to an end, unto the 224th year of Nanobaſſar, in which Cambyſes invaded Egypt, and put an end to that kingdom. Which is an argument that Herodotus was circumſpect and faithful in his narrations, and has given us a good account of the antiquities of Egypt, ſo far as the prieſts of Egypt at Thebes,

([2]) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 157.
([3]) Diod Sic. lib. 1. c. 66. p. 41.
([4]) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 159.
([5]) ——— c. 161.
([6]) ——— Ibid.
([7]) ——— lib. 3. c. 10.
([8]) ——— lib. 3. c. 14.
([9]) ——— lib. 2. c. 172.

Memphis,

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Memphis, and Heliopolis, and the Carians and Ionians inhabiting Egypt, were then able to inform him. For he conſulted them all; and the Cares and Ionians had been in Egypt from the time of the reign of the twelve contemporary kings (¹).

ᵃ Plin. l. 36. c. 8, 9.

LII. Pliny [a] tells us, that the Egyptian obeliſks were of a ſort of ſtone dug near Syene in Thebais; and that the firſt obeliſk was made by Mitres, who reigned in Heliopolis; that is, by Mephres, the predeceſſor of Miſphragmuthoſis (¹); and that afterwards other kings made others. Sochis, that is Seſochis, or Seſac, four; each of 48 cubits in length: Ramiſes, that is Rameſſes, two; Smarres, that is Mœris, one of 48 cubits in length; Eraphius, or Hophra, one of 48; and Nectabis, or Nectenabis, one of 80. Mephres therefore extended his dominion over all the upper Egypt, from Syene to Heliopolis; and after him, Miſphragmuthoſis and Amoſis, reigned Ammon and Seſac; who erected the firſt great empire in the world. And theſe four, Amoſis, Ammon, Seſac, and Orus, reigned in the four ages of the great gods of Egypt; and Amenophis was the Menes who reigned next after them: he was ſucceeded by Rameſſes and Mœris, and ſome time after by Hophra.

ᵃ Diodor. l. 1.

LIII. Diodorus [a] recites the ſame kings of Egypt with Herodotus, but in a more confuſed order; and repeats ſome of them twice, or oftener, under various names, and omits others. His kings are theſe; Jupiter Ammon and Juno, Oſiris and Iſis, Horus, Menes, Buſiris I. Buſiris II. Oſymanduas, Uchoreus, Myris, Seſooſis I. Seſooſis II. Amaſis, Actiſanes, Mendes, or Marrus, Proteus, Remphis, Chembis, Cephren, Mycerinus, or Cherinus, Gnephacthus, Bocchoris, Sabacon, twelve contemporary kings, Pſammitichus, ** Apries, Amaſis. Here I take Seſooſis I. and Seſooſis II. Buſiris I. and Buſiris II. to be the ſame kings with Oſiris and Orus: alſo Oſymanduas to be the ſame with Amenophis or Menes: alſo Amaſis, and Actiſanes, an Ethiopian who conquered him, to be the ſame with Anyſis and Sabacon in Herodotus: and Uchoreus, Mendes, Marrus, and Myris, to be only ſeveral names of one and the ſame king. Whence the catalogue of Dio-

§ LI.

(¹) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 152.

dorus

doruſs will be reduced to this: Jupiter Ammon and Juno; Oſiris, Busiris or Seſooſis, and Iſis; Horus, Buſiris II. or Seſooſis II; Menes, or Oſymanduas; Proteus; Remphis or Rameſſes; Uchoreus, Mendes, Marrus, or Myris; Chembis or Cheops; Cephren; Mycerinus; * * Gnephacthus; Bocchoris; Amaſis, or Anyſis; Actiſanes, or Sabacon; * twelve contemporary kings; Pſammitichus; * * Apries; Amaſis. To which, if in their proper places you add Nitocris, Aſychis, Sethon, Nechus, and Pſammis, you will have the catalogue of Herodotus. EGYPT.

LIV. The dynaſties of Manetho and Eratoſthenes ſeem to be filled with many ſuch names of kings, as Herodotus omitted. When it ſhall be made appear, that any of them reigned in Egypt after the expulſion of the ſhepherds, and were different from the kings deſcribed above, they may be inſerted in their proper places.

LV. Egyyt was conquered by the Ethiopians under Sabacon, about the beginning of the æra of Nabonaſſar, or perhaps three or four years before; that is, about three hundred years before Herodotus wrote his hiſtory; and about eighty years after that conqueſt, it was conquered again by the Aſſyrians under Aſſerhadon: and the hiſtory of Egypt ſet down by Herodotus from the time of this laſt conqueſt, is right both as to the number, and order, and names of the kings, and as to the length of their reigns: and therein he is now followed by hiſtorians, being the only author who hath given us ſo good a hiſtory of Egypt for that interval of time. If his hiſtory of the earlier times be leſs accurate, it was becauſe the archives of Egypt had ſuffered much during the reign of the Ethiopians and Aſſyrians: and it is not likely that the prieſts of Egypt, who lived two or three hundred years after the days of Herodotus, could mend the matter. On the contrary, after Cambyſes had carried away the records of Egypt, the prieſts were daily feigning new kings, to make their gods and nation look ancient; as is manifeſt by comparing Herodotus with Diodorus Siculus, and both of them with what Plato relates out of the poem of Solon: which poem makes the wars

§ LII.

(¹) See the 18th dynaſty.

of

of the great gods of Egypt againſt the Greeks, to have been in the days of Cecrops, Erechtheus, and Erichthonius, and a little before thoſe of Theſeus; theſe gods at that time inſtituting temples and ſacred rites to themſelves. I have therefore choſen to rely upon the ſtories related to Herodotus by the prieſts of Egypt in thoſe days, and corrected by the poem of Solon; ſo as to make theſe gods of Egypt no older than Cecrops and Erechtheus, and their ſucceſſor Menes no older than Theſeus and Memnon, and the temple of Vulcan not above 280 years in building: rather than to correct Herodotus by Manetho, Eratoſthenes, Diodorus, and others, who lived after the prieſts of Egypt had corrupted their antiquities much more than they had done in the days of Herodotus.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

AS the gods, or ancient deified kings and princes of Greece, Egypt, and Syria of Damaſcus, have been made much ancienter than the truth; ſo have thoſe of Chaldæa and Aſſyria. For Diodorus [a] tells us, that when Alexander the Great was in Aſia, the Chaldæans reckoned 473000 years ſince they firſt began to obſerve the ſtars; and Cteſias, and the ancient Greek and Latin writers who copy from him, have made the Aſſyrian empire as old as Noah's flood within 60 or 70 years; and tell us the names of all the kings of Aſſyria downwards, from Belus, and his feigned ſon Ninus, to Sardanapalus, the laſt king of that monarchy. But the names of his kings, except two or three, have no affinity with the names of the Aſſyrians mentioned in Scripture. For the Aſſyrians were uſually named after their gods, Bel or Pul; Chaddon, Hadon, Adon, or Adonis; Melech, or Moloch; Atſur, or Aſſur; Nebo; Nergal; Merodach: as in theſe names, Pul, Tiglath-Pul-Aſſur, Salman-Aſſur, Adra-Melech, Shar-Aſſur, Aſſur-Hadon, Sardanapalus, or Aſſur-Hadon-Pul, Nabonaſſar, or Nebo-Adon-Aſſur, Bel-Adon, Chiniladon, or Chen-El-Adon, Nebo-Pul-Aſſur, Nebo-Chaddon-Aſſur, Nebuzaradon or Nebo-Aſſur-Adon, Nergal-Aſſur, Nergal-Shar-Aſſur, Labo-Aſſur-dach, Sheſeb-Aſſur, Beltes-Aſſur, Evil-Merodach, Shamgar-Nebo, Rabſaris or Rab-Aſſur, Nebo-Shaſhban, Mardocempad or Merodach-Empad. Such were the Aſſyrian names; but thoſe in Cteſias are of another ſort, except Sardanapalus, whoſe name he had met with in Herodotus. He makes Semiramis as old as the firſt Belus. But Herodotus tells us, that ſhe was

Assyrians.

[a] Diodor. l. 2. c. 31. p. 83.

CHAPTER THIRD.

but five generations older than the mother of Labynetus ([1]). He repreſents, that the city Ninus was founded by a man of the ſame name ([2]); and Babylon, by Semiramis ([3]); whereas either Nimrod or Aſſur founded thoſe and other cities, without giving his own name to any of them. He makes the Aſſyrian empire continue about 1360 years ([4]); whereas Herodotus tells us that it laſted only 520 years ([5]); and the numbers of Herodotus concerning thoſe ancient times are all of them too long. He makes Nineveh deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians three hundred years before the reign of Aſtibares and Nebuchadnezzar, who deſtroyed it; and ſets down the names of ſeven or eight feigned kings of Media, between the deſtruction of Nineveh and the reigns of Aſtibares and Nebuchadnezzar; as if the empire of the Medes, erected upon the ruins of the Aſſyrian empire, had laſted 300 years ([6]), whereas it laſted but 72: and the true empire of the Aſſyrians deſcribed in Scripture, whoſe kings were Pul, Tiglath-pileſar, Shalmaneſer, Sennacherib, Aſſerhadon, &c. he mentions not, though much nearer to his own times: which ſhews that he was ignorant of the antiquities of the Aſſyrians. Yet ſomething of truth there is in the bottom of ſome of his ſtories, as there uſes to be in romances; as, that Nineveh was deſtroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; that Sardanapalus was the laſt king of the Aſſyrian empire; and that Aſtibares and Aſtyages were kings of the Medes. But he has made all things too ancient, and out of vain-glory taken too great a liberty in feigning names and ſtories to pleaſe his reader.

II. When the Jews were newly returned from the Babylonian captivity, they confeſſed their ſins in this manner: "Now there-"fore our God,—let not all the trouble ſeem little before thee "that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and "on our prieſts, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and "on

CHAP. III. § I.

([1]) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 184 and 188. ([2]) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 65.
([3]) ———— c. 7—10. p. 67. ([4]) ———— c. 21. p. 77.
([5]) Herodot. lib. 1. 95. ([6]) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 32—34. p. 83—85.

§ II.

([1]) THAT it was in the days of Pul, that the Aſſyrians began to afflict Iſrael, appears from 2 Kings

" on all thy people, ſince the time of the kings of Aſſyria unto " this day;" Nehem. ix. 32. That is, ſince the time of the kingdom of Aſſyria, or ſince the riſe of that empire: and therefore the Aſſyrian empire aroſe when the kings of Aſſyria began to afflict the inhabitants of Paleſtine; which was in the days of Pul (¹). He and his ſucceſſors afflicted Iſrael, and conquered the nations round about them; and upon the ruin of many ſmall and ancient kingdoms erected their empire, conquering the Medes, as well as other nations. But of theſe conqueſts Cteſias knew not a word, no not ſo much as the names of the conquerors, or that there was an Aſſyrian empire then ſtanding; for he ſuppoſes that the Medes reigned at that time, and that the Aſſyrian empire was at an end above 250 years before it began. ASSYRIANS.

III. However, we muſt allow that Nimrod founded a kingdom at Babylon, and perhaps extended it into Aſſyria. But this kingdom was but of ſmall extent, if compared with the empires which roſe up afterwards; being only within the fertile plains of Chaldæa, Chalonitis, and Aſſyria, watered by the Tigris and Euphrates: and if it had been greater, yet it was but of ſhort continuance, it being the cuſtom in thoſe early ages for every father to divide his territories amongſt his ſons. So Noah was king of all the world; and Cham was king of all Afric; and Japhet of all Europe and Aſia Minor; but they left no ſtanding kingdoms. After the days of Nimrod, we hear no more of an Aſſyrian empire till the days of Pul. The four kings who, in the days of Abraham, invaded the ſouthern coaſt of Canaan (¹), came from the countries where Nimrod had reigned; and perhaps were ſome of his poſterity who had ſhared his conqueſts. In the time of the judges of Iſrael, Meſopotamia was under its own king, Judg. iii. 8; and the king of Zobah reigned on both ſides of the river Euphrates till David conquered him, 2 Sam. viii and x. The kingdoms of Iſrael, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Philiſtia, Zidon, Da-

2 Kings xi. 9 and 1. Chron. v. 26. But why the time of the kings of Aſſyria, in Nehemiah ix. 32. muſt neceſſarily be underſtood of the *riſe* of the Aſſyrian empire, is not ſo evident. The expreſſion naturally denotes the time when the Aſſyrians began to harraſs Iſrael, whether it was ſooner or later after the riſe of the empire.

§ III.

(¹) Gen. xii.

 maſcus,

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maſcus, and Hamath the Great, continued ſubject to other lords than the Aſſyrians till the days of Pul and his ſucceſſors; and ſo did the houſe of Eden, Amos i. 5. 2 Kings xix. 12. and Haran or Carrhæ, Gen. xii. 2 Kings xix. 12; and Sepharvaim in Meſopotamia, and Calneh near Bagdad, Gen. x. 10. Iſa. x. 9. 2 Kings xvii. 31. Seſac and Memnon were great conquerors, and regned over Chaldæa, Aſſyria, and Perſia; but in their hiſtories there is not a word of any oppoſition made to them by an Aſſyrian empire then ſtanding. On the contrary, Suſiana, Media, Perſia, Bactria, Armenia, Cappadocia, &c. were conquered by them; and continued ſubject to the kings of Egypt, till after the long reign of Rameſſes, the ſon of Memnon, as above. Homer mentions Bacchus and Memnon kings of Egypt and Perſia, but knew nothing of an Aſſyrian empire. Jonah propheſied when Iſrael was in affliction under the king of Syria; and this was in the latter part of the reign of Jehoahaz, and firſt part of the reign of Joaſh, kings of Iſrael ([2]); and I think in the reign of Mœris, the ſucceſſor of Rameſſes king of Egypt, and about ſixty years before the reign of Pul. And Nineveh was then a city of large extent, but full of paſtures for cattle; ſo that it contained but about 120000 perſons ([3]). It was not yet grown ſo great and potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of Jonah, and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within forty days. It had ſome time before got free from the dominion of Egypt, and had got a king of its own; but its king was not yet called king of Aſſyria, but only king of Nineveh, Jonah iii. 6, 7; and his proclamation for a faſt was not publiſhed in ſeveral nations, nor in all Aſſyria, but only in Nineveh, and perhaps in the villages thereof. But ſoon after, when the dominion of Nineveh was eſtabliſhed at home, and exalted over all Aſſyria properly ſo called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations; its kings were no longer called kings of Nineveh, but began to be called kings of Aſſyria.

([2]) See 2 Kings xiii. 22. and xiv. 23—25. And Jerom's preface to his commentary on the book of Jonah.
([3]) Jonah iv. 11.

IV.

IV. Amos propheſied in the reign of Jeroboam, the ſon of Joaſh king of Iſrael, ſoon after Jeroboam had ſubdued the kingdoms of Damaſcus and Hamath, that is, about ten or twenty years before the reign of Pul. And he [a] thus reproves Iſrael for being lifted up by thoſe conqueſts; "Ye which rejoice in a "thing of nought, which ſay, have we not taken to us horns "by our ſtrength? But behold I will raiſe up againſt you a na-"tion, O houſe of Iſrael, ſaith the Lord the God of hoſts, and "they ſhall afflict you from the entering in of Hamath unto the "river of the wilderneſs." God here threatens to raiſe up a nation againſt Iſrael; but what nation he names not; that he conceals, till the Aſſyrians ſhould appear and diſcover it. In the propheſies of Iſaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hoſea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, which were written after the monarchy grew up, it is openly named upon all occaſions; but in this of Amos, not once; though the captivity of Iſrael and Syria be the ſubject of the propheſy, and that of Iſrael be often threatened. He only ſaith in general, that Syria ſhould go into captivity unto Kir, and that Iſrael, notwithſtanding her preſent greatneſs, ſhould go into captivity beyond Damaſcus; and that God would raiſe up a nation to afflict them: meaning that he would raiſe up, above them, from a lower condition, a nation whom they yet feared not. For ſo the Hebrew word מֵקִים ſignifies when applied to men, as in Amos v. 2. 1 Sam. xii. 11. Pſal. cxiii. 7. Jer. x. 20. l. 32. Hab. i. 6. Zech. xi. 16. As Amos names not the Aſſyrians, at the writing of this prophecy they made no great figure in the world; but were to be raiſed up againſt Iſrael; and by conſequence roſe up in the days of Pul and his ſucceſſors. For after Jeroboam had conquered Damaſcus and Hamath (1); his ſucceſſor Menahem deſtroyed Tiphſah (2) with its territories upon Euphrates, becauſe they opened not to him: and therefore Iſrael continued in its greatneſs till Pul, probably grown formidable by ſome victories, cauſed Menahem to buy his peace (3). Pul therefore reigning preſently after the propheſy of Amos, and being the firſt upon record who began to fulfill it, may be juſtly

Assyrians.

[a] Amos vi. 13, 14.

§ IV.

(1) 2 Kings xiv. 28. (2) —— xv. 16. (3) —— 19, 20.

reckoned

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reckoned the firſt conqueror and founder of this empire. For "God ſtirred up the ſpirit of Pul, and the ſpirit of Tiglath-pileſer king of Aſſyria," 1 Chron. v. 26.

V. The ſame prophet Amos, in propheſying againſt Iſrael, threatened them in this manner, with what had lately befallen other kingdoms: "Paſs ye [a]," ſaith he, "unto Calneh and ſee, "and from thence go ye to Hamath the Great, then go down to "Gath of the Philiſtims. Be they better than theſe kingdoms?" Theſe kingdoms were not yet conquered by the Aſſyrians, except that of Calneh, or Chalonitis, upon Tigris, between Babylon and Nineveh. Gath was newly vanquiſhed [b] by Uzziah king of Judah, and Hamath [c] by Jeroboam king of Iſrael. And while the prophet, in threatening Iſrael with the Aſſyrians, inſtances in deſolations made by other nations, and mentions no other conqueſt of the Aſſyrians than that of Chalonitis near Nineveh; it argues, that the king of Nineveh was now beginning his conqueſts, and had not yet made any great progreſs in that vaſt career of victories, which we read of a few years after.

[a] Amos vi. 2.

[b] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

[c] 2 King. xiv. 25.

VI. For about ſeven years after the captivity of the ten tribes (¹), when Sennacherib warred in Syria, which was in the 16th olympiad, he [d] ſent this meſſage to the king of Judah: "Behold, "thou haſt heard what the kings of Aſſyria have done to all "lands, by deſtroying them utterly, and ſhalt thou be delivered? "Have the gods of the nations delivered them which the gods "of my fathers have deſtroyed, as Gozan, and Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden which were in [the kingdom "of] Thelaſar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of "Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, and of Hena "and Ivah?" And Iſaiah [e] thus introduceth the king of Aſſyria boaſting: "Are not my princes altogether as kings? Is not Calno "[or Calneh] as Carchemiſh? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not "Samaria as Damaſcus? As my hand hath found the kingdom "of the idols, and whoſe graven images did excel them of Jeruſalem and of Samaria; ſhall I not as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, ſo do to Jeruſalem and her idols?" All

[d] 2 King. xix. 11.

[e] Iſa. x. 8.

§ VI.

(¹) 2 Kings xviii. 10 and 13.

this

this deſolation is recited as freſh in memory to terrify the Jews; Assyrians.
and theſe kingdoms reach to the borders of Aſſyria; and to ſhew the largeneſs of the conqueſts, they are called "all lands," that is, all round about Aſſyria. It was the cuſtom of the kings of Aſſyria, for preventing the rebellion of people newly conquered, to captivate and tranſplant thoſe of ſeveral countries into one another's lands, and intermix them variouſly: and thence it appears[a], that Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and Gozan, and the cities of the Medes into which Galilee and Samaria were tranſplanted; and Kir into which Damaſcus was tranſplanted; and Cabylon, and Cuth, or the Suſanchites, and Hamath, and Ava, and Sepharvaim, and the Dinaites, and the Apharſachites, and the Tarpelites, and the Archevites, and the Dehavites, and the Elamites, or Perſians, part of all which nations were led captive by Aſſerhadon and his predeceſſors into Samaria; were all of them conquered by the Aſſyrians not long before.

[a] 1 Chron. v. 26 2 King xvi. 9. & xvii. 6, 24. & Ezra iv. 9.

VII. In theſe conqueſts are involved, on the weſt and ſouth ſide of Aſſyria, the kingdoms of Meſopotamia; whoſe royal ſeats were Haran or Carrhæ, and Carchemiſh or Circutium, and Sepharvaim, a city upon Euphrates, between Babylon and Nineveh, called Sipparæ by Beroſus, Abydenus, and Polyhiſtor, and Sipphara by Ptolemy; and the kingdoms of Syria ſeated at Samaria, Damaſcus, Gath, Hamath, Arpad, and Reſeph, a city placed by Ptolemy near Thapſacus. On the ſouth ſide and ſouth-eaſt ſide were Babylon and Calneh, or Calno, a city which was founded by Nimrod, where Bagdat now ſtands, and gave the name of Chalonitis to a large region under its government; and Thelaſar, or Talatha, a city of the children of Eden, placed by Ptolemy in Babylonia, upon the common ſtream of Tigris and Euphrates, which was therefore the river of Paradiſe; and the Archevites at Areca or Erech, a city built by Nimrod on the eaſt ſide of Paſitigris, between Apamia and the Perſian Gulph; and the Suſanchites at Cuth or Suſa, the metropolis of Suſiana. On the eaſt were Elymais, and ſome cities of the Medes; and Kir, [b] a city and large region of Media, between Elymais and Aſſyria, called Kirene by the Chaldee paraphraſt and Latin interpreter, and Carine by Ptolemy. On the north-eaſt were Habor or Chaboras,

[b] Iſa. xxii. 6.

boras, a mountainous region between Aſſyria and Media; and the Apharſachites, or men of Arrapachitis, a region originally peopled by Arphaxad, and placed by Ptolemy at the bottom of the mountains next Aſſyria. And on the north, between Aſſyria and the Gordiæan mountains, was Halah or Chalach, the metropolis of Calachene: and beyond theſe, upon the Caſpian ſea, was Gozan, called Gauzania by Ptolemy. Thus did theſe new conqueſts extend every way from the province of Aſſyria to conſiderable diſtances, and make up the great body of that monarchy: ſo that well might the king of Aſſyria boaſt how his armies had deſtroyed all lands. All theſe nations [a] had till now their ſeveral gods; and each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the defender thereof, againſt the gods of the neighbouring countries, and particularly againſt the gods of Aſſyria; and therefore they were never till now united under the Aſſyrian monarchy; eſpecially ſince the king of Aſſyria doth not boaſt of their being conquered by the Aſſyrians oftener than once: but theſe being ſmall kingdoms, the king of Aſſyria eaſily overflowed them. "Know ye not," ſaith Sennacherib to the Jews [b], "what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of "other lands?—for no god of any nation or kingdom was able "to deliver his people out of mine hand, and out of the hand "of my fathers: how much leſs ſhall your God deliver you out "of mine hand?" He and his fathers therefore, Pul, Tiglathpileſer, and Shalmaneſer, were great conquerors; and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about Aſſyria, and thereby ſet up this monarchy.

[a] 2 King. xvii. 24, 30, 31. & xviii. 33, 34, 35. 2 Chron. xxxii. 15.

[b] Chron. xxxii. 13, 15.

VIII. Between the reigns of Jeroboam II. and his ſon Zachariah, there was an interregnum of about ten or twelve years in the kingdom of Iſrael (¹). And the prophet Hoſea [c], in the time of that interregnum, or ſoon after, mentions the king of Aſſyria by the name of Jareb, and another conqueror by the name of Shalman; and perhaps Shalman might be the firſt part of the name of Shalmaneſer; and Iareb, or Irib, for it may be read both ways, the laſt part of the name of his ſucceſſor Sennacherib.

[c] Hoſea v. 13. & x. 6, 14.

§ VIII.
(¹) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 9. c. 61.

rib. But whoever theſe princes were, it appears not that they reigned before Shalmaneſer. Pul, or Belus, ſeems to be the firſt who carried on his conqueſts beyond the province of Aſſyria: he conquered Calneh with its territories in the reign of Jeroboam, Amos i. 1. vi. 2. and Iſa. x. 8, 9. and invaded Iſrael in the reign of Menahem, 2 King. xv. 19. but ſtayed not in the land, being bought off by Menahem for a thouſand talents of ſilver. In his reign therefore the kingdom of Aſſyria was advanced on this ſide Tigris: for he was a great warrior, and ſeems to have conquered Haran, and Carchemiſh, and Reſeph, and Calneh, and Thelaſar, and might found or enlarge the city of Babylon, and build the old palace. ASSYRIANS.

IX. Herodotus tells us, that one of the gates of Babylon was [a] called the gate of Semiramis; and that ſhe adorned the walls of the city, and the temple of Belus; and that ſhe [b] was five generations older than Nitocris, the mother of Labynitus, or Nabonnedus, the laſt king of Babylon. And therefore ſhe flouriſhed four generations, or about 134 years, before Nebuchadnezzar; and by conſequence, in the reign of Tiglath-pileſer, the ſucceſſor of Pul. And the followers of Cteſias tell us, that ſhe built Babylon; and was the widow of the ſon and ſucceſſor of Belus, the founder of the Aſſyrian empire (¹); that is, the widow of one of the ſons of Pul. But [c] Beroſus, a Chaldæan, blames the Greeks for aſcribing the building of Babylon to Semiramis; and other authors aſcribe the building of this city to Belus himſelf; that is, to Pul. So Curtius [d] tells us; "*Semiramis* "*Babylonem condiderat, vel ut plerique credidere Belus, cujus regia* "*oſtenditur.*" And Abydenus, who had his hiſtory from the ancient monuments of the Chaldæans, writes: "Λεγεται Βηλον Βα- "βυλωνα τειχει περιβαλειν· τῳ χρονῳ δε τῳ ἱκνευμενῳ αφανισθηναι. τει- "χισαι δε αυθις Ναβουχοδονοσαρον, το μεχρι της Μακεδονιων αρχης δια- "μειναν εον χαλκοπυλον." "It is reported that Belus compaſſed "Babylon with a wall, which in time was aboliſhed: and that "Nebuchadnezzar afterwards built a new wall with brazen gates,

[a] Herod. l. 3. c. 155.

[b] Herod. l. 1. c. 184.

[c] Beroſ. apud Joſeph. contr. Apion. l. 1. c. 20. p. 1343.

[d] Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

[e] Apud Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41. p. 268.

§ IX.

(¹) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 7—10. p. 67—70. Euſeb. in Chron.

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"which ſtood till the time of the Macedonian empire." And ſo Dorotheus [a], an ancient poet of Sidon:

[a] Doroth. apud Julium Firmicum.

"Αρχαιη Βαβυλων, Τυριȣ Βηλοιο πολισμα.

"The ancient city Babylon, built by the Tyrian Belus;"

That is, by the Syrian or Aſſyrian Belus; the words Tyrian, Syrian, and Aſſyrian, being anciently uſed promiſcuouſly for one another. Herennius [b] tells us, that it was built by the ſon of Belus; and this ſon might be Nabonaſſar. After the conqueſt of Calneh, Thelaſar, and Sipparæ, Belus might ſeize Chaldæa, and begin to build Babylon, and leave it to his younger ſon. For all the kings of Babylon, in the canon of Ptolemy, are called Aſſyrians, and Nabonaſſar is the firſt of them. And Nebuchadnezzar [c] reckoned himſelf deſcended from Belus, that is, from the Aſſyrian Pul: and the building of Babylon is aſcribed to the Aſſyrians by [d] Iſaiah: "Behold," ſaith he, "the land of the Chaldæans: this people was not till the Aſſyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs [that is, for the Arabians]. They ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof (*)." From all this it ſeems therefore, that Pul founded the walls and the palaces of Babylon, and left the city with the province of Chaldæa to his younger ſon Nabonaſſar; and that Nabonaſſar finiſhed what his father began, and erected the temple of Jupiter Belus to his father: and that Semiramis lived in thoſe days, and was the queen of Nabonaſſar; becauſe one of the gates of Babylon was called the gate of Semiramis, as Herodotus affirms: but whether ſhe continued to reign there after her huſband's death, may be doubted.

[b] Heren. apud Steph. in Βαϐ.

[c] Abyden. apud Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 41. p. 268.

[d] Iſa. xxiii. 13.

X. Pul therefore was ſucceeded at Nineveh by his elder ſon Tiglath-pileſer; at the ſame time that he left Babylon to his younger ſon Nabonaſſar. Tiglath-pileſer, the ſecond king of Aſſyria, warred in Phœnicia, and captivated Galilee with the two tribes and an half, in the days of Pekah king of Iſrael; and placed them in Halath, and Habor, and Hara, and at the river Gazon; places lying on the weſtern borders of Media, between

(*) See Sir John Marſham, ſect. XVII. Tit. *Babylon condita.*

Aſſyria

Aſſyria and the Caſpian Sea, 2 King. xv. 29, and 1 Chron. v. 26: and about the fifth or ſixth of year of Nabonaſſar, he came to the aſſiſtance of the king of Judah againſt the kings of Iſrael and Syria; and overthrew the kingdom of Syria, which had been ſeated at Damaſcus ever ſince the days of king David; and carried away the Syrians to Kir in Media, as Amos had propheſied; and placed other nations in the regions of Damaſcus, 2 King. xv. 37, and xvi. 5, 9, Amos i. 5, Joſeph. Antiq. l. 9. c. 13. Whence it ſeems that the Medes were conquered before, and that the empire of the Aſſyrians was now grown great: "for the "God of Iſrael ſtirred up the ſpirit of Pul king of Aſſyria, and "the ſpirit of Tiglath-pileſer, king of Aſſyria, to make war," 1 Chron. v. 26. ASSYRIANS.

XI. Shalmaneſer, or Salmanaſſer, called Enemeſſar by Tobit, invaded[a] all Phœnicia, took the city of Samaria, and captivated Iſrael; and placed them in Chalach and Chabor, by the river Gozon, and in the cities of the Medes (¹). And Hoſea[b] ſeems to ſay that he took Arbela: and his ſucceſſor Sennacherib ſaid, that his fathers had conquered alſo Gozan, and Haran or Carrhæ, and Reſeph or Reſen, and the children of Eden, and Arpad or the Aradii, 2 King. xix. 12.

[a] Tobit i. 13. Annal. Tyr. apud Joſeph. Ant. l. 9. c. 14.

[b] Hoſea i. 14.

XII. Sennacherib, the ſon of Shalmaneſer, in the 14th year of Hezekiah invaded Phœnicia; and took ſeveral cities of Judah; and attempted Egypt: and Sethon or Sevechus, king of Egypt (¹), and Tirhakah king of Ethiopia (²), coming againſt him, he loſt in one night 185000 men (³), as ſome ſay by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind which blows ſometimes in the neighbouring deſerts, or rather by being ſurprized by Sethon and Tirhakah: for the Egyptians, in memory of this action, erected a ſtatue to Sethon, holding in his hand a mouſe, the Egyptian ſymbol of deſtruction (⁴). Upon this defeat Sennacherib returned in haſte to Nineveh (⁵); and[c] his kingdom became

[c] Tobit i. 15.

§ XI.

(¹) 2 Kings xvii. 6.

§ XII.

(¹) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 141. (²) 2 Kings xix. 9. (³) ——— 35.
(⁴) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 141. (⁵) 2 Kings xix. 36.

troubled,

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troubled, ſo that Tobit could not go into Media, the Medes, I think, at this time revolting: and he was ſoon after ſlain by two of his ſons who fled into Armenia, and his ſon Aſſerhadon ſucceeded him (6). At that time did Merodach Baladan, or Mardocempad, king of Babylon, ſend an embaſſy to Hezekiah king of Judah.

[a] Tobit i. 21. 2 King. xix. 37. Ptol. Canon.

XIII. Aſſerhadon [a], called Sarchedon by Tobit, Aſordan by the LXX, and Aſſaradin in Ptolemy's canon, began his reign at Nineveh, in the year of Nabonaſſar 42 (1); and in the year 68, extended it over Babylon. Then he carried the remainder of the Samaritans into captivity, and peopled Samaria with captives brought from ſeveral parts of his kingdom; the Dinaites, the Apharſachites, the Tarpelites, the Apharſites, the Archevites, the Babylonians, the Suſanchites, the Dehavites, the Elamites, Ezra iv. 2, 9; and therefore he reigned over all theſe nations. Pekah and Rezin, kings of Samaria and Damaſcus, invaded Judæa in the firſt year of Ahaz (2); and within 65 years after, that is in the 21ſt year of Manaſſah, anno Nabonaſſ. 69, Samaria by this captivity ceaſed to be a people, Iſai. vii. 8. Then Aſſerhadon invaded Judæa; took Azoth; carried Manaſſeh captive to Babylon, and [b] captivated alſo Egypt, Thebais, and Ethiopia above Thebais: and by this war he ſeems to have put an end to the reign of the Ethiopians over Egypt, in the year of Nabonaſſar 77 or 78.

[b] Iſa. xx. 1, 3, 4. and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

XIV. In the reign of Sennacherib and Aſſerhadon, the Aſſyrian empire ſeems arrived at its greatneſs; being united under one monarch, and containing Aſſyria, Media, Apolloniatis, Suſiana, Chaldæa, Meſopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and part of Arabia; and reaching eaſtward into Elymais, and Paraetacene, a province of the Medes: and if Cha-

(6) 2 Kings xix. 37.

§ XIII.

(1) Aſſerhaddon began to reign upon his father's death; which could hardly be later than in the 18th of Hezekiah. The 18th of Hezekiah was the 38th of Nabonaſſar.

(2) 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 1—5.

§ XIV.

(1) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 104.

Iach and Chabor be Colchis and Iberia, as ſome think, and as may ſeem probable from the circumciſion uſed by thoſe nations till the days of Herodotus (1), we are alſo to add theſe two provinces, with the two Armenia's, Pontus, and Cappadocia, as far as to the river Halys. For [a] Herodotus tells us, that the people of Cappadocia, as far as to that river, were called Syrians by the Greeks, both before and after the days of Cyrus; and that the Aſſyrians were alſo called Syrians by the Greeks. ASSYRIANS.

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 72. and l. 7. c. 63.

XV. Yet the Medes revolted from the Aſſyrians in the latter end of the reign of Sennacherib; I think upon the ſlaughter of his army near Egypt, and his flight to Nineveh. For at that time the eſtate of Sennacherib was troubled, ſo that Tobit could not go into Media as he had done before, Tobit i. 15.; and ſome time after, Tobit adviſed his ſon to go into Media (1), where he might expect peace; while Nineveh, according to the propheſy of Jonah, ſhould be deſtroyed. Cteſias wrote, that Arbaces, a Mede, being admitted to ſee Sardanapalus in his palace, and obſerving his voluptuous life amongſt women, revolted with the Medes; and in conjunction with Beleſis, a Babylonian, overcame him, and cauſed him to ſet fire to his palace, and burn himſelf (2). But he is contradicted by other authors of better credit. For Duris [b] and many others wrote, that Arbaces, upon being admitted into the palace of Sardanapalus, and ſeeing his effeminate life, ſlew himſelf (3); and Cleitarchus, that Sardanapalus died of old age, after he had loſt his dominion over Syria (4). He loſt it by the revolt of the weſtern nations; and Herodotus [c] tells us, that the Medes revolted firſt, and defended their liberty by force of arms againſt the Aſſyrians, without conquering them; and at their firſt revolting had no king; but after ſome time ſet up Dejoces over them, and built Ecbatane for his reſidence; and

[b] Apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 528.

[c] Herod. l. 1. c. 96—103. &c.

§ XV.

(1) Tobit. c. xiv. 4—8.

(2) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 23—28. p. 78—81.

(3) The text of Athenæus, in the place to which Sir Iſaac Newton refers, is exceedingly corrupt. Sir Iſaac Newton follows the ſenſe given by the Latin tranſlator. But Athenæus ſeems to ſay, that whereas Cteſias relates, that Sardanapalus, after ſuſtaining a war with Arbaces, ſet fire to his palace, and burnt himſelf with it: many other hiſtorians, of whom Duris was one, affirmed, that Arbaces, having procured admiſſion to the king's preſence, and ſeeing his effeminacy, in indignation that the Medes ſhould be governed by ſo contemptible a prince, ſtabbed him on the ſpot: not himſelf, but Sardanapalus.

(4) Athenæus, lib. 12. p. 529.

that

that Dejoces reigned only over Media, and had a peaceable reign of 53 years: but his ſon and ſucceſſor Phraortes made war upon his neighbours, and conquered Perſia; and that the Syrians alſo, and other weſtern nations, at length revolted from the Aſſyrians, being encouraged thereunto by the example of the Medes; and that after the revolt of the weſtern nations, Phraortes invaded the Aſſyrians; but was ſlain by them in that war, after he had reigned twenty and two years. He was ſucceeded by Aſtyages.

XVI. Now Aſſerhadon ſeems to be the Sardanapalus who died of old age after the revolt of Syria; the name Sardanapalus being derived from Aſſerhadon-Pul. Sardanapalus was the [a] ſon of Anacyndaraxis, Cyndaraxis, or Anabaxaris, king of Aſſyria; and this name ſeems to have been corruptly written for Sennacherib, the father of Aſſerhadon. Sardanapalus built Tarſus and Anchiale in one day; and therefore reigned over Cilicia, before the revolt of the weſtern nations: and if he be the ſame king with Aſſerhadon, he was ſucceeded by Saoſduchinus in the year of Nabonaſſar 81 (1). And by this revolution Manaſſeh was ſet at liberty to return home and fortify Jeruſalem (2). And the Egyptians alſo, after the Aſſyrians had harraſſed Egypt and Ethiopia three years, Iſai. xx. 3, 4. were ſet at liberty; and continued under twelve contemporary kings of their own nation, as above. The Aſſyrians invaded and conquered the Egyptians the firſt of the three years, and reigned over them two years more: and theſe two years are the interregnum which Africanus (3), from Manetho, places next before the twelve kings. The Scythians of Touran, or Turqueſtan, beyond the river Oxus, began in thoſe days to infeſt Perſia (4); and by one of their inroads might give occaſion to the revolt of the weſtern nations.

[a] Athenæus, l. 12. p. 529, 530.

XVII. In the year of Nabonaſſar 101, Saoſduchinus, after a reign of twenty years, was ſucceeded at Babylon by Chyniladon (1); and I think at Nineveh alſo. For I take Chyniladon to be that Nabuchodonoſor who is mentioned in the book of Judith; for the hiſtory of that king ſuits beſt with theſe times.

§ XVI.

(1) Ptolemæi Can. (2) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3.

(3) Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of this interregnum, lib. 1. c. 66. p. 41. But I cannot find that Manetho or Africanus take any notice of it.

For

For there it is ſaid, that "Nabuchodonoſor, king of the Aſſyri- Assyrians.
"ans, who reigned at Nineveh, that great city, in the twelfth
"year of his reign made war upon Arphaxad king of the Medes;"
and was then left alone by a defection of the auxiliary nations
of Cilicia, Damaſcus, Syria, Phœnicia, Moab, Ammon, and
Egypt (2); and without their help routed the army of the Medes,
and ſlew Arphaxad (3): and Arphaxad is there ſaid to have built
Ecbatane (4); and therefore was either Dejoces, or his ſon Phraortes, who might finiſh the city founded by his father. And
Herodotus [a] tells the ſame ſtory of a king of Aſſyria who routed the Medes and ſlew their king Phraortes; and ſaith, that in the time of this war the Aſſyrians were left alone by the defection of the auxiliary nations, being otherwiſe in good condition. Arphaxad was therefore the Phraortes of Herodotus, and by conſequence was ſlain near the beginning of the reign of Joſiah. For this war was made after Phœnicia, Moab, Ammon, and Egypt, had been conquered and revolted, Judith i. 7, 8, 9, and by conſequence after the reign of Aſſerhadon, who conquered them. It was made when the Jews were newly returned from captivity, "and the veſſels and altar and temple were ſanctified after the "profanation," Judith iv. 3; that is, ſoon after Manaſſeh their king had been carried captive to Babylon by Aſſerhadon; and upon the death of their king, or ſome other change in the Aſſyrian empire, had been releaſed with the Jews from that captivity, and had repaired the altar, and reſtored the ſacrifices and worſhip of the temple, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 16. In the Greek verſion of the book of Judith, chap. v. 18. it is ſaid, that "the "temple of God was caſt to the ground;" but this is not ſaid in Jerom's verſion; and in the Greek verſion, chap. iv. 3. and chap. xvi. 20. it is ſaid, that "the veſſels, and the altar, and the "houſe, were ſanctified after the prophanation;" and in both verſions, chap. iv. 11. the temple is repreſented ſtanding.

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 102.

(a) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 103.

§ XVII.

(1) Ptolemæi Can.
(2) Judith i. 1—11. (3) —— 15. (4) —— 1—4.

XVIII.

XVIII. After this war Nebuchadnezzar king of Aſſyria, in the 13th year of his reign, according to the verſion of Jerom ([1]), ſent his captain Holofernes with a great army to avenge himſelf on all the weſt country; becauſe they had diſobeyed his commandment. And Holofernes went forth with an army of 12000 horſe, and 120000 foot, of Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians; and reduced Cilicia, Meſopotamia, and Syria, and Damaſcus, and part of Arabia, and Ammon, and Edom, and Madian, and then came againſt Judæa: and this was done when the government was in the hands of the high-prieſt and ancients of Iſrael, Judith iv. 6, 7, 8. and vii. 23; and by conſequence not in the reign of Manaſſeh or Amon, but when Joſiah was a child. In times of proſperity the children of Iſrael were apt to go after falſe gods; and in times of affliction, to repent and turn to the Lord. So Manaſſeh, a very wicked king, being captivated by the Aſſyrians, repented; and being releaſed from captivity reſtored the worſhip of the true God. So when we are told, that "Joſiah, "in the eighth year of his reign, while he was yet young, be-"gan to ſeek after the God of David, his father; and in the "twelfth year of his reign began to purge Judah and Jeruſalem "from idolatry, and to deſtroy the high places, and groves, and "altars and images of Baalim," 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3; we may underſtand, that theſe acts of religion were occaſioned by impending dangers, and eſcapes from danger. When Holofernes came againſt the weſtern nations, and ſpoiled them, then were the Jews terrified, and they fortified Judæa, and "cried unto "God with great fervency, and humbled themſelves in ſackcloth, "and

§ XVIII.

([1]) Judith ii. 1.

( ) THE argument intended, which I think our author has not ſtated very clearly, ſeems to be this:

The 53 years of the reign of Dejoces are probably to be reckoned, not from the time when he was actually inveſted with the royal power, but from the revolt of the Medes. Which revolt took place, as our author imagines, as ſoon as the news of Sennacherib's diſaſter near Peluſium, and of his retreat to Nineve, reached Media. This retreat was in the 14th or 15th year of Hezekiah's reign, according to the ſacred hiſtory; that is, in the 34th or 35th of Nabonaſſar. Therefore the 35th or 36th of Nabonaſſar was probably the firſt of Dejoces. Dejoces reigned 53 years. Therefore the laſt of Dejoces, and the firſt of Phraortes, muſt fall on the 87th or 88th, or at any rate not later than the 89th of Nabonaſſar. Phraortes reigned 22 years. Therefore the laſt of Phraortes muſt have fallen on the 108th or 109th of Nabonaſſar, or at any rate not

"and put aſhes on their heads, and cried unto the God of Iſrael, "that he would not give their wives, and their children, and ci- "ties for a prey, and the temple for a profanation: and the high- "prieſt, and all the prieſts, put on ſackcloth and aſhes, and of- "fered daily burnt offerings, with vows and free gifts of the "people," Judith iv; and then began Joſiah to ſeek after the God of his father David. And after Judith had ſlain Holofernes, and the Aſſyrians were fled, and the Jews who purſued them were returned to Jeruſalem, "they worſhipped the Lord, and "offered burnt offerings and gifts, and continued feaſting before "the ſanctuary for the ſpace of three months," Judith xvi. 18—20; and then did Joſiah purge Judah and Jeruſalem from idolatry. Whence it ſeems to me, that the eighth year of Joſiah fell in with the fourteenth or fifteenth of Nabuchodonoſor; and that the twelfth year of Nabuchodonoſor, in which Phraortes was ſlain, was the fifth or ſixth of Joſiah. Phraortes reigned 22 years, according to Herodotus; and therefore ſucceeded his father Dejoces about the 40th year of Manaſſeh, anno Nabonaſſ. 89; and was ſlain by the Aſſyrians, and ſucceeded by Aſtyages, anno Nabonaſſ. 111. Dejoces reigned 53 years according to Herodotus, and theſe years began in the 16th year of Hezekiah; which makes it probable, that the Medes dated them from the time of their revolt: and according to all this reckoning, the reign of Nabuchodonoſor fell in with that of Chyniladon; which makes it probable, that they were but two names of one and the ſame king (²).

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XIX. Soon after the death of Phraortes [a], the Scythians under Madyes, or Medus, invaded Media, and beat the Medes in

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 103—106. Steph. in Παρθυαιοι.

not later than the 111th. In the 111th year of Nabonaſſar, the 11th of Chyniladon ended, and his 12th began according to the canon. Phraortes, therefore, a king of Media, who, according to Herodotus, was ſlain by a king of Aſſyria, was ſlain by Chyniladon, king of Aſſyria, in the 12th year of Chyniladon's reign, and the 111th of the æra of Nabonaſſar.

But on the 111th of the æra of Nabonaſſar began the 5th or 6th of Joſiah king of Judah. And in the 5th or 6th of Joſiah king of Judah, Arphaxad, a king of the Medes, as appears from the book of Judith, according to Jerome's tranſlation, compared with the ſacred hiſtory of the Jews, was ſlain by Nabuchodonoſor, a king of Aſſyria, in the 12th year of Nabuchodonoſor's reign.

Chyniladon therefore and Nabuchodonoſor appear to have been kings of Aſſyria at the ſame time; and each, in the ſame numerical year of his reign, ſlew a vanquiſhed king of Media. Therefore Chyniladon and Nabuchodonoſor are only different names of the ſame king of Aſſyria; and Phraortes and Arphaxad are only different names of the Median king ſubdued and ſlain by that Aſſyrian.

 battle,

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battle, anno Nabonaſſ. 113, and went thence towards Egypt; but were met in Phœnicia by Pſammitichus and bought off, and returned reigning over a great part of Aſia. But in the end of about 28 years, were expelled; many of their princes and commanders being ſlain in a feaſt by the Medes under the conduct of Cyaxeres, the ſucceſſor of Aſtyages, juſt before the deſtruction of Nineveh, and the reſt being ſoon after forced to retire.

[a] Alexander Polyhiſt. apud Euſeb. in Chron. p. 46. & apud Syncellum, p. 210.

XX. In the year of Nabonaſſar 123 (¹), [a] Nabopolaſſar, the commander of the forces of Chyniladon, the king of Aſſyria, in Chaldæa, revolted from him, and became king of Babylon; and Chyniladon was either then, or ſoon after, ſucceeded at Nineveh by the laſt king of Aſſyria, called Sarac by Polyhiſtor. And at length Nebuchadnezzar, the ſon of Nabopolaſſar, married Amyite, the daughter of Aſtyages and ſiſter of Cyaxeres; and by this marriage the two families having contracted affinity, they conſpired againſt the Aſſyrians. And Nabopolaſſar being now grown old, and Aſtyages being dead, their ſons Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxeres led the armies of the two nations againſt Nineveh; ſlew Sarac; deſtroyed the city; and ſhared the kingdom of the Aſſyrians. This victory the Jews refer to the Chaldæans; the Greeks, to the Medes; Tobit (²), Polyhiſtor, Joſephus (³), and Cteſias (⁴), to both. It gave a beginning to the great ſucceſſes of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxeres, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires of the Babylonians and Medes; theſe being branches of the Aſſyrian empire: and thence the time of the fall of the Aſſyrian empire is determined, the conquerors being then in their youth. In the reign of Joſiah, when Zephaniah propheſied, Nineveh and the kingdom of Aſſyria were ſtanding, and their fall was predicted by that prophet, Zeph. i. 3. and ii. 13. And in the end of his reign Pharaoh Nechoh, king of Egypt, the ſucceſſor of Pſammitichus, went up againſt the king of Aſſyria to the river Euphrates, to fight againſt Carchemiſh or Circutium, and in his way thither

§ XX.

(¹) Ptolemæi Can. (²) Tibit xiv. 15.

(³) Joſephus to the Medes, lib. 10. c. 2. § II. p. 435.

(⁴) Apud Diod. Sic. lib. 2. c. 24. p. 78.

ſlew

ſlew Joſiah (2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20) and there- ASSYRIANS.
fore the laſt king of Aſſyria was not yet ſlain. But in the third and fourth year of Jehoiakim, the ſucceſſor of Joſiah, the two conquerors having taken Nineveh and finiſhed their war in Aſſyria, proſecuted their conqueſts weſtward; and leading their forces againſt the king of Egypt, as an invader of their right of conqueſt, they beat him at Carchemiſh, and [a] took from him whatever he had newly taken from the Aſſyrians: and therefore we cannot err above a year or two, if we refer the deſtruction of Nineveh, and fall of the Aſſyrian empire, to the ſecond year of Jehoiakim, anno Nabonaſſ. 140. The name of the laſt (5) king Sarac, might perhaps be contracted from Sarchedon; as this name was from Aſſerhadon, Aſſerhadon-Pul, or Sardanapalus.

[a] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jer. xlvi. 2. Eupolemus apud Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 35.

XXI. While the Aſſyrians reigned at Nineveh, Perſia was divided into ſeveral kingdoms; and amongſt others there was a kingdom of Elam, which flouriſhed in the days of Hezekiah, Manaſſeh, Joſiah, and Jehoiakim, kings of Judah, and fell in the days of Zedekiah, Jer. xxv. 25. and xlix. 34. and Ezek. xxxii. 24. This kingdom ſeems to have been potent; and to have had wars with the king of Touran or Scythia, beyond the river Oxus, with various ſucceſs; and at length to have been ſubdued by the Medes and Babylonians, or one of them. For while Nebuchadnezzar warred in the weſt, Cyaxeres recovered the Aſſyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, and then they went eaſtward againſt the provinces of Perſia and Parthia. Whether the Piſchdadians, whom the Perſians reckon to have been their oldeſt kings, were kings of the kingdom of Elam, or of that of, the Aſſyrians, and whether Elam was conquered by the Aſſyrians at the ſame time with Babylonia and Suſiana in the reign of Aſſerhadon, and ſoon after revolted, I leave to be examined.

(5) How is this conſiſtent with what our author hath ſo fully proved (§ XVII and XVIII.) that Aſſerhadon had two ſucceſſors at Nineveh, Saoſduchinus and Chyniladon? Or with what he ſays, § XIX. that Sarac, the laſt Aſſyrian king, was the ſucceſſor of Chyniladon?

CHAP. IV.

OF THE TWO CONTEMPORARY EMPIRES OF THE BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

CHAPTER FOURTH. BY the fall of the Aſſyrian empire, the kingdoms of the Babylonians and Medes grew great and potent. The reigns of the kings of Babylon are ſtated in Ptolemy's canon. For underſtanding of which you are to note, that every king's reign in that canon began with the laſt Thoth of his predeceſſor's reign; as I gather by comparing the reigns of the Roman emperors in that canon with their reigns recorded in years, months, and days, by other authors. Whence it appears from that canon, that Aſſerhadon died in the year of Nabonaſſar 81; Saoſduchinus, his ſucceſſor, in the year 101; Chyniladon, in the year 123; Nabopolaſſar, in the year 144; and Nebuchadnezzar in the year 187. All theſe kings, and ſome others mentioned in the canon, reigned ſucceſſively over Babylon; and this laſt king died in the 37th year of Jechoniah's captivity (2 Kings xxv. 27) and therefore Jechoniah was captivated in the 150th year of Nabonaſſar.

II. This captivity was in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (2 Kings xxiv. 12), and eleventh of Jehoiakim's. For the firſt year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was the fourth of Jehoiakim's, (Jer. xxv. 1) and Jehoiakim reigned eleven years before this captivity (2 Kings xxiii. 36, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5), and Jechoniah three months, ending with the captivity; and the tenth year of Jechoniah's captivity, was the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (Jer. xxxii. 1); and the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in which Jeruſalem was taken, was the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar,

nezzar, Jer. lii. 5, 12. And therefore Nebuchadnezzar began his reign in the year of Nabonaſſar 142, that is, two years before the death of his father Nabopolaſſar, he being then made king by his father; and Jehoiakim ſucceeded his father Joſiah in the year of Nabonaſſar 139; and Jeruſalem was taken and the temple burnt in the year of Nabonaſſar 160, about twenty years after the deſtruction of Nineveh. Babylonians and Medes.

III. The reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis over Perſia, by the canon and the conſent of all chronologers, and by ſeveral eclipſes of the moon, began in ſpring in the year of Nabonaſſar 227 (¹): and "in the fourth year of king Darius, in the fourth day of "the ninth month, which is the month Chiſleu, when the Jews "had ſent unto the houſe of God, ſaying, Should I weep in the "fifth month as I have done theſe ſo many years? The word of "the Lord came unto Zechariah, ſaying, ſpeak to all the people "of the land, and to the prieſts, ſaying; when ye faſted and "mourned in the fifth and ſeventh month even thoſe ſeventy "years, did ye at all faſt unto me?" Zech. vii. 1—5. Count backwards thoſe ſeventy years, in which they faſted in the fifth month for the burning of the temple, and in the ſeventh for the death of Gedaliah; and the burning of the temple and death of Gedaliah will fall upon the fifth and ſeventh Jewiſh months, in the year of Nabonaſſar 160, as above.

IV. As the Chaldæan aſtronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of Nabonaſſar, beginning with the month Thoth; ſo the Jews, as their authors tell us, counted the reigns of theirs by the years of Moſes, beginning every year with the month Niſan. For if any king began his reign a few days before this month began, it was reckoned to him for a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of the ſecond year of his reign. And according to this reckoning the firſt year of Jehoiakim began with the month Niſan, anno Nabonaſſ. 139, though his reign might not really begin till five or ſix months after; and the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and firſt of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the reckoning of the Jews,

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(¹) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 13.

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began with the month Niſan, anno Nabonaſſ. 142; and the firſt year of Zedekiah, and of Jeconiah's captivity, and ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, began with the month Niſan, in the year of Nabonaſſ. 150; and the tenth year of Zedekiah, and 18th of Nebuchadnezzar, began with the month Niſan in the year of Nabonaſſ. 159. Now in the ninth year of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa and the cities thereof; and in the tenth month of that year, and tenth day of the month, he and his hoſt beſieged Jeruſalem, 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxiv. 1. xxxix. 1. and lii. 4. From this time to the tenth month, in the ſecond year. of Darius, are juſt ſeventy years; and accordingly, "upon the 24th day of the eleventh month of the ſecond year "of Darius, the word of the Lord came unto Zechariah,—and "the angel of the Lord ſaid, Oh Lord of hoſts, how long wilt "thou not have mercy on Jeruſalem, and on the cities of Judah, "againſt which thou haſt had indignation, theſe threeſcore and "ten years," Zech. i. 7, 12. So then the ninth year of Zedekiah, in which this indignation againſt Jeruſalem and the cities of Judah began, commenced with the month Niſan in the year of Nabonaſſ. 158; and the eleventh year of Zedekiah, and nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, in which the city was taken and the temple burnt, commenced with the month Niſan in the year of Nabonaſſ. 160, as above.

V. By all theſe characters the years of Jehoiakim, Zedekiah, and Nebuchadnezzar, ſeem to be ſufficiently determined; and thereby the chronology of the Jews in the Old Teſtament is connected with that of later times. For between the death of Solomon and the ninth year of Zedekiah, wherein Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judæa, and began the ſiege of Jeruſalem, there were 390 years, as is manifeſt both by the propheſy of Ezekiel, chap. iv. and by ſumming up the years of the kings of Judah; and from the ninth year of Zedekiah incluſively to the vulgar æra of Chriſt, there were 590 years: and both theſe numbers, with half the reign of Solomon, make up a thouſand years.

VI. In the [a] end of the reign of Joſiah, anno Nabonaſſ. 139, Pharaoh Nechoh, the ſucceſſor of Pſammitichus, came with a great army out of Egypt againſt the king of Aſſyria; and being denied

[a] 2 King. xxiii. 29, &c. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. xxxvi. 4.

denied paſſage through Judæa, beat the Jews at Megiddo, or Magdolus, before Egypt; ſlew Joſiah their king; marched to Carchemiſh or Circutium, a town of Meſopotamia upon Euphrates, and took it; poſſeſt himſelf of the cities of Syria; ſent for Jehoahaz, the new king of Judah, to Riblah or Antioch; depoſed him there; made Jehoiakim king in the room of Joſiah; and put the kingdom of Judah to tribute. But the king of Aſſyria being in the mean time beſieged and ſubdued, and Nineveh deſtroyed by Aſſuerus king of the Medes; and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and the conquerors being thereby entitled to the countries belonging to the king of Aſſyria; they led their victorious armies againſt the king of Egypt, who had ſeized part of them. For Nebuchadnezzar, aſſiſted [a] by Aſtibares, that is, by Aſtivares, Aſſuerus, Ackſweres, Axeres, or Cy-Axeres, king of the Medes, in the [b] third year of Jehoiakim, came with an army of Babylonians, Medes, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, to the number of 10000 chariots, and 180000 foot, and 120000 horſe, and laid waſte Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, and the Jews in Galaaditis, and beſieged Jeruſalem, and took king Jehoiakim alive, and [c] bound him in chains for a time, and carried to Babylon Daniel and others of the people, and part of what gold and ſilver and braſs they found in the temple. And in [d] the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which was the twentieth of Nabopolaſſar, they routed the army of Pharaoh Nechoh at Carchemiſh; and by purſuing the war, took from the king of Egypt whatever pertained to him from the river of Egypt to the river of Euphrates (¹). This king of Egypt is called by Beroſus [e] the Satrapa of Egypt, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia; and this victory over him put an end to his reign in Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, which he had newly invaded, and gave a beginning to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar there: and by the conqueſts over Aſſyria and Syria, the ſmall kingdom of Babylon was erected into a potent empire.

BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

[a] Polyhiſtor apud Euſeb. Præp. l. 9. c. 39. p. 266.

[b] 2 King. xxiv. 2. 7. Dan. i. 1.

[c] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[d] Jer. xlvi. 2.

[e] Apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 1342.

VII. Whilſt Nebuchadnezzar was acting in Syria [f], his father Nabopolaſſar died, having reigned 21 years; and Nebuchadnez-

[f] Beroſ apud Joſ ph. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.

§ VI.

(¹) 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

zar,

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VIII. Judæa was now in ſervitude under the king of Babylon, being invaded and ſubdued in the third and fourth years of Jehoiakim; "and Jehoiakim ſerved him three years, and then "turned and rebelled," 2 King. xxiv. 1. While Nebuchadnezzar and the army of the Chaldæans continued in Syria, Jehojakim was under compulſion; after they returned to Babylon, Jehojakim continued in fidelity three years, that is, during the 7th, 8th, and 9th years of his reign, and rebelled in the tenth. Whereupon, in the return or end of the year, that is in ſpring, he ſent [a] and beſieged Jeruſalem; captivated Jeconiah, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Jehoiakim; ſpoiled the temple; and carried away to Babylon the princes, craftſmen, ſmiths, and all that were fit for war: and, when none remained but the pooreſt of the people, made [b] Zedekiah their king, and bound him upon oath to ſerve the king of Babylon. This was in ſpring, in the end of the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, and beginning of the year of Nabonaſſar 150.

IX. Zedekiah, notwithſtanding his oath [c], revolted, and made a covenant with the king of Egypt; and therefore Nebuchadnezzar, in the ninth year of Zedekiah [d], invaded Judæa and the cities thereof; and in the tenth Jewiſh month of that year beſieged Jeruſalem again; and in the eleventh year of Zedekiah,

[a] 2 King. xxiv. 12, 14. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

[b] 2 Kings xxiv. 17. Ezek. xvii. 13, 16, 18.

[c] Ezek. xvii. 15.

[d] 2 King. xxv. 1, 2, 8. Jer. xxxii. 1. & xxxix. 1, 2.

§ VII.

(1) Abydenus apud Euſeb. Præp. lib. 9. p. 268.

§ XI.

(1) Ptolemæi Can.

(2) Beroſus apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 20. p. 1344.

in

in the 4th and 5th months, after a ſiege of one year and an half, took and burnt the city and temple. Babylonians and Medes.

X. Nebuchadnezzar, after he was made king by his father, reigned over Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria 45 years; and [a] after the death of his father, 43 years; and [b] after the captivity of Jeconiah, 37; and then was ſucceeded by his ſon Evilmerodach, called Iluarodamus in Ptolemy's canon. Jerome [c] tells us, that Evilmerodach reigned ſeven years in his father's life-time, while his father did eat graſs with oxen; and after his father's reſtoration was put in priſon with Jeconiah king of Judah, till the death of his father; and then ſucceeded in the throne. In the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity, Belſhazzar was next in dignity to his father Nebuchadnezzar, and was deſigned to be his ſucceſſor (Baruch i. 2, 10, 11, 12, 14) and therefore Evilmedorach was even then in diſgrace. Upon his coming to the throne [d], he brought his friend and companion Jeconiah out of priſon on the 27th day of the twelfth month; ſo that Nebuchadnezzar died in the end of winter, anno Nabonaſſ. 187.

[a] Canon. & Beroſ.

[b] 2 King. xxv. 27.

[c] Hieron. in Iſa. xiv. 19.

[d] 2 King. xxv. 27, 29, &c.

XI. Evilmerodach reigned two years after his father's death (1); and for his luſt and evil manners was ſlain by his ſiſter's huſband Neriglіſſar (2), or Nergalaſſar, Nabonaſſ. 189, according to the canon.

XII. Neriglіſſar, in the name of his young ſon Laboſordachus, or Laboaſſerdach, the grand-child of Nebuchadnezzar by his daughter, reigned four years, according to the canon and Beroſus, including the ſhort reign of Laboaſſerdach alone. For Laboaſſerdach, according to Beroſus and Joſephus, reigned nine months after the death of his father; and then for his evil manners was ſlain in a feaſt, by the conſpiracy of his friends with Nabonnedus, a Babylonian, to whom by conſent they gave the kingdom: but theſe nine months are not reckoned apart in the canon.

XIII. Nabounedus, or Nabonadius, according to the canon, began his reign in the year of Nabonaſſ. 193; reigned ſeventeen years; and ended his reign in the year of Nabonaſſ. 210, being then vanquiſhed, and Babylon taken by Cyrus (1).

§ XIII.

(1) Beroſus, ibid.

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XIV. Herodotus calls this laſt king of Babylon, Labynetus; and ſays, that he was the ſon of a former Labynetus, and of Nitocris, an eminent queen of Babylon (1). By the father he ſeems to underſtand, that Labynetus, who, as he tells us, was king of Babylon when the great eclipſe of the ſun, predicted by Thales, put an end to the five years war between the Medes and Lydians (2); and this was the great Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel [a] calls the laſt king of Babylon, Belſhazzar; and ſaith, that Nebuchadnezzar was his father. And Joſephus [b] tells us, that the laſt king of Babylon was called Naboandel by the Babylonians, and reigned ſeventeen years; and therefore he is the ſame king of Babylon with Nabonnedus or Labynetus. And this is more agreeable to ſacred writ, than to make Nabonnedus a ſtranger to the royal line. For all "nations were to ſerve Nebuchadnezzar "and his poſterity, till the very time of his land ſhould come, "and many nations ſhould ſerve themſelves of him," Jer. xxvii. 7. Belſhazzar was born and lived in honour before the fifth year of Jeconiah's captivity, which was the eleventh year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign; and therefore he was above 34 years old at the death of Evilmerodach, and ſo could be no other king than Nabonnedus: for Laboaſſerdach, the grandſon of Nebuchadnezzar, was a child when he reigned.

[a] Dan. v. 2.

[b] Joſ. Ant. l. 10. c. 11. ſect. 2. p. 460.

XV. Herodotus [c] tells us, that there were two famous queens of Babylon, Semiramis and Nitocris; and that the latter was more ſkillful. She obſerving, that the kingdom of the Medes, having ſubdued many cities, and among others Nineveh, was become great and potent, intercepted and fortified the paſſages out of Media into Babylonia; and the river, which before was ſtraight, ſhe made crooked, with great windings, that it might be more ſedate and leſs apt to overflow. And on the ſide of the river above Babylon, in imitation of the Lake of Mœris in Egypt, ſhe dug a lake every way forty miles broad, to receive the water of the river, and keep it for watering the land. She built alſo a bridge over the river in the middle of Babylon, turning the

[c] Herod. l. 1. c. 184, 185, 186.

§ XIV.

(1) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 188.

(2) Vide Herodot. lib. 1. c. 74. Where Herodotus, however, does not call Labynetus king of Babylon, but ſimply the Babylonian.

ſtream

ſtream into the lake till the bridge was built. Philoſtratus [a] ſaith, that ſhe made a bridge under the river two fathoms broad; meaning an arched vault, over which the river flowed, and under which they might walk croſs the river. He calls her Μηδεια, a Mede.

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[a] Philoſt. in vita Apollonii, l. 1. c. 25.

XVI. Beroſus tells us (1), that Nebuchadnezzar built a penſile garden upon arches, becauſe his wife was a Mede, and delighted in mountainous proſpects, ſuch as abounded in Media, but were wanting in Babylonia. She was Amyite (2), the daughter of Aſtyages, and ſiſter of Cyaxeres, kings of the Medes. Nebuchadnezzar married her upon a league between the two families againſt the king of Aſſyria. But Nitocris might be another woman; who in the reign of her ſon Labynetus, a voluptuous and vicious king, took care of his affairs, and, for ſecuring his kingdom againſt the Medes, did the works above-mentioned. This is that queen mentioned in Daniel, chap. v. 10.

XVII. Joſephus [b] relates out of the Tyrian records, that in the reign of Ithobalus king of Tyre, that city was beſieged by Nebuchadnezzar thirty years together. In the end of that ſiege Ithobalus their king was ſlain, Ezek. xxviii. 8, 9, 10. And after him, according to the Tyrian records, reigned Baal ten years; Ecnibalus and Chelbes, one year; Abbarus, three months; Mytgonus and Geraſtratus, ſix years; Balatorus, one year; Merbalus, four years; and Iromus, twenty years. And in the fourteenth year of Iromus, ſay the Tyrian records, the reign of Cyrus began in Babylonia. Therefore the ſiege of Tyre began 48 years and ſome months before the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia. It began when Jeruſalem had been newly taken and burnt, with the temple (Ezek. xxvi.) and by conſequence after the eleventh year of Jeconiah's captivity, or 160th year of Nabonaſſar. And therefore the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia began after the year of Nabonaſſar 208. It ended before the eight and twentieth year of Jeconiah's captivity, or 176th year of Nabonaſſar (Ezek. xxix. 17.) and therefore the reign of Cyrus in Babylonia began before the year of Nabonaſſar 211. By this argument the firſt

[b] Joſ. contr. Apion, l. 1. c. 21. p. 1344.

§ XVI.

(1) Apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 1343.

(2) Vid. chap. 3. § XX.

year

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year of Cyrus in Babylonia was one of the two intermediate years 209, 210. Cyrus invaded Babylonia in the year of Nabonaſſar 209; Babylon [a] held out, and the next year was taken, (Jer. li. 39, 57,) by diverting the river Euphrates, and entering the city through the emptied channel, and by conſequence after Midſummer: for the river, by the melting of the ſnow in Armenia, overflows yearly in the beginning of ſummer, but in the heat of ſummer grows low. " [b] And that night was the king of " Babylon ſlain; and Darius the Mede, or king of the Medes, " took the kingdom, being about threeſcore and two years old." So then Babylon was taken a month or two after the ſummer ſolſtice, in the year of Nabonaſſ. 210; as the canon alſo repreſents.

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 189, 190, 191. Xenoph. l. 7. p. 190, 191, 192. Ed. Paris.

[b] Dan. v. 30, 31. Joſeph. Ant. l. 10. c. 11.

XVIII. The kings of the Medes before Cyrus were Dejoces, Phraortes, Aſtyages, Cyaxeres, or Cyaxares, and Darius. The three firſt reigned before the kingdom grew great; the two laſt were great conquerors, and erected the empire. For Æſchylus, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Darius Hyſtaſpis and Xerxes, and died in the 76th olympiad (1), introduces Darius thus complaining of thoſe who perſuaded his ſon Xerxes to invade Greece [c]:

[c] Æſch. Perſæ, v. 761.

" Τοιγαρ σφιν εργον εςιν εξειργασμενον
" Μεγιςον, αιειμνηςον, οἱον ȣδεπω,
" Το δ' αςυ Σȣσων εξεκεινωσεν ϖεσον·
" Εξ ȣ̔τε τιμην Ζευς αναξ τηνδ' ωπασεν,
" Εν ανδρα ϖασης Ασιαδος μηλοτροφȣ
" Ταγειν, εχοντα σκηπτρον ευθυντηριον.
" Μηδος γαρ ην ὁ ϖρωτος ἡγεμων ςρατȣ·
" Αλλος δ' εκεινȣ ϖαις τοδ' εργον ηνυσε·
" Φρενες γαρ αυτȣ θυμον οιακοςροφȣν.
" Τριτος δ' απ' αυτȣ Κυρος, ευδαιμων ανηρ, &c."

" They have done a work
" The greateſt, and moſt memorable, ſuch as never happen'd,

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(1) It is very uncertain in what year Æſchylus died. But it is certain, from the Amudelian Marbles, that he was preſent in the battle of Marathon; and his ſcholiaſt ſays he was in thoſe of Salamis and Platæa.

(2) Dan. vi. 18. (3) Dan. ix. 1. (4) Tobit xiv. 15.

" For

"For it has emptied the falling Suſa:
"From the time that king Jupiter granted this honour,
"That one man ſhould reign over all fruitful Aſia,
"Having the imperial ſcepter.
"For he that firſt led the army was a Mede;
"The next, who was his ſon, finiſh'd the work,
"For prudence directed his ſoul;
"The third was Cyrus, a happy man, &c."

The poet here attributes the founding of the Medo-Perſian empire to the two immediate predeceſſors of Cyrus, the firſt of which was a Mede, and the ſecond was his ſon. The ſecond was Darius the Mede, the immediate predeceſſor of Cyrus ([2]), according to Daniel; and therefore the firſt was the father of Darius, that is, Achſuerus, Aſſuerus, Oxyares, Axeres, prince Axeres, or Cy-Axeres, the word Cy ſignifying a prince. For Daniel tells us, that Darius was the ſon of Achſuerus, or Ahaſuerus ([3]), as the Maſoretes erroneouſly call him, of the ſeed of the Medes ([3]), that is, of the ſeed royal. This is that Aſſuerus who, together with Nebuchadnezzar, took and deſtroyed Nineveh, according to Tabit ([4]): which action is by the Greeks aſcribed to Cyaxeres ([5]), and by Eupolemus to Aſtibares ([6]), a name perhaps corruptly written for Aſſuerus. By this victory over the Aſſyrians, and ſubverſion of their empire ſeated at Nineveh, and the enſuing conqueſts of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Perſia, he began to extend the reign of one man over all Aſia; and his ſon Darius the Mede, by conquering the kingdoms of Lydia and Babylon, finiſhed the work. And the third king was Cyrus, a happy man for his great ſucceſſes under and againſt Darius, and large and peaceable dominion in his own reign.

XIX. Cyrus lived ſeventy years, according to Cicero ([1]), and reigned nine years over Babylon, according to Ptolemy's canon; and therefore was 61 years old at the taking of Babylon; at which

([5]) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 103—106.
([6]) Aſtibares, king of the Medes, is mentioned by Polyhiſtor (apud Euſeb. Præp. lib. 9. p. 266.) as the ally of Nabuchodonoſor in his invaſion of Judæa.

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([1]) De Divinat. lib. 1. c. 23.

time

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time Darius the Mede was 62 years old, according to Daniel (²): and therefore Darius was two generations younger than Aſtyages, the grandfather of Cyrus. For Aſtyages, according to both Herodotus [a] and Xenophon, gave his daughter Mandane to Cambyſes, a prince of Perſia, and by them became the grandfather of Cyrus; and Cyaxeres was the ſon of Aſtyages, according to Xenophon [b], and gave his daughter to Cyrus. This daughter, ſaith [c] Xenophon, was reported to be very handſome; and uſed to play with Cyrus when they were both children, and to ſay, that ſhe would marry him: and therefore they were much of the ſame age. Xenophon ſaith, that Cyrus married her after the taking of Babylon. But ſhe was then an old woman. It is more probable, that he married her while ſhe was young and handſome, and he a young man; and that becauſe he was the brother-in-law of Darius the king, he led the armies of the kingdom until he revolted. So then Aſtyages, Cyaxeres, and Darius, reigned ſucceſſively over the Medes; and Cyrus was the grandſon of Aſtyages, and married the ſiſter of Darius, and ſucceeded him in the throne.

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 107, 108. Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 1. p. 3.
[b] Cyropæd. l. 1. p. 22.
[c] Cyropæd. l. 8. p. 228, 229.

XX. Herodotus [d] therefore hath inverted the order of the kings, Aſtyages and Cyaxeres; making Cyaxeres to be the ſon and ſucceſſor of Phraortes, and the father and predeceſſor of Aſtyages, the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus; and telling us, that this Aſtyages married Ariene, the daughter of Alyattes king of Lydia (¹), and was at length taken priſon and deprived of his dominion by Cyrus (²). And Pauſanias (³) hath copied after Herodotus, in telling us, that Aſtyages, the ſon of Cyaxeres, reigned in Media in the days of Alyattes king of Lydia. Cyaxeres had a ſon who married Ariene, the daughter of Alyattes; but this ſon was not the father of Mandane, and grandfather of Cyrus, but of the ſame age with Cyrus; and his true name is preſerved in the name of the Darics (⁴), which, upon the conqueſt of Crœſus by the conduct of his general Cyrus, he coined out of the gold and ſilver of the conquered Lydians.

[d] Herod. l. 1. c. 73. & 103—107.

(²) Dan. v. 31.

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(¹) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 74. (²) ——— c. 125—130.

dians. His name was therefore Darius, as he is called by Daniel. For Daniel tells us, that this Darius was a Mede, and that his father's name was Aſſuerus, that is Axeres or Cyaxeres, as above. Conſidering therefore that Cyaxeres reigned long; and that no author mentions more kings of Media than one, called Aſtyages; and that Æſchylus, who lived in thoſe days, knew but of two great monarchs of Media and Perſia, the father and the ſon, older than Cyrus: it ſeems to me, that Aſtyages, the father of Mandane and grandfather of Cyrus, was the father and predeceſſor of Cyaxeres; and that the ſon and ſucceſſor of Cyaxeres was called Darius. Cyaxeres, according to Herodotus[a], reigned 40 years, and his ſucceſſor 35, and Cyrus, according to Xenophon, ſeven. Cyrus died anno Nabonaſſ. 219, according to the canon; and therefore Cyaxeres died anno Nabonaſſ. 177, and began his reign anno Nabonaſſ. 137; and his father Aſtyages reigned 26 years, beginning his reign at the death of Phraortes, who was ſlain by the Aſſyrians anno Nabonaſſ. 111, as above (5).

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[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 106, 130.

XXI. Of all the kings of the Medes, Cyaxeres was the greateſt warrior. Herodotus[b] ſaith, that he was much more valiant than his anceſtors, and that he was the firſt who divided the kingdom into provinces, and reduced the irregular and undiſciplined forces of the Medes into diſcipline and order. And therefore, by the teſtimony of Herodotus, he was that king of the Medes, whom Æſchylus makes the firſt conqueror and founder of the empire. For Herodotus repreſents him and his ſon to have been the two immediate predeceſſors of Cyrus, erring only in the name of the ſon. Aſtyages did nothing glorious. In the beginning of his reign a great body of Scythians, commanded by Madyes, [c] invaded Media and Parthia, as above, and reigned there about 28 years. But at length his ſon Cyaxeres circumvented and ſlew them in a feaſt, and made the reſt fly to their brethren in Parthia; and immediately after, in conjunction with Nebuchadnezzar, invaded and ſubverted the kingdom of Aſſyria, and deſtroyed Nineveh.

[b] Herod. l. 1. c. 103.

[c] Herod. lib. 1. c. 103—107.

(3) Pauſan. lib. 5. c. 10. p. 398.

(4) Vid. Schol. in Ariſtoph. Ἐκκλησιαζ, lin. 598.

(5) Chap. 3. § XVIII.

XXI

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XXII. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which the Jews reckon to be the firſt of Nebuchadnezzar (1), dating his reign from his being made king by his father, or from the month Niſan preceding, when the victors had newly ſhared the empire of the Aſſyrians, and in proſecuting their victory were invading Syria and Phœnicia, and were ready to invade the nations round about; God [a] threatened that "he would take all the families of "the north," that is, the armies of the Medes, "and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and bring them againſt Judæa, and againſt the nations round about, and utterly deſtroy "thoſe nations, and make them an aſtoniſhment and laſting deſolations, and cauſe them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury;" and in particular he names "the kings of Judah and "Egypt, and thoſe of Edom, and Moab, and Ammon, and "Tyre, and Zidon, and the iſles of the ſea, and Arabia, and "Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the "Medes, and all the kings of the north, and the king of Seſac (2); and that after ſeventy years, he would alſo puniſh the "king of Babylon (3)." Here, in numbering the nations which ſhould ſuffer, he omits the Aſſyrians as fallen already; and names the kings of Elam or Perſia, and Seſac or Suſa, as diſtinct from thoſe of the Medes and Babylonians; and therefore the Perſians were not yet ſubdued by the Medes, nor the king of Suſa by the Chaldæans. And as by the puniſhment of the king of Babylon, he means the conqueſt of Babylon by the Medes; ſo by the puniſhment of the Medes, he ſeems to mean the conqueſt of the Medes by Cyrus.

[a] Jer. xxv. 9.

XXIII. After this, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, that is, in the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, God threatened that "he would give the kingdoms of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and Tyre, and Zidon, into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and that all the nations ſhould ſerve him, "and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, until the very time of his land "ſhould come, and many nations and great kings ſhould ſerve "themſelves of him," Jer. xxvii. 2—7. And at the ſame time

§ XXII.

(1) See § II. (2) Jerem. xxv. 15—26. (3) ——— 11, 12.

God

God thus predicted the approaching conqueſt of the Perſians by the Medes and their confederates: "Behold," ſaith he, "I will "break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might: and upon "Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of hea-"ven, and will ſcatter them towards all thoſe winds, and there "ſhall be no nation whither the outcaſts of Elam ſhall not come: "for I will cauſe Elam to be diſmayed before their enemies, and "before them that ſeek their life; and I will bring evil upon "them, even my fierce anger, ſaith the Lord; and I will ſend "the ſword after them till I have conſumed them; and I will "ſet my throne in Elam, and will deſtroy from thence the king "and the princes, ſaith the Lord: but it ſhall come to paſs in "the latter days [viz. in the reign of Cyrus] that I will bring again "the captivity of Elam, ſaith the Lord," Jer. xlix. 34—39. The Perſians were therefore hitherto a free nation under their own king; but ſoon after this were invaded, ſubdued, captivated, and diſperſed into the nations round about, and continued in ſervitude until the reign of Cyrus. And ſince the Medes and Chaldæans did not conquer the Perſians, till after the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar; it gives us occaſion to enquire, what that active warrior Cyaxeres was doing, next after the taking of Nineveh. BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

XXIV. When Cyaxeres expelled the Scythians [a], ſome of them made their peace with him, and ſtaid in Media, and preſented to him daily ſome of the veniſon which they took in hunting: but happening one day to catch nothing, Cyaxeres, in a paſſion, treated them with opprobrious language. This they reſented; and ſoon after killed one of the children of the Medes, dreſſed it like veniſon, and preſented it to Cyaxeres, and then fled to Alyattes king of Lydia; whence followed a war of five years between the two kings Cyaxeres and Alyattes. And thence I gather, that the kingdoms of the Medes and Lydians were now contiguous; and by conſequence that Cyaxeres, ſoon after the conqueſt of Nineveh, ſeized the regions belonging to the Aſſyrians, as far as to the river Halys. In the ſixth year of this war, in the midſt of a battle between the two kings, there was a total eclipſe of the ſun, predicted by Thales [b]; and this eclipſe fell upon the 28th of May, anno Nabonaſſ. 163, forty and ſeven years

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 73, 74.

[b] Herod. l. 1. c. 174. Plin. l. 2. c. 12.

years before the taking of Babylon, and put an end to the battle: and thereupon the two kings made peace by the mediation of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and Syenneſis king of Cilicia; and the peace was ratified by a marriage between Darius the ſon of Cyaxeres, and Ariene the daughter of Alyattes. Darius was therefore fifteen or ſixteen years old at the time of this marriage; for he was 62 years old at the taking of Babylon.

XXV. In the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, the year in which Nebuchadnezzar took Jeruſalem and deſtroyed the temple, Ezekiel, comparing the kingdoms of the eaſt to trees in the garden of Eden, thus mentions their being conquered by the kings of the Medes and Chaldæans: "Behold," ſaith he, "the Aſſyrian was a Cedar in Lebanon with fair branches,—his height was exalted above all the trees of the field,—and under his ſhadow dwelt all great nations,—not any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty:—but I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty One of the heathen,—I made the nations to ſhake at the ſound of his fall, when I caſt him down to the grave with them that deſcend into the pit: and all the trees of Eden, the choice and beſt of Lebanon, all that drink water, ſhall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth: they alſo went down into the grave with him, unto them that be ſlain with the ſword, and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his ſhadow in the midſt of the heathen," Ezek. xxxi.

XXVI. The next year Ezekiel, in another propheſy, thus enumerates the principal nations who had been ſubdued and ſlaughtered by the conquering ſword of Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar. "Aſſhur is there, and all her company," viz. in Hades, or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, "his graves are about him; all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which cauſed this terror in the land of the living. There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which are gone down uncircumſcribed into the nether parts of the earth, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living: yet have they borne their ſhame with them that go down into the pit.—There is Meſhech,

" ſhech, Tubal, and all her multitude *; her graves are round
" about him: all of them uncircumciſed, ſlain by the ſword,
" though they cauſed their terror in the land of the living.—
" There is Edon, her kings, and all her princes, which with
" their might are laid by them that were ſlain by the ſword.—
" There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the
" Zidonians, which with their terror are gone down with the
" ſlain," Ezek. xxxii. 22—30. Here, by the princes of the north, I underſtand thoſe on the north of Judæa, and chiefly the princes of Armenia and Cappadocia; who fell in the wars, which Cyaxeres made in reducing thoſe countries after the taking of Nineveh. Elam or Perſia was conquered by the Medes, and Suſiana by the Babylonians after the ninth, and before the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar: and therefore we cannot err much, if we place theſe conqueſts in the twelfth or fourteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. In the nineteenth (1), twentieth, and one-and-twentieth year of this king, he invaded and [a] conquered Judæa, Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Philiſtims and Zidon; and [b] the next year he beſieged Tyre; and after a ſiege of thirteen years he took it, in the 35th year of his reign; and then he [c] invaded and conquered Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya; and about eighteen or twenty years after the death of this king, Darius the Mede conquered the kingdom of Sardes; and after five or ſix years more he invaded and conquered the empire of Babylon: and thereby finiſhed the work of propagating the Medo-Perſian monarchy over all Aſia, as Æſchylus repreſents.

XXVII. Now this is that Darius who coined a great number of pieces of pure gold called Darics, or *Stateres Darici.* For Suidas, Harpocration, and the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes [d] tell us, that theſe were coined not by the father of Xerxes, but by an earlier Darius; by Darius the Firſt; by the firſt king of the Medes and Perſians who coined gold money. They were ſtamped on one ſide with the effigies of an archer, who was crowned with a ſpiked crown, had a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right, and was cloathed with a long robe. I have ſeen one of them

BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

* The Scythians.

[a] Jer. xxvii. 3, 6. Ezek. xxi. 19, 20. & xxv. 2, 8, 12.

[b] Ezek. xxvi. 2. & xxix. 17, 19.

[c] Ezek. xxix. 19. & xxx. 4, 5.

[d] Suid. in Δαρεικος & Δαρεικους. Harpocr. in Δαρεικος. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtophanis. Εκκλησιαζουσαι. v. 598.

(1) See § II.

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them in gold, and another in ſilver. They were of the ſame weight and value with the Attic Stater, or piece of gold money weighing two Attic drachms. Darius ſeems to have learnt the art and uſe of money from the conquered kingdom of the Lydians, and to have recoined their gold: for the Medes, before they conquered the Lydians, had no money. Herodotus [a] tells us, that "when Crœſus was preparing to invade Cyrus, a certain Lydian, called Sandanis, adviſed him, that he was preparing an expedition againſt a nation who were cloathed with leathern breeches, who eat not ſuch victuals as they would, but ſuch as their barren country afforded; who drank no wine, but water only; who eat no figs no other good meat; who had nothing to loſe, but might get much from the Lydians. "For the Perſians," ſaith Herodotus, "before they conquered the Lydians, had nothing rich or valuable." And [b] Iſaiah tells us, that "the Medes regarded not ſilver, nor delighted in gold." But the Lydians and Phrygians were exceeding rich, even to a proverb. "*Midas & Crœſus*," ſaith Pliny, "*infinitum poſſederant. Jam Cyrus devictâ Aſiâ auri*] *pondo* xxxiv *millia invenerat, præter vaſa aurea aurumque factum, & in eo folia ac platanum vitemque. Quâ victoriâ argenti quingenta millia talentorum reportavit, & craterem Semiramidis; cujus pondus quindecim talentorum colligebat. Talentum autem Ægyptium pondo octoginta capere, Varro tradit.*" What the conqueror did with all this gold and ſilver appears by the Darics. The Lydians, according to [d] Herodotus, were the firſt who coined gold and ſilver. And Crœſus coined gold monies in plenty, called *Crœſei*; and it was not reaſonable, that the monies of the kings of Lydia ſhould continue current after the overthrow of their kingdom: and therefore Darius recoined it with his own effigies, but without altering the current weight and value. He reigned then from before the conqueſt of Sardes till after the conqueſt of Babylon.

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 71.

[b] Iſa. xiii. 17.

[c] Plin. l. 33. c. 3.

[d] Herod. l. 1. c. 94.

XXVIII. And ſince the cup of Semiramis was preſerved till the conqueſt of Crœſus by Darius; it is not probable, that ſhe could be older, than is repreſented by Herodotus.

XXIX. This conqueſt of the kingdom of Lydia put the Greeks into fear of the Medes. For Theognis, who lived at Megara in the very times of theſe wars (¹), writes thus: [a] BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

[a] Theogn. Γνωμαι, v. 761.

" Πινωμεν, χαριεντα μετ' αλληλοισι λεγοντες,
" Μηδεν τον Μηδων δειδιοτες πολεμον."

" Let us drink, talking pleaſant things with one another,
" Not fearing the war of the Medes."

And again [b]:

[b] Ibid. v. 773.

" Αυτος δε ϛρατον ὑβριϛην Μηδων απερυκε
" Τησδε πολευς, ἱνα σοι λαοι εν ευφροσυνη
" Ηρος επερχομενȣ κλειτας πεμπωσ' ἑκατομβας,
" Τερπομενοι κιθαρῃ και ερατῃ θαλιῃ,
" Παιανωντε χοροις, ιαχαισι τε, σον περι βωμον.
" Η γαρ εγωγε δεδοικ', αφραδιην εσορων
" Και ϛασιν Ἑλληνων λαοφθορον· αλλα συ Φοιβε,
" Ἱλαος ἡμετερην τηνδε φυλασσε πολιν."

" Thou Apollo drive away the injurious army of the Medes
" From this city, that the people may with joy
" Send thee choice hecatombs in the ſpring,
" Delighted with the harp and chearful feaſting,
" And chorus's of Pœans and acclamations about thy altar.
" For truly I am afraid, beholding the folly
" And ſedition of the Greeks, which corrupts the people: but thou, Apollo,
" Being propitious, keep this our city."

The poet tells us further, that diſcord had deſtroyed Magneſia, Colophon, and Smyrna, cities of Ionia and Phrygia, and would deſtroy the Greeks; which is as much as to ſay, that the Medes had then conquered thoſe cities.

XXX. The Medes therefore reigned till the taking of Sardes. And further, according to Xenophon and the Scriptures, they

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(¹) Euſeb. in Chron.

reigned

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reigned till the taking of Babylon. For Xenophon [a] tells us, that after the taking of Babylon, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatane, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom. And Jerom [b], "that Babylon was taken by Darius king of the Medes, "and his kinſman Cyrus." And the Scriptures tell us, that Babylon was deſtroyed by "a nation out of the north" (Jerem. l. 3, 9, 41); by "the kingdoms of Ararat Minni, or Armenia, "and Aſhchenez, or Phrygia Minor" (Jer. li. 27); by the Medes, (Iſa. xiii. 17, 19); "by the kings of the Medes and the captains "and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion" (Jer. li. 11, 28.) The kingdom of Babylon was "numbered, and finiſh-"ed, and broken, and given to the Medes and Perſians" (Dan. v. 26, 28); firſt to the Medes under Darius, and then to the Perſians under Cyrus. For Darius reigned over Babylon like a conqueror, not obſerving the laws of the Babylonians, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations, the Medes and Perſians (Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15); and the Medes in his reign are ſet before the Perſians (Dan. ib. and v. 28, and viii. 20); as the Perſians were afterwards in the reign of Cyrus and his ſucceſſors ſet before the Medes (Eſther i. 3, 14, 18, 19, Dan. x. 1, 20, and xi. 2); which ſhews, that in the reign of Darius the Medes were uppermoſt.

[a] Cyrop. l. 8.

[b] Comment. in Dan. v.

XXXI. You may know alſo by the great number of provinces in the kingdom of Darius, that he was king of the Medes and Perſians. For upon the conqueſt of Babylon, he ſet over the whole kingdom an hundred and twenty princes (Dan. vi. 1); and afterwards when Cambyſes and Darius Hyſtaſpis had added ſome new territories, the whole contained but 127 provinces.

XXXII. The extent of the Babylonian empire was much the ſame with that of Nineveh after the revolt of the Medes. Beroſus ſaith (¹), that Nebuchadnezzar held Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia. And Strabo adds Arbela to the territories of Babylon (²); and ſaying, that Babylon was anciently the metropolis of Aſſyria, he thus deſcribes the limits of this Aſſyrian empire. "[c] Contiguous," ſaith he, "to Perſia and Suſiana are the

[c] Strabo, l. 16. initio.

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(¹) Apud Joſeph. cont. Ap. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 1342.

"Aſſy-

" Aſſyrians: for ſo they called Babylonia, and the greateſt part of the region about it: part of which is Atturia, wherein is Ninus [or Nineveh]; and Apolloniatis, and the Elymæans, and the Parætacæ, and Chalonitis by the mountain Zagrus, and the fields near Ninus, and Dolomene, and Chalachene, and Chazene, and Adiabene, and the nations of Meſopotamia near the Gordyæans, and the Mygdones about Niſibis, unto Zeugma upon Euphrates; and a large region on this ſide Euphrates inhabited by the Arabians and Syrians, properly ſo called, as far as Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Libya, and the ſea of Egypt, and the Sinus Iſſicus." And a little after (³), deſcribing the extent of the Babylonian region, he bounds it on the north, with the Armenians and Medes, unto the mountain Zagrus; on the eaſt ſide, with Suſa and Elymais and Parætacene, incluſively; on the ſouth, with the Perſian Gulph and Chaldæa; and on the weſt, with the *Arabes Scenitæ* as far as Adiabene and Gordyæa. Afterwards ſpeaking of Suſiana and Sitacene, a region between Babylon and Suſa, and of Parætacene, and Coſſæa, and Elymais, and of the Sagapeni and Siloceni, two little adjoining provinces, he concludes [a], "and theſe are the nations which inhabit Babylonia eaſtward: to the north are Media and Armenia, excluſively; and weſtward are Adiabene and Meſopotamia, incluſively: the greateſt part of Adiabene is plain, the ſame being part of Babylonia: in ſome places it borders on Armenia: for the Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians, warred frequently on one another." Thus far Strabo.

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[a] Strab. l. 16. p. 745.

XXXIII. When Cyrus took Babylon, he changed the kingdom into a ſatrapy or province: whereby the bounds were long after known. And by this means Herodotus [b] gives us an eſtimate of the bigneſs of this monarchy in proportion to that of the Perſians; telling us, that "whilſt every region over which the king of Perſia reigned in his days, was diſtributed for the nouriſhment of his army, beſides the tributes, the Babylonian region nouriſhed him four months of the twelve in the year, and all the reſt of Aſia eight: ſo the power of the region," ſaith he, "is equivalent to the third part of Aſia, and its principality,

[b] Herod. l. 1. c. 192.

(²) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 737. (³) ——— p. 739.

which

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"which the Perſians call a ſatrapy, is far the beſt of all the "provinces."

[a] Herod. l. 1. c. 178, &c.

XXXIV. Babylon[a] was a ſquare city of 120 furlongs, or 15 miles on every ſide, compaſſed firſt with a broad and deep ditch, and then with a wall fifty cubits thick, and two hundred high. Euphrates flowed through the middle of it ſouthward, a few leagues on this ſide Tigris: and in the middle of one half, weſtward, ſtood the king's new palace, built by Nebuchadnezzar; and in the middle of the other half ſtood the temple of Belus, with the old palace between that temple and the river. This old palace was built by the Aſſyrians, according to[b] Iſaiah, and by conſequence by Pul and his ſon Nabonaſſar, as above: "they "founded the city for the Arabians, and ſet up the towers there"of, and raiſed the palaces thereof." And at that time Sabacon, the Ethiopian, invaded Egypt, and made great multitudes of Egyptians fly from him into Chaldæa, and carry thither their aſtronomy, and aſtrology, and architecture, and the form of their year, which they preſerved there in the æra of Nabonaſſar. For the practice of obſerving the ſtars began in Egypt in the days of Ammon, as above; and was propagated from thence in the reign of his ſon Seſac into Afric, Europe, and Aſia, by conqueſt; and then Atlas formed the ſphere of the Libyans, and Chiron that of the Greeks, and the Chaldæans alſo made a ſphere of their own. But aſtrology was invented in Egypt by Nichepſos, or Nicepſos, one of the kings of the lower Egypt; and Petoſiris, his prieſt, a little before the days of Sabacon, and propagated thence into Chaldæa, where Zoroaſter, the legiſlator of the Magi, met with it. So Paulinus:

[b] Iſa. xxiii. 13.

"*Quique magos docuit myſteria vana Necepſos.*"

[c] Diod. l. 1. p. 51.

And Diodorus[c], "they ſay that the Chaldæans in Babylonia are "colonies of the Egyptians, and being taught by the prieſts of "Egypt, became famous for aſtrology." By the influence of the ſame colonies, the temple of Jupiter Belus in Babylon ſeems to have been erected in the form of the Egyptian pyramids. For[d] this temple was a ſolid tower or pyramid a furlong ſquare, and a furlong high, with ſeven retractions; which made it appear like

[d] Herod. l. 1. c. 181.

eight

eight towers ſtanding upon one another, and growing leſs and leſs to the top. And in the eighth tower was a temple with a bed and a golden table, kept by a woman, after the manner of the Egyptians in the temple of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes; and above the temple was a place for obſerving the ſtars: they went up to the top of it by ſteps on the outſide, and the bottom was compaſſed with a court, and the court with a building two furlongs in length on every ſide. BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

XXXV. The Babylonians were extremely addicted to ſorcery, inchantments, aſtrology, and divinations (Iſa. xlvii. 9, 12, 13. Dan. ii. 2. and v. 11.) and to the worſhip of idols (Jer. l. 2, 40.) and to feaſting, wine and women. "*Nihil urbis ejus corruptius* "*moribus, nec ad irritandas illiciendaſque immodicas voluptates in-* "*ſtructius. Liberos conjugeſque cum hoſpitibus ſtupro coire, modò* "*pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales* "*ludi totâ Perſide regibus purpuratiſque cordi ſunt: Babylonii maximè in vinum, & quæ ebrietatem ſequuntur, effuſi ſunt. Fæmina-* "*rum convivia ineuntium, in principio modeſtus eſt habitus; dein* "*ſumma quæque amicula exuunt, paulatimque pudorem profanant:* "*ad ultimum, honos auribus ſit, ima corporum velamenta projici-* "*unt. Nec meretricum hoc dedecus eſt, ſed matronarum virgi-* "*numque; apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas.*" Q. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 1. And this lewdneſs of their women, coloured over with the name of civility, was encouraged even by their religion. For it was the cuſtom for their women, once in their life, to ſit in the temple of Venus for the uſe of ſtrangers (¹); which temple they called *Succoth Benoth* (²), the temple of women. And when any woman was once ſat there, ſhe was not to depart till ſome ſtranger threw money into her boſom, took her away, and lay with her; and the money being for ſacred uſes, ſhe was obliged to accept of it how little ſoever, and follow the ſtranger.

XXXVI. The Perſians being conquered by the Medes about the middle of the reign of Zedekiah, continued in ſubjection under them till the end of the reign of Darius the Mede: and

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(¹) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 199.

(²) Vid. Selden De Dis Syris Syntagm. 2.

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Cyrus, who was of the royal family of the Perſians, might be Satrapa of Perſia, and command a body of their forces under Darius; but was not yet an abſolute and independant king. But after the taking of Babylon, when he had a victorious army at his devotion, and Darius was returned from Babylon into Media, he revolted from Darius, in conjunction with the Perſians under him [a]; they being incited thereunto by Harpagus, a Mede, whom Xenophon calls Artagerſes and Atabazus, and who had aſſiſted Cyrus in conquering Crœſus and Aſia Minor, and had been injured by Darius (1). Harpagus was ſent by Darius with an army againſt Cyrus; and in the midſt of a battle revolted with part of the army to Cyrus (2). Darius got up a freſh army (3), and the next year the two armies fought again. This laſt battle was fought at Paſargadæ in Perſia, according to [b] Strabo; and there Darius was beaten and taken priſoner by Cyrus (4), and the monarchy was by this victory tranſlated to the Perſians. The laſt king of the Medes is by Xenophon called Cyaxeres; and by Herodotus, Aſtyages, the father of Mandane. But theſe kings were dead before; and Daniel lets us know that Darius was the true name of the laſt king; and Herodotus [c], that the laſt king was conquered by Cyrus in the manner above deſcribed; and the Darics coined by the laſt king teſtify, that his name was Darius.

[a] Suidas in Αρισταρχος. Herod. l. 1. c. 123, &c.

[b] Strabo, l. 15. p. 730.

[c] Herod. l. 1. c. 127, &c.

XXXVII. This victory over Darius was about two years after the taking of Babylon. For the reign of Nabonnedus, the laſt king of the Chaldees, whom Joſephus calls Nabcandel and Belſhazzar, ended in the year of Nabonaſſar 210, nine years before the death of Cyrus, according to the canon. But after the tranſlation of the kingdom of the Medes to the Perſians, Cyrus reigned only ſeven years, according to [d] Xenophon; and ſpending the ſeven winter months yearly at Babylon, the three ſpring months yearly at Suſa, and the two ſummer months at Ecbatane, he came the ſeventh time into Perſia, and died there in the ſpring, and was buried at Paſargadæ (1). By the canon, and the com-

[d] Cyrop. l. 8. p. 233.

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(1) Herodot. lib. 1. c. 119. (2) ——— c. 127.
(3) ——— c. 128. (4) ——— c. 128—130.

mon

mon conſent of all chronologers, he died in the year of Nabonaſſar 219; and therefore conquered Darius in the year of Nabonaſſar 212, ſeventy and two years before the deſtruction of Nineveh ([2]); and beat him the firſt time in the year of Nabonaſſar 211, and revolted from him, and became king of the Perſians either the ſame year, or in the end of the year before. At his death he was ſeventy years old, according to Herodotus; and therefore he was born in the year of Nabonaſſar 149; his mother Mandane being the ſiſter of Cyaxeres, at that time a young man, and alſo the ſiſter of Amyite, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar; and his father Cambyſes being of the old royal family of the Perſians. BABYLONIANS AND MEDES.

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([1]) Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730.

([2]) See chap. 3. § XX.

CHAP. V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

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THE temple of Solomon being deſtroyed by the Babylonians, it may not be amiſs here to give a deſcription of that edifice.

[a] Ezek. xli. 13, 14.
[b] Ezek. xl. 47.

This [a] temple looked eaſtward, and ſtood in a ſquare area, called the Separate Place: and [b] before it ſtood the Altar, in the center of another ſquare area, called the Inner Court, or Court of the Prieſts: and theſe two ſquare areas, being parted only by a marble rail, made an area 200 cubits long from weſt to eaſt, and 100 cubits broad. This area was compaſſed on the weſt with a wall; and [c] on the other three ſides with a pavement 50 cubits broad, upon which ſtood the buildings for the prieſts, with cloyſters under them: and the pavement was faced on the inſide with a marble rail before the cloyſters: the whole made an area 250 cubits long from weſt to eaſt, and 200 broad, and was compaſſed with an outward court, called alſo the Great Court, or Court of the People, [d] which was 100 cubits broad on every ſide; for there were but two courts built by Solomon: and the outward court was about four cubits lower than the inward, and was compaſſed on the weſt with a wall, and on the other three ſides [e] with a pavement 50 cubits broad, upon which ſtood the buildings for the people. All this was the [f] Sanctuary, and made a ſquare area 500 cubits long, and 500 broad, and was [f] compaſſed with a walk, called the Mountain of the Houſe: and this walk being 50 cubits broad, was compaſſed with a wall ſix cubits broad, and ſix high, and 600 long on every ſide: and the

[c] Ezek. xl. 29, 33, 36.
[d] Ezek. xl. 19, 23, 27. 2 King. xxi. 5. 2 Chron. iv. 9.
[e] Ezek. xl. 15, 17, 21. 1 Chron. xxviii. 12.
[f] Ezek. xl. 5. xlii. 20, and xlv. 2.

the cubit was about $21\frac{1}{2}$, or almoſt 22 inches of the Engliſh foot, being the ſacred cubit of the Jews; which was an hand-breadth, or the ſixth part of its length, bigger than the common cubit. TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

II. The Altar ſtood in the center of the whole; and in the buildings of [a] both courts over againſt the middle of the Altar, eaſtward, ſouthward, and northward, were gates [b] 25 cubits broad between the buildings, and 40 long; with porches of ten cubits more, looking towards the Altar Court, which made the whole length of the gates 50 cubits croſs the pavements. Every gate had two doors, one at either end, ten cubits wide, and twenty high, with poſts and threſholds ſix cubits broad. Within the gates was an area 28 cubits long between the threſholds, and 13 cubits wide: and on either ſide of this area were three poſts, each ſix cubits ſquare, and twenty high, with arches five cubits wide between them: all which poſts and arches filled the 28 cubits in length between the threſholds; and their breadth being added to the 13 cubits, made the whole breadth of the gates 25 cubits. Theſe poſts were hollow, and had rooms in them with narrow windows for the porters, and a ſtep before them a cubit broad: and the walls of the porches being ſix cubits thick, were alſo hollow for ſeveral uſes. At the eaſt gate of the Peoples' Court, called the King's Gate, [c] were ſix porters; at the ſouth gate, were four; and at the north gate, were four. The people [d] went in and out at the ſouth and north gates: the [e] eaſt gate was opened only for the king, and in this gate he ate the ſacrifices. There were alſo four gates or doors in the weſtern wall of the Mountain of the Houſe: of theſe [f] the moſt northern, called Shallecheth, or the Gate of the Cauſey, led to the king's palace; the valley between being filled up with a cauſey. The next gate, called Parbar, led to the ſuburbs Millo. The third and fourth gates, called Aſuppim, led the one to Millo, the other to the city of Jeruſalem; there being ſteps down into the valley, a[illegible] up again into the city. At the gate Shallecheth were four [illegible]s; at the other three gates were ſix porters, two at each [illegible]te. The houſe of the porters who had the charge of the north [illegible]e of the People's Court, had alſo the charge of the gates

[a] 2 King. xxi. 5.

[b] Ezek. xl.

Plate I.

[c] 1 Chron. xxvi. 17.

[d] Ezek. xlvi. 8, 9.

[e] Ezek. xliv. 2, 3.

[f] 1 Chron. xxvi. 15—18.

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Shallecheth and Parbar; and the houſe of the porters who had the charge of the ſouth gate of the People's Court, had alſo the charge of the other two gates called Aſuppim.

III. They came through the four weſtern gates into the Mountain of the Houſe; and [a] went up from the Mountain of the Houſe to the gates of the People's Court by ſeven ſteps, and from the People's Court to the gates of the Prieſt's Court by eight ſteps: and the arches in the ſides of the gates of both courts led into cloyſters [b] under a double building, ſupported by three rows of marble pillars, which butted directly upon the middles of the ſquare poſts, and ran along from thence upon the pavements towards the corners of the courts. The axes of the pillars in the middle row being eleven cubits diſtant from the axes of the pillars in the other two rows on either hand; and the building joining to the ſides of the gates: the pillars were three cubits in diameter below, and their baſes four cubits and an half ſquare. The gates and buildings of both courts were alike, and [c] faced their courts: the cloyſters of all the buildings, and the porches of all the gates looking towards the Altar. The row of pillars on the backſides of the cloyſters adhered to marble walls, which bounded the cloyſters and ſupported the buildings. Theſe buildings were three ſtories high above the cloyſters, and [d] were ſupported in each of thoſe ſtories by a row of cedar beams, or pillars of cedar, ſtanding above the middle row of the marble pillars: the buildings on either ſide of every gate of the People's Court being $187\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long, were diſtinguiſhed into five chambers on a floor, running in length from the gates to the corners of the courts: there [e] being in all thirty chambers in a ſtory, where the people ate the ſacrifices, or thirty exhedras, each of which contained three chambers, a lower, a middle, and an upper. Every exhedra was $37\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long, being ſupported by four pillars in each row, whoſe baſes were $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits ſquare, and the diſtances between their baſes $6\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, and the diſtances between the axes of the pillars eleven cubits: and where two exhedras joined, there the baſes of their pillars joined; the axes of thoſe two pillars being only $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits diſtant from one another: and perhaps for ſtrengthening the building, the ſpace

[a] Ezek. xl. 22, 26, 31, 34, 37.

Plate II and III.

[b] 1 King. vi. 36. & vii. 12. Ezek. xl. 17, 18.

[c] Ezek. xl. 19, 31 34, 37.

Plate I.

[d] 1 King. vi. 36, & vii. 12.

[e] Ezek. xl. 17.

Plate III.

3 between

between the axes of theſe two pillars in the front was filled up with a marble column $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits ſquare, the two pillars ſtanding half out on either ſide of the ſquare column. At the ends of theſe buildings, [a] in the four corners of the People's Court, were little courts fifty cubits ſquare on the outſide of their walls, and forty on the inſide thereof, for ſtair-caſes to the buildings, and kitchins to bake and boil the ſacrifices for the people; the kitchin being thirty cubits broad, and the ſtair-caſe ten. The buildings on either ſide of the gates of the Prieſts Court were alſo $37\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long, and contained each of them one great chamber in a ſtory, ſubdivided into ſmaller rooms, for the great officers of the temple, and princes of the prieſts. And in the ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt corners of this court, at the ends of the buildings, were kitchins and ſtair-caſes for the great officers; and perhaps rooms for laying up wood for the Altar.

TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

Plate I and II.

[a] Ezek. xlvi. 21, 22.

IV. In the eaſtern gate of the People's Court ſat a court of judicature, compoſed of 23 elders. The eaſtern gate of the Prieſts Court, with the buildings on either ſide, was for the high-prieſt, and his deputy the Sagan; and for the Sanhedrim, or Supreme Court of Judicature, compoſed of 70 elders. [b] The building or exhedra on the eaſtern ſide of the ſouthern gate, was for the prieſts who had the overſight of the charge of the Sanctuary with its treaſuries: and theſe were, firſt, two Catholikim; who were high-treaſurers and ſecretaries to the high-prieſt; and examined, ſtated, and prepared all acts and accounts to be ſigned and ſealed by him: then ſeven Amarcholim; who kept the keys of the ſeven locks of every gate of the Sanctuary, and thoſe alſo of the treaſuries; and had the overſight, direction, and appointment of all things in the Sanctuary: then three or more Giſbarim, or under-treaſurers, or receivers; who kept the holy veſſels, and the publick money, and received or diſpoſed of ſuch ſums as were brought in for the ſervice of the temple, and accounted for the ſame. All theſe, with the high-prieſt, compoſed the ſupreme council for managing the affairs of the temple.

[b] Ezek. xl. 45.

V. The ſacrifices [c] were killed on the northern ſide of the Altar, and flea'd, cut in pieces and ſalted in the northern gate of the temple; and therefore the building or exhedra on the eaſtern

[c] Ezek. xl. 39, 41, 42, 46.

ſide

CHAPTER FIFTH. ſide of this gate, was for the prieſts who had the overſight of the charge of the Altar, and daily ſervice: and theſe officers were, He that received money of the people for purchaſing things for the ſacrifices, and gave out thickets for the ſame; He that, upon ſight of the tickets, delivered the wine, flower, and oil purchaſed; He that was over the lots, whereby every prieſt attending on the Altar had his duty aſſigned; He that, upon ſight of the tickets, delivered out the doves and pigeons purchaſed; He that adminiſtered phyſic to the prieſts attending; He that was over the waters; He that was over the times, and did the duty of a crier, calling the prieſts or Levites to attend in their miniſteries; He that opened the gates in the morning to begin the ſervice, and ſhut them in the evening when the ſervice was done, and for that end received the keys of the Amarcholim, and returned them when he had done his duty; He that viſited the night-watches; He that by a cymbal called the Levites to their ſtations for ſinging; He that appointed the hymns and ſet the tune; and he that took care of the ſhew-bread. There were alſo officers who took care of the perfume, the veil, and the wardrobe of the prieſts.

VI. The exhedra on the weſtern ſide of the ſouth gate, and that on the weſtern ſide of the north gate, were for the princes of the four and twenty courſes of the prieſts, one exhedra for twelve of the princes, and the other exhedra for the other twelve. And upon the pavement on either ſide of the Separate Place [a] were other buildings without cloyſters, for the four and twenty courſes of the prieſts to eat the ſacrifices, and lay up their garments and the moſt holy things: each pavement being 100 cubits long, and 50 broad, had buildings on either ſide of it twenty cubits broad, with a walk or alley ten cubits broad between them. The building which bordered upon the Separate Place was an hundred cubits long, and that next the People's Court but fifty; the other fifty cubits weſtward [b] being for a ſtair-caſe and kitchin. Theſe buildings [c] were three ſtories high; and the middle ſtory was narrower in the front than the lower ſtory, and the upper ſtory ſtill narrower, to make room for galleries; for they had galleries before them, and under the galleries were cloſets for laying

Plate II.

[a] Ezek. xlii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 13, 14.

[b] Ezek. xlvi. 1, 20.

[c] Ezek. xlii. 5, 6.

laying up the holy things, and the garments of the prieſts; and theſe galleries were towards the walk or alley, which ran between the buildings.

VII. They went up from the Prieſts Court to the porch of the temple by ten ſteps: and the [a] houſe of the temple was twenty cubits broad, and ſixty long within; or thirty broad, and ſeventy long, including the walls; or ſeventy cubits broad, and ninety long, including a building of treaſure-chambers, which was twenty cubits broad on three ſides of the houſe; and if the porch be alſo included, the temple was [b] an hundred cubits long. The treaſure-chambers were built of cedar, between the wall of the temple, and another wall without: they were built [c] in two rows three ſtories high, and opened door againſt door into a walk or gallery which ran along between them, and was five cubits broad in every ſtory; ſo that the breadth of the chambers on either ſide of the gallery, including the breadth of the wall to which they adjoined, was ten cubits; and the whole breadth of the gallery and chambers, and both walls, was five and twenty cubits: the chambers [d] were five cubits broad in the lower ſtory, ſix broad in the middle ſtory, and ſeven broad in the upper ſtory; for the wall of the temple was built with retractions of a cubit, to reſt the timber upon. Ezekiel repreſents the chambers a cubit narrower, and the walls a cubit thicker than they were in Solomon's temple. There were [e] thirty chambers in a ſtory; in all ninety chambers; and they were five cubits high in every ſtory. The [f] porch of the temple was 120 cubits high, and its length from ſouth to north equalled the breadth of the houſe. The houſe was three ſtories high, which made the height of the Holy Place three times thirty cubits, and that of the Moſt Holy three times twenty. The upper rooms were treaſure-chambers. They [g] went up to the middle chamber by winding ſtairs in the ſouthern ſhoulder of the houſe, and from the middle into the upper.

[a] 1 King. vi. 2. Ezek. xli. 2, 4, 12, 13, 14.

[b] 1 King. vi. 3. Ezek. xli. 13.

[c] Ezek. xli. 6, 11.

[d] 1 King. vi. 6.

[e] Ezek. xli. 6.

[f] 2 Chron. iii. 4.

[g] 1 King. vi. 8.

VIII. Some time after this temple was built, the Jews [h] added a New Court on the eaſtern ſide of the Prieſts Court, before the King's Gate; and therein built [i] a covert for the ſabbath. This court was not meaſured by Ezekiel; but the dimenſions thereof

[h] 2 Chron. xx. 5.

[i] 2 King. xvi. 18.

CHAPTER FIFTH. may be gathered from thoſe of the Womens' Court in the ſecond temple, built after the example thereof. For when Nebuchadnezzar had deſtroyed the firſt temple, Zerubbabel, by the commiſſions of Cyrus and Darius, built another upon the ſame area, excepting the Outward Court, which was left open to the Gentiles: and this temple [a] was ſixty cubits long, and ſixty broad, being only two ſtories in height, and having only one row of treaſure-chambers about it. And on either ſide of the Prieſts Court were double buildings for the prieſts, built upon three rows of marble pillars in the lower ſtory, with a row of cedar beams or pillars in the ſtories above: and the cloyſter in the lower ſtory looked towards the Prieſts Court: and the Separate Place, and Prieſts Court, with their buildings on the north and ſouth ſides, and the Womens' Court, at the eaſt end, took up an area three hundred cubits long, and two hundred broad, the Altar ſtanding in the center of the whole. The Womens' Court was ſo named, becauſe the women came into it as well as the men. There were galleries for the women; and the men worſhipped upon the ground below: and in this ſtate the ſecond temple continued all the reign of the Perſians; but afterwards ſuffered ſome alterations, eſpecially in the days of Herod.

[a] Ezra vi. 3, 4.

IX. This deſcription of the temple being taken principally from Ezekiel's viſion thereof; and the ancient Hebrew copy followed by the Seventy, differing in ſome readings from the copy followed by the editors of the preſent Hebrew; I will here ſubjoin that part of the viſion which relates to the Outward Court, as I have deduced it from the preſent Hebrew, and the verſion of the Seventy, compared together.

EZEKIEL, chap. xl. ver. 5, &c.

" And behold a wall on the outſide of the houſe round about," *at the diſtance of fifty cubits from it, aabb:* " and in the man's " hand a meaſuring reed ſix cubits long by the cubit, and an " hand-breadth: ſo he meaſured the breadth of the building, *or* " *wall*, one reed, and the height one reed. Then came he unto " the gate *of the houſe*, which looketh towards the eaſt, and

" went

"went up the ſeven ſteps thereof, AB, and meaſured the threſ- "hold of the gate, CD, which was one reed broad, and the *por-* "*ters* little chamber, EFG, one reed long, and one reed broad; "and the arched paſſage between the little chambers, FH, five "cubits: and the ſecond little chamber, HIK, a reed broad and "a reed long; and the arched paſſage, IL, five cubits: and the "third little chamber LMN, a reed long and a reed broad: and "the threſhold of the gate next the porch of the gate within, "OP, one reed: and he meaſured the porch of the gate, QR, "eight cubits; and the poſts thereof, ST, *st*, two cubits; and "the porch of the gate, QR, was inward, *or toward the inward* "*court*; and the little chambers, EF, HI, LM, *ef*, *hi*, *lm*, were "*outward*, *or* to the eaſt; three on this ſide, and three on that "ſide *of the gate*. There was one meaſure of the three, and "one meaſure of the poſts on this ſide, and on that ſide; and "he meaſured the breadth of the door of the gate, C*c*, *or* D*d* "ten cubits; and the breadth of the gate *within between the lit-* "*tle chambers*, E*e or* F*f*, thirteen cubits; and the limit, or mar- "gin, or ſtep before the little chambers, EM, one cubit on this "ſide, and the ſtep, *em*, one cubit on the other ſide; and the "little chambers, EFG, HIK, LMN, *efg*, *hik*, *lmn*, were ſix cubits "*broad* on this ſide, and ſix cubits *broad* on that ſide: and he "meaſured *the whole breadth of* the gate, from the *further* wall "of one little chamber to the *further* wall of another little cham- "ber: the breadth, G*g or* K*k*, *or* N*n*, was twenty and five cu- "bits *through*; door, FH, againſt door, *fh*: and he meaſured "the poſts, EF, HI, *and* LM, *ef*, *hi*, *and lm*, twenty cubits *high*; "and at the poſts there were gates, *or arched paſſages*, FH, IL, "*fh*, *il*, round about; and from the *eaſtern* face of the gate at "the entrance, C*c*, to the *weſtern* face of the porch of the gate "within, T*t*, were fifty cubits: and there were narrow windows "to the little chambers, and to the porch within the gate, round "about, and likewiſe to the poſts; even windows were round "about within; and upon each poſt palm-trees.

TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

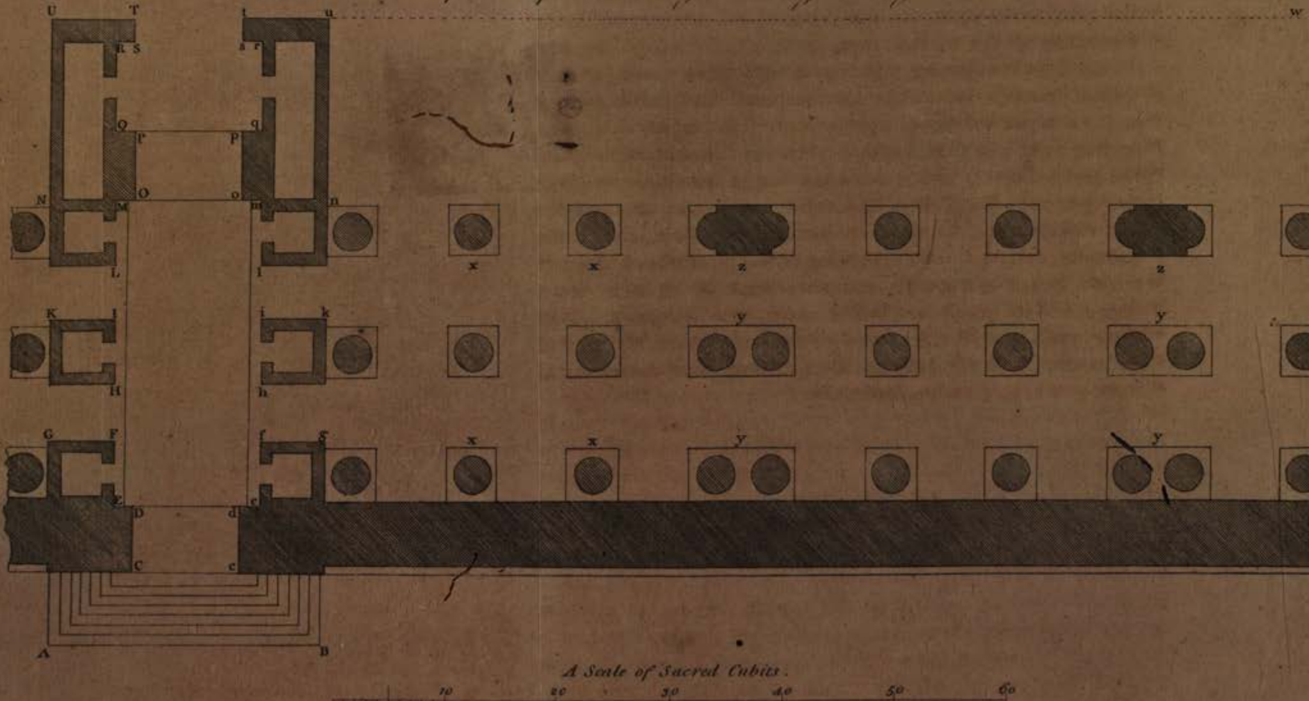
"Then he brought me into the Outward Court, and lo there "were chambers, and a pavement with pillars upon it in the "court round about; thirty chambers *in length* upon the pave- Plate I.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

"ment, ſupported by the pillars, *ten chambers on every ſide, ex-*
"*cept the weſtern*: and the pavement butted upon the ſhoulders
"or ſides of the gates below, *every gate having five chambers or*
"*exhedræ on either ſide.* And he meaſured the breadth *of the*
"*Outward Court*, from the fore-front of the lower gate, to the
"fore-front of the inward court, an hundred cubits weſtward.

"Then he brought me northward, and there was a gate that
"looked towards the north; he meaſured the length thereof,
"and the breadth thereof, and the little chambers thereof, three
"on this ſide, and three on that ſide; and the poſts thereof, and
"the porch thereof, and it was according to the meaſures of the
"firſt gate; its length was fifty cubits, and its breadth was five
"and twenty: and the windows thereof, and the porch and the
"palm-trees thereof *were* according to the meaſures of the gate
"which looked to the eaſt; and they went up to it by ſeven
"ſteps: and its porch was before them, *that is inward.* And
"there was a gate of the inward court over againſt *this* gate of
"the north, as *in the gates* to the eaſtward: and he meaſured
"from gate to gate an hundred cubits."

A Particular Description of one of the Gates of the Peoples Court, with part of the Cloyster adjoining.



u.w. The inner Margin of the Pavement compaſsing three sides of the Peoples Court. x.x.x. &c. The Pillars of the Cloyster supporting the Buildings for the People.
y.y.y.y. Double Pillars where two Exhedræ joined, and whose interstices in the front z.z. were filled up with a square Column of Marble.
Note. The preceding letters of this Plate refer to the description in page

A Deſcription of THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

ABCD. *The Separate Place in which ſtood the Temple.*

ABEF. *The Court of the Prieſts.*

G. *The Altar.*

DHLKICEFD. *A Pavement compaſsing three sides of the forementiond Courts, and upon which ſtood the Buildings for the Priests, with Cloysters under them.*

MNOP. *The Court of the People.*

MQTSRN. *A Pavement compaſsing three sides of the Peoples Court, upon which ſtood the Buildings for the People, with Cloysters under them*

UXYZ. *The Mountain of the House.*

aabb. *A Wall encloſing the whole.*

c. *The Gate Shallecheth.*

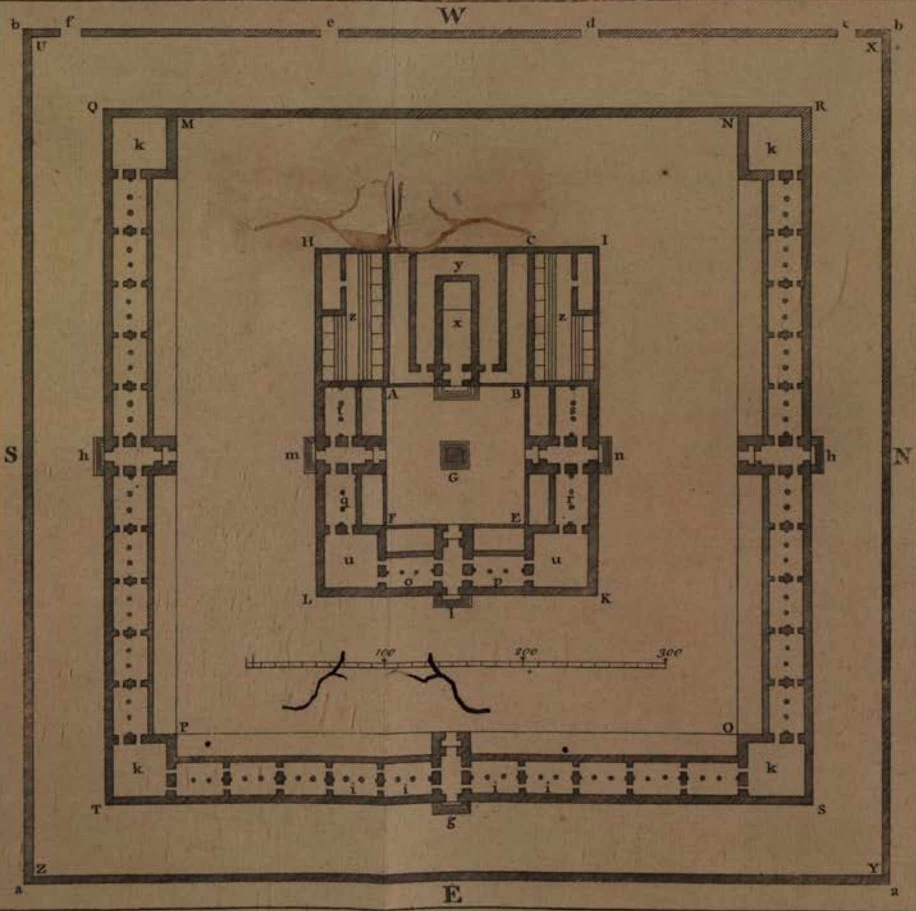
d. *The Gate Parbar.*

e.f. *The two Gates Aſsupim.*

g. *The East Gate of the Peoples Court, called the Kings Gate.*

hh. *The North and South Gates of the ſame Courts.*

iiii. *The Chambers over the Cloysters of the Peoples Court, where the People ate the Sacrifices; 30 Chambers in each Story.*



kkkk. *Four little Courts serving for Stair-Caſses and Kitchins for the People.*

l. *The Eastern Gate of the Prieſts Court, over which sate the Sanhedrim.*

m. *The Southern Gate of the Priests Court.*

n. *The Northern Gate of the ſame Court, where the Sacrifices where flea'd, &c.*

o.p.q.r.s.t. *The Buildings over the Cloysters for the Priests, viz. six large Chambers (subdivided) in each Story whereof* o. *and* p. *were for the High Priest and Sagan.* q. *for the Overseers of the Sanctuary and Treasury:* r. *for the Overseers of the Altar and Sacrifice: and* s. *&* t. *for the Princes of the twenty-four Courſes of Prieſts.*

u.u. *Two Courts in which were Stair-Caſes and Kitchins for the Prieſts.*

x. *The House or Temple which (together with the Treasure Chambers* y. *and Buildings* z.z. *on each side of the Separate Place) is more particularly described in the second Plate.*

A Description of the Inner Court — and — Buildings for the Priests in Solomons Temple.

A.B.C.D. *The Separate Place.*

A.B.E.F. *The Inner Court, or Court of the Prieſts, parted from the Separate Place, and Pavement on the other three sides, by a marble rail.*

G. *The Altar.*

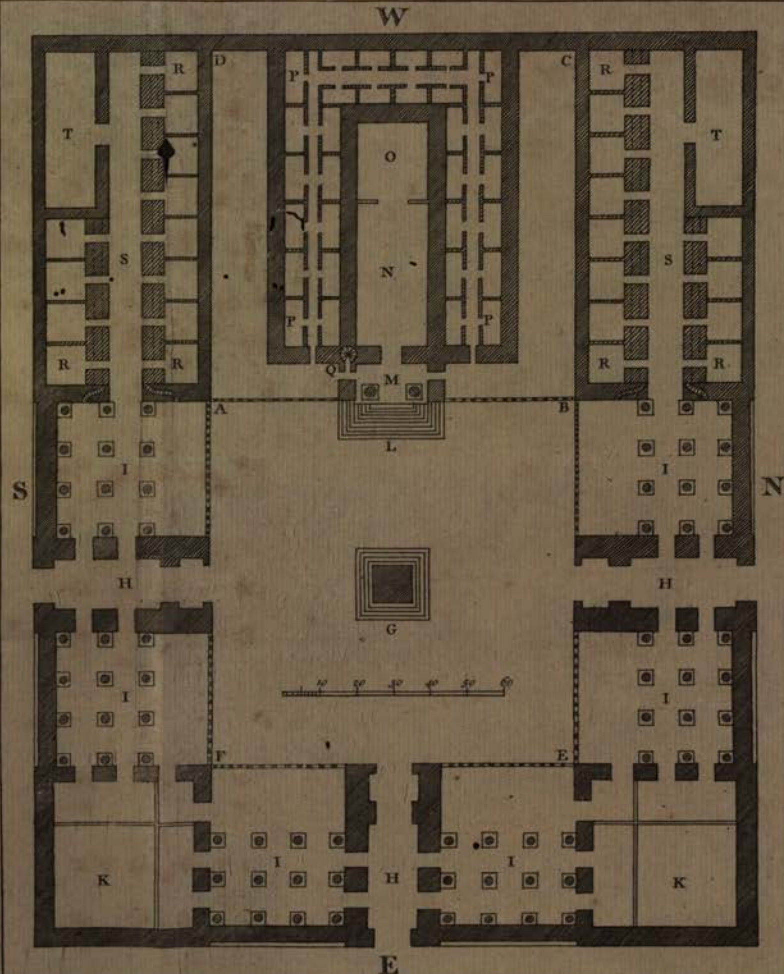
H.H.H. *The East, South, and North Gates of the Priests Court.*

I.I.I. &c. — *The Cloysters supporting the Buildings for the Priests.*

K.K. *Two Courts in which were Stair Caſes and Kitchins for the Priests.*

L. *Ten Steps to the Porch of the Temple.*

M. *The Porch of the Temple.*



N. *The Holy Place.*

O. *The most Holy Place.*

P.P.P.P. *Thirty Treasure Chambers, in two rows, opening into a gallery, door against door, and compaſsing three sides of the Holy and most Holy Places.*

Q. *The Stairs leading to the Middle Chamber.*

R.R.R.R. &c. *The buildings for the four and twenty Courses of Prieſts, upon the Pavement on either side of the Separate Place, three Stories high without Cloysters, but the upper Stories narrower than the lower, to make room for Galleries before them. There were 24 Chambers in each Story and they opened into a walk or alley, S.S. between the Buildings.*

T.T. *Two Courts in which were Kitchins for the Priests of the twenty four Courses.*

Basire sc.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS.

CYRUS having tranſlated the monarchy to the Perſians, and reigned ſeven years, was ſucceeded by his ſon Cambyſes; who reigned ſeven years and five months (¹), and in the three laſt years of his reign ſubdued Egypt. He was ſucceeded by Mardus, or Smerdis the Magus, who feigned himſelf to be Smerdis the brother of Cambyſes (¹). PERSIANS.

II. Smerdis reigned ſeven months, and in the eighth month being diſcovered (¹), was ſlain, with a great number of the Magi (²); ſo the Perſians called their prieſts, and in memory of this kept an anniverſary day, which they called, The Slaughter of the Magi (²). Then reigned Maraphus and Artaphernes a few days (³); and after them Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, the ſon of Arſamenes (⁴), of the family of Achæmenes, a Perſian, being choſen king by the neighing of his horſe (⁵): before he reigned his [a] name was Ochus. He ſeems on this occaſion to have reformed the conſtitution of the Magi, making his father Hyſtaſpes their maſter, or *Archimagus*. For Porphyrius tells us, [b] that "the Magi were a ſort of men ſo venerable amongſt the "Perſians, that Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, wrote on the mo-

[a] Valer. Max. l. 9. c. 2.

[b] Porph. de Abſtinentia, lib. 4.

CHAP. VI. § I.

(¹) Herodot. lib. 3. c. 66.

§ II.

(¹) Herodot. lib. 3. c. 67, 68. (²) ———— c. 79. (³) Æſchyl. Perſæ. lin. 780.

(⁴) Or Arſames, the ſon of Armnes, the ſon of Teiſpeus, the ſon of Cyrus, the ſon of Cambyſes, the ſon of Teiſpeus, the ſon of Achæmenes. Herodot. lib. 7. c. 11.

(⁵) Herodot. lib. 3. c. 84—88.

" nument of his father," amongſt other things, " that he had " been the maſter of the Magi." In this reformation of the Magi, Hyſtaſpes was aſſiſted by Zoroaſtres. So Agathias; " the " Perſians at this day ſay ſimply, that Zoroaſtres lived under " Hyſtaſpes." And Apuleius; *Pythagoram, aiunt, inter captivos " Cambyſæ Regis* [*ex Ægypto Babylonem abductos*] *doctores habuiſſe " Perſarum Magos, & præcipue Zoroaſtrem, omnis divini arcani " antiſtitem* (6)." By Zoroaſtres's converſing at Babylon, he ſeems to have borrowed his ſkill from the Chaldæans; for he was ſkilled in aſtronomy, and uſed their year. So Q. Curtius; " [a] *Magi " proximi patrium carmen canebant: Magos trecenti & ſexaginta " quinque juvenes ſequebantur, puniceis amiculis velati, diebus to- " tius anni pares numero.*" And Ammianus; " *Scientiæ multa " ex Chaldæorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroaſtres.*" From his converſing in ſeveral places he is reckoned a Chaldæan, an Aſſyrian, a Mede, a Perſian, a Bactrian. Suidas calls him [b] a Perſo-Mede; and ſaith, that he was " the moſt ſkilful of aſtro- " nomers, and firſt author of the name of the Magi received " among them." This ſkill in aſtronomy he had doubtleſs from the Chaldæans. But Hyſtaſpes travelled into India, to be inſtructed by the Gymnoſophiſts. And theſe two conjoining their ſkill and authority, inſtituted a new ſet of prieſts or Magi, and inſtructed them in ſuch ceremonies and myſteries of religion and philoſophy as they thought fit to eſtabliſh for the religion and philoſophy of that empire; and theſe inſtructed others, till from a ſmall number they grew to a great multitude. For Suidas tells us, that " Zoroaſtres gave a beginning to the name of the " Magi." And Elmacinus; that " he reformed the religion of " the Perſians, which before was divided into many ſects." And Agathias; that " he introduced the religion of the Magi among " the Perſians, changing their ancient ſacred rites, and bringing " in ſeveral opinions. And Ammianus [c] tells us, " *Magiam eſſe " divinorum incorruptiſſimum cultum; cujus ſcientiæ ſeculis priſcis " multa ex Chaldæorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroaſtres: de- " inde Hyſtaſpes, Rex prudentiſſimus, Darii pater; qui quum ſupe- " rioris Indiæ ſecreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemoroſam quandam*

[a] Q. Curt. lib. iii. c. 3.

[b] Suidas in Ζωροαστρης.

[c] Ammian. l. 23. c. 6.

(6) Florida XV.

" *venerat*

"venerat ſolitudinem, cujus tranquillis ſilentiis præcelſa Brachma- PERSIANS.
"norum ingenia potiuntur; eorumque monitu rationes mundani "motûs & ſiderum, puroſque ſacrorum ritus, quantum colligere po-"tuit, eruditus, ex his quæ didicit, aliqua ſenſibus Magorum infu-"dit: quæ illi cum diſciplinis præſentiendi futura, per ſuam quiſ-"que progeniem, poſteris ætatibus tradunt. Ex eo per ſæcula "multa ad præſens, unâ eâdemque proſapiâ multitudo creata Deo-"rum cultibus dedicatur. Feruntque, ſi juſtum eſt credi, etiam "ignem cœlitus lapſum apud ſe ſempiternis foculis cuſtodiri; cujus "portionem exiguam, ut fauſtam, præiſſe quondam Aſiaticis Regibus "dicunt. Hujus originis apud veteres numerus erat exilis; ejuſque "myſteriis Perſicæ poteſtates in faciendis rebus divinis ſolemniter ute-"bantur. Eratque piaculum aquas adire, vel hoſtiam contrectare, "antequam Magus, conceptis precationibus, libamenta diffunderet "præcurſoria. Verùm aucti paullatim, in amplitudinem gentis ſo-"lidæ conceſſerunt & nomen: villaſque inhabitantes, nullâ muro-"rum firmitudine communitas, & legibus ſuis uti permiſſi, reli-"gionis reſpectu ſunt bonorati." So this empire was at firſt compoſed of many nations, each of which had hitherto its own religion. But now Hyſtaſpes and Zoroaſtres collected what they conceived to be beſt; eſtabliſhed it by law, and taught it to others; and thoſe to others, till their diſciples became numerous enough for the prieſthood of the whole empire: and inſtead of thoſe various old religions, they ſet up their own inſtitutions in the whole empire, much after the manner that Numa contrived and inſtituted the religion of the Romans: and this religion of the Perſian empire was compoſed partly of the inſtitutions of the Chaldæans, in which Zoroaſtres was well ſkilled, and partly of the inſtitutions of the ancient Brachmans; who are ſuppoſed to derive even their name from the Abrahamans, or ſons of Abraham, born of his ſecond wife Keturah, inſtructed by their father in the worſhip of ONE GOD without images, and ſent into the eaſt; where Hyſtaſpes was inſtructed by their ſucceſſors. About the ſame time with Hyſtaſpes and Zoroaſtres lived alſo Oſtanes, another eminent Magus. Pliny places him under Darius Hyſtaſpis (7)

(7) Pliny places him under Xerxes, and ſays, that the moſt accurate writers made Zoroaſter a little older. Lib. 30. c. 1.

and

CHAPTER SIXTH.

and Suidas makes him the follower of Zoroaſtres ([8]). He came into Greece with Xerxes ([9]); and ſeems to be the Otanes of Herodotus, who diſcovered Smerdis ([10]), and formed the conſpiracy againſt him; and for that ſervice was honoured by the conſpirators, and exempt from ſubjection to Darius ([11]).

III. In the ſacred commentary of the Perſian rites theſe words are aſcribed to Zoroaſtres; "[a] Ὁ Θεος εϛι κεφαλην εχων ἱερακος. " ȣτος εϛιν ὁ πρωτος, αφθαρτος, αιδιος, ἀγεννητος, αμερης, ανομοιοτατος, " ἡνιοχος παντος καλȣ, αδωροδοκητος, αγαθων αγαθωτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμωτατος· εϛι δε και πατηρ ευνομιας και δικαιοσυνης, αυτοδιδακτος, " φυσικος, και τελειος, και σοφος, και ἱερȣ φυσικȣ μονος ἑυρετης." "*Deus " eſt accipitris capite: hic eſt primus, incorruptibilis, æternus, ingenitus, ſine partibus, omnibus aliis diſſimillimus, moderator omnis boni, donis non capiendus, bonorum optimus, prudentium prudentiſſimus, legum æquitatis ac juſtitiæ parens, ipſe ſui doctor, " phyſicus & perfectus & ſapiens & ſacri phyſici unicus inventor.*" And the ſame was taught by Oſtanes, in his book called Octateuchus. This was the ancient god of the Perſian Magi; and they worſhipped him by keeping a perpetual fire for ſacrifices upon an altar in the center of a round area, compaſſed with a ditch, without any temple in the place, and without paying any worſhip to the dead, or any images. But in a ſhort time they declined from the worſhip of this Eternal, Inviſible God, to worſhip the ſun, and the fire, and dead men, and images, as the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Chaldæans had done before: and from theſe ſuperſtitions, and the pretending to prognoſtications, the words *Magi* and *Magia*, which ſignify the prieſts and religion of the Perſians, came to be taken in an ill ſenſe.

[a] Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. ult.

IV. Darius, or Darab, began his reign in ſpring, in the ſixteenth year of the empire of the Perſians, anno Nabonaſſ. 227, and reigned 36 years, by the unanimous conſent of all chronologers. In the ſecond year ([1]) of his reign the Jews began to

([8]) Suidas makes him the next to Zoroaſter in the ſucceſſion of Archimagi. See Suid. in voc. Αϛρονομια.

([9]) Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. ([10]) Herodot. lib. 3. c. 68, 69. ([11]) ——— c. 83.

§ IV.

([1]) Ezra iv. 24. v. 1, 2. Hagg. I. 1, 2.

([2]) Ezra vi. 15.

build

build the temple, by the propheſying of Haggai and Zechariah, and finiſhed it in the ſixth (2). He fought the Greeks at Marathon in October, anno Nabonaſſ. 258 (3), ten years before the battle at Salamis; and died in the fifth year following, in the end of winter, or beginning of ſpring, anno Nabonaſſ. 263. The years of Cambyſes and Darius are determined by three eclipſes of the moon recorded by Ptolemy, ſo that they cannot be diſputed. And by thoſe eclipſes, and the propheſies of Haggai and Zechariah compared together, it is manifeſt that the years of Darius began after the 24th day of the eleventh Jewiſh month, and before the 25th day of April, and by conſequence in March or April. PERSIANS.

V. Xerxes, Achſchiroſch, Achſweros, or Oxyares, ſucceeded his father Darius; and ſpent the firſt five years of his reign, and ſomething more, in preparations for his expedition againſt the Greeks: and this expedition was in the time of the olympic games, in the beginning of the firſt year of the 75th olympiad, Callias being Archon at Athens; as all chronologers agree (1). The great number of people which he drew out of Suſa to invade Greece, made Æſchylus the poet ſay [a]:

[a] Æſch. Perſæ. v. 763.

"Το δ' αϛυ Σȣσων εξεκεινωσεν πεσον."

"It emptied the falling city of Suſa."

The paſſage of his army over the Helleſpont began in the end of the fourth year of the 74th olympiad, that is in June, anno Nabonaſſ. 268, and took up a month; and in autumn, after three months more, on the 16th day of the month Munychion, at the full moon, was the battle at Salamis; and a little after that an eclipſe of the moon, which by the calculation fell on October 2. His firſt year therefore began in ſpring, anno Nabonaſſ. 263, as above. He reigned almoſt twenty one years by the conſent of all writers, and was murdered by Artabanus, captain of his guards; towards the end of winter, anno Nabonaſſ. 284 (2).

(3) See Petav. Doct. Temp. lib 10. c. 23—25. who places each of theſe battles and the death of Darius one year later than Sir Iſaac Newton does.

§ V.

(1) Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c.

(2) Diod. Sic. lib. 11. c. 69. p. 278. Petav. Doct. Temp. lib. 13.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

VI. Artabanus reigned ſeven months ([1]); and upon ſuſpicion of treaſon againſt Xerxes, was ſlain by Artaxerxes Longimanus ([2]), the ſon of Xerxes.

VII. Artaxerxes began his reign in the autumnal half-year, between the 4th and 9th Jewiſh months (Nehem. i. 1. and ii. 1. and v. 14. and Ezra vii. 7, 8, 9); and his 20th year fell in with the 4th year of the 83d olympiad, as Africanus [a] informs us; and therefore his firſt year began within a month or two of the autumnal equinox, anno Nabonaſſ. 284. Thucydides relates, that the news of his death came to Athens in winter, in the ſeventh year of the Peloponneſian war ([1]), that is ann. 4. olymp. 88. and by the canon he reigned forty-one years, including the reign of his predeceſſor Artabanus, and died about the middle of winter, anno Nabonaſſ. 325 *ineunte*. The Perſians now call him Ardſchir and Bahaman; the oriental Chriſtians, Artahaſcht.

[a] Apud Hieron. in Dan. ix.

VIII. Then reigned Xerxes two months ([1]); and Sogdian ſeven months ([1]); and Darius Nothus, the baſtard-ſon of Artaxerxes, nineteen years ([1]) wanting four or five months. And Darius died in ſummer, a little after the end of the Peloponneſian war, and in the ſame olympic year ([2]), and by conſequence in May or June, anno Nabonaſſ. 344. The 13th year of his reign was coincident in winter with the 20th of the Peloponneſian war ([3]); and the years of that war are ſtated by indiſputable characters, and agreed on by all chronologers: the war began in ſpring, ann. 1. olymp. 87, laſted 27 years, and ended April 14. ann. 4. olymp. 93.

IX. The next king was Artaxerxes Mnemon, the ſon of Darius: he reigned forty-ſix years ([1]), and died anno Nabonaſſ. 390. Then reigned Artaxerxes Ochus twenty-one years ([2]); Arſes, or Arogus, two years ([3]); and Darius Codomannus four

§ VI.

([1]) Euſeb. in Chron. ([2]) Diod. Sic. p. 278.

§ VII.

([1]) Lib. 4. c. 50, 51. p. 243.

§ VIII.

([1]) Euſeb. in Chron. ([2]) Diod. Sic. lib. 13. c. 107, 108. p. 389.
([3]) Thucydid. lib. 8. c. 58, 60. p. 499, 500.

years (4), unto the battle of Arbela; whereby the Perſian monarchy was tranſlated to the Greeks, October 2. anno Nabonaſſ. 417 (5); but Darius was not ſlain until a year and ſome months after (6). PERSIANS.

X. I have hitherto ſtated the times of this monarchy out of the Greek and Latin writers. For the Jews knew nothing more of the Babylonian and Medo-Perſian empires, than what they have out of the ſacred books of the Old Teſtament; and therefore own no more kings, nor years of kings, than they can find in thoſe books. The kings they reckon are only Nebuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach, Belſhazzar, Darius the Mede, Cyrus, Ahaſuerus, and Darius the Perſian. This laſt Darius they reckon to be the Artaxerxes, in whoſe reign Ezra and Nehemiah came to Jeruſalem; accounting Artaxerxes a common name of the Perſian kings. Nebuchadnezzar, ſay they, reigned forty-five years, (2 King. xxv. 27); Belſhazzar three years (Dan. viii. 1.) and therefore Evilmerodach twenty-three, to make up the ſeventy years captivity; excluding the firſt year of Nebuchadnezzar, in which they ſay the propheſy of the ſeventy years was given. To Darius the Mede they aſſign one year, or at moſt but two (Dan. ix. 1.) To Cyrus, three years incomplete (Dan. x. 1.) To Ahaſuerus, twelve years till the caſting of Pur (Eſth. iii. 7.) One year more, till the Jews ſmote their enemies (Eſth. ix. 1); and one year more, till Eſther and Mordecai wrote the ſecond letter for the keeping of Purim (Eſth. ix. 29): in all fourteen years. And to Darius the Perſian they allot thirty-two, or rather thirty-ſix years (Nehem. xiii. 6.) So that the Perſian empire, from the building of the temple in the ſecond year of Darius Hyſtaſpis, flouriſhed only thirty-four years, until Alexander the Great overthrew it. Thus the Jews reckon, in their greater chroni-

§ IX.

(1) Sir Iſaac Newton follows Ptolemy's Canon. Diodorus gives this prince 43 years (p. 389). Euſebius in Chron. only 40.

(2) According to the canon: 26 years according to Euſebius.

(3) According to the canon: 4 years according to Euſebius.

(4) According to the canon: 6 according to Euſebius.

(5) Diodorus places the battle of Arbela on the ſecond year of the 112th olympiad, i. e. the 418th of Nabonaſſar, lib. 17. c. 61; and with him Petavius agrees, Doct. Temp. lib. 10. c. 38. and lib. 13.

(6) Diod. Sic. lib. 17. c. 73. p. 601.

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cle, Seder Olam Rabbah. Joſephus, out of the ſacred and other books, reckons only theſe kings of Perſia; Cyrus, Cambyſes, Darius Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius. And taking this Darius, who was Darius Nothus, to be one and the ſame king with the laſt Darius, whom Alexander the Great overcame; by means of this reckoning he makes Sanballat and Jaddua alive when Alexander the Great overthrew the Perſian empire. Thus all the Jews conclude the Perſian empire with Artaxerxes Longimanus, and Darius Nothus; allowing no more kings of Perſia than they found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; and referring to the reigns of this Artaxerxes, and this Darius, whatever they met with in profane hiſtory concerning the following kings of the ſame names: ſo as to take Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, aud Artaxerxes Ochus, for one and the ſame Artaxerxes; and Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus, for one and the ſame Darius; and Jaddua, and Simeon Juſtus, for one and the ſame high-prieſt. Thoſe Jews who took Herod for the Meſſiah, and were thence called Herodians, ſeem to have grounded their opinion upon the ſeventy weeks of years, which they found between the reign of Cyrus and that of Herod: but afterwards, in applying the propheſy to Theudas, and Judas of Galilee, and at length to Barchochab, they ſeem to have ſhortened the reign of the kingdom of Perſia. Theſe accounts being very imperfect, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the records of the Greeks and Latines, and to the canon recited by Ptolemy, for ſtating the times of this empire. Which being done, we have a better ground for underſtanding the hiſtory of the Jews, ſet down in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and adjuſting it. For this hiſtory having ſuffered by time, wants ſome illuſtration. And firſt I ſhall ſtate the hiſtory of the Jews under Zerubbabel, in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius Hyſtaſpis.

XI. This hiſtory is contained partly in the three firſt chapters of the book of Ezra, and firſt five verſes of the fourth; and partly in the book of Nehemiah, from the 5th verſe of the ſeventh chapter to the 9th verſe of the twelfth. For Nehemiah copied all this out of the chronicles of the Jews, written before his

his days; as may appear by reading the place, and conſidering that the prieſts and Levites who ſealed the covenant on the 24th day of the ſeventh month (Nehem. viii. 14. ix. 1. and x.) were the very ſame with thoſe who returned from captivity in the firſt year of Cyrus (Nehem. xii.) and that all thoſe who returned ſealed it. This will be perceived by the following compariſon of their names. PERSIANS.

The prieſts who returned.	The prieſts who ſealed.
Nehemiah. Ezra ii. 2.	Nehemiah.
Serajah.	Serajah.
*	Azariah.
Jeremiah.	Jeremiah.
Ezra.	Ezra. Nehem. viii.
*	Paſhur.
Amariah.	Amariah.
Malluch: or Melicu. Neh. xii. 2, 14.	Malchijah.
Hattuſh.	Hattuſh.
Shechaniah, or Shebaniah. Neh. xii. 3, 14.	Shebaniah.
*	Malluch.
Rehum, or Harim. Ib. 3, 15.	Harim.
Meremoth.	Meremoth.
Iddo.	Obadiah, or Obdia.
*	Daniel.
Ginnetho, or Ginnethon. Neh. xii. 4, 16.	Ginnethon.
*	Baruch.
*	Meſhullam.
Abijah.	Abijah.
Miamin.	Mijamin.
Maadiah.	Maaziah.
Bilgah.	Bilgai.
Shemajah.	Shemajah.
Jeſhua.	Jeſhua.

Binnui.

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Binnui.	Binnui.
Kadmiel.	Kadmiel.
Sherebiah. שרביה.	Shebaniah. שבניה.
Judah, or Hodaviah. Ezra ii. 40. and iii. 9. Ωδȣια; Septuag.	Hodijah.

The Levites, Jeſhua, Kadmiel, and Hodaviah, or Judah, here mentioned, are reckoned chief fathers among the people who returned with Zerubbabel, Ezra ii. 40; and they aſſiſted as well in laying the foundation of the temple (Ezra iii. 9.) as in reading the law, and making and ſealing the covenant, Nehem. viii. 7. and ix. 5. and x. 9, 10.

XII. Comparing therefore the books of Ezra and Nehemiah together; the hiſtory of the Jews under Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius Hyſtaſpis, is that they returned from captivity under Zerubbabel, in the firſt year of Cyrus, with the holy veſſels, and a commiſſion to build the temple (1); and came to Jeruſalem and Judah, every one to his city, and dwelt in their cities until the ſeventh month (2); and then coming to Jeruſalem, they firſt built the altar (3); and on the firſt day of the ſeventh month began to offer the daily burnt-offerings (4), and read in the book of the law, and they kept a ſolemn faſt, and ſealed a covenant (5); and thenceforward the rulers of the people dwelt at Jeruſalem; and the reſt of the people caſt lots, to dwell one in ten at Jeruſalem, and the reſt in the cities of Judah (6): and in the ſecond year of their coming, in the ſecond month, which was ſix years before the death of Cyrus, they laid the foundation of the temple (7); but "the adverſaries of Judah troubled "them in building, and hired counſellors againſt them all the "days of Cyrus, and longer, even until the reign of Darius "king of Perſia (8)." But in the ſecond year of his reign, by the propheſying of Haggai and Zechariah, they returned to the work (9); and by the help of a new decree from Darius (10), fi-

§ XII.
(1) Ezra i. 2. (2) Ezra ii. 70. iii. 1. (3) Ezra iii. 1—5.
(4) ——— 6. (5) Nehem. vii. 5.——— ix. 3. (6) ——— xi. 1, 2.
(7) Ezra iii. 8. (8) ——— iv. 1—5. (9) ——— 24. v. 1, 2.

niſhed

niſhed it on the third day of the month Adar, in the ſixth year of his reign ([11]), and kept the dedication with joy, and the Paſſover, and feaſt of Unleavened Bread ([12]). PERSIANS.

XIII. Now this Darius was not Darius Nothus, but Darius Hyſtaſpis; as I gather by conſidering that the ſecond year of this Darius was the ſeventieth of the indignation againſt Jeruſalem, and the cities of Judah: which indignation commenced with the invaſion of Jeruſalem, and the cities of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, in the ninth year of Zedekiah (Zech. i. 12. Jer. xxxiv. 1, 7, 22. and xxxix. 1); and that the fourth year of this Darius was the ſeventieth from the burning of the temple in the eleventh year of Zedekiah (Zech. vii. 5. and Jer. lii. 12); both which are exactly true of Darius Hyſtaſpis: and that in the ſecond year of this Darius there were men living who had ſeen the firſt temple, Hagg. ii. 3 ([1]). Whereas the ſecond year of Darius Nothus was 166 years after the deſolation of the temple and city. And further, if the finiſhing of the temple be deferred to the ſixth year of Darius Nothus; Jeſhua and Zerubbabel muſt have been the one high-prieſt, the other captain of the people an hundred and eighteen years together, beſides their ages before; which is ſurely too long. For in the firſt year of Cyrus the chief prieſts were Serajah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Amariah, Malluch, Shechaniah, Rehum, Meremoth, Iddo, Ginnetho, Abijah, Miamin, Maadiah, Bilgah, Shemajah, Joiarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amok, Hilkiah, Jedaiah ([2]). Theſe were prieſts in the days of Jeſhua; and the eldeſt ſons of them all, Merajah the ſon of Serajah, Hananiah the ſon of Jeremiah, Meſhullam the ſon of Ezra, &c. were chief prieſts in the days of Joiakim the ſon of Jeſhua (Nehem. xii); and therefore the high-prieſthood of Jeſhua was but of an ordinary length.

XIV. I have now ſtated the hiſtory of the Jews in the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius Hyſtaſpis. It remains, that I ſtate their hiſtory in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus.

([10]) —— vi. 8—12. ([11]) —— 14, 15. ([12]) —— 16—22.

§ XIII.

([1]) And Ezra iii. 2. ([2]) Nehem. xii. 1—7.

gimanus. For I place the hiſtory of Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of this Artaxerxes, and not in that of Artaxerxes Mnemon. For during all the Perſian monarchy, until the laſt Darius mentioned in Scripture, whom I take to be Darius Nothus, there were but ſix high-prieſts in continual ſucceſſion of father and ſon; namely, Jeſhua, Joiakim, Eliaſhib, Joiada, Jonathan, Jaddua; and the ſeventh high-prieſt was Onias the ſon of Jaddua, and the eighth was Simeon Juſtus, the ſon of Onias; and the ninth was Eleazar, the younger brother of Simeon. Now, at a mean reckoning, we ſhould allow about 27 or 28 years only to a generation by the eldeſt ſons of a family, one generation with another, as above; but if in this caſe we allow 30 years to a generation, and may further ſuppoſe that Jeſhua, at the return of the captivity in the firſt year of the empire of the Perſians, was about 30 or 40 years old; Joiakim will be of about that age in the 16th year of Darius Hyſtaſpis; Eliaſhib, in the tenth year of Xerxes; Joiada, in the 19th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; Jonathan, in the 8th year of Darius Nothus; Jaddua, in the 19th year of Artaxerxes Mnemon; Onias, in the third year of Artaxerxes Ochus; and Simeon Juſtus, two years before the death of Alexander the Great. And this reckoning, as it is according to the courſe of nature, ſo it agrees perfectly well with hiſtory. For thus Eliaſhib might be high-prieſt, and have grandſons, before the ſeventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ezra x. 6.) And without exceeding the age which many old men attain unto, continue high-prieſt till after the 32d year of that king (Nehem. xiii. 6, 7). And his grandſon Johanan, or Jonathan, might have a chamber in the temple in the ſeventh year of that king; (Ezra x. 6.) and be high-prieſt before Ezra wrote the ſons of Levi in the book of Chronicles, Nehem. xii. 23. And in his high-prieſthood, he might ſlay his younger brother Jeſus in the temple, before the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7.) And Jaddua might be high-prieſt before the death of Sanballat (Joſeph. ib.) and before the death of Nehemiah (Nehem. xii. 22.) and alſo before the end of the reign of Darius Nothus. And he might thereby give occaſion to Joſephus and the later Jews, who took this king for the laſt Darius, to fall

fall into an opinion, that Sanballat, Jaddua, and Manaſſeh, the younger brother of Jaddua, lived till the end of the reign of the laſt Darius (Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7, 8.) And the ſaid Manaſſeh might marry Nicaſo, the daughter of Sanballat, and for that offence be chaſed from Nehemiah, before the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (Nehem. xiii. 28. Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7, 8;) and Sanballat might at that time be Satrapa of Samaria, and in the reign of Darius Nothus, or ſoon after, build the temple of the Samaritans in Mount Gerizim for his ſon-in-law Manaſſeh, the firſt high-prieſt of that temple (Joſeph. ib.) And Simeon Juſtus might be high-prieſt when the Perſian empire was invaded by Alexander the Great, as the Jews repreſent (Joma, fol. 69, 1. Liber Juchaſis, R. Gedaliah, &c.) and for that reaſon he might be taken by ſome of the Jews for the ſame high-prieſt with Jaddua; and be dead ſome time before the book of Eccleſiaſticus was writ in Hebrew at Jeruſalem by the grandfather of him, who in the 38th year of the Egyptian æra of Dionyſius, that is in the 77th year after the death of Alexander the Great, met with a copy of it in Egypt, and there tranſlated it into Greek (Eccleſiaſt. c. 50. and in Prolog.) And Eleazar, the younger brother and ſucceſſor of Simeon, might cauſe the law to be tranſlated into Greek in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus (Joſeph. l. 12. c. 2.) And Onias, the ſon of Simeon Juſtus, who was a child at his father's death, and by conſequence was born in his father's old age, might be ſo old in the reign of Ptolemæus Euergetes, as to have his follies excuſed to that king, by repreſenting, that he was then grown childiſh with old age (Joſeph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 4.) In this manner the actions of all theſe high-prieſts ſuit with the reigns of the kings, without any reſtraining from the courſe of nature. And according to this reckoning the days of Ezra and Nehemiah fall in with the reign of the firſt Artaxerxes; for Ezra and Nehemiah flouriſhed in the high-prieſthood of Eliaſhib (Ezra x. 6. Nehem. iii. 1. and xiii. 4, 28.) But if Eliaſhib, Ezra, and Nehemiah, be placed in the reign of the ſecond Artaxerxes, ſince they lived beyond the 32d year of Artaxerxes (Nehem. xiii. 28.) there muſt be at leaſt 160 years allotted to the three firſt high-

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prieſts, and but 42 to the four or five laſt; a diviſion too unequal. For the high-prieſthoods of Jeſhua, Joiakim, and Eliaſhib, were but of an ordinary length. That of Jeſhua fell in with one generation of the chief prieſts; and that of Joiakim with the next generation, as we have already ſhewed; and that of Eliaſhib fell in with the third generation. For at the dedication of the wall, Zechariah, the ſon of Jonathan, the ſon of Shemaiah, was one of the prieſts (Nehem. xii. 35.) and Jonathan, and his father Shemaiah, were contemporaries to Joiakim and his father Jeſhua (Nehem. xii. 6, 18.) I obſerve further, that in the firſt year of Cyrus, Jeſhua, and Bani, or Binnui, were chief fathers of the Levites (Nehem. vii. 7, 15. and Ezra ii. 2, 10. and iii. 9); and that Jozabad the ſon of Jeſhua, and Noadiah the ſon of Binnui, were chief Levites in the ſeventh year of Artaxerxes, when Ezra came to Jeruſalem (Ezra viii. 33.) So that this Artaxerxes began his reign before the end of the ſecond generation. And that he reigned in the time of the third generation is confirmed by two inſtances more. For Meſhullam the ſon of Berechiah, the ſon of Meſhezabeel, and Azariah the ſon of Maaſeiah, the ſon of Ananiah, were fathers of their houſes at the repairing of the wall (Nehem. iii. 4, 23;) and their grandfathers, Meſhazabeel and Hananiah, ſubſcribed the covenant in the reign of Cyrus (Nehem. x. 21, 23.) Yea Nehemiah, this ſame Nehemiah, the ſon of Hachaliah, was the Tirſhatha, and ſubſcribed it (Nehem. x. 1. and viii. 9. and Ezra ii. 2, 63;) and therefore in the 32d year of Artaxerxes Mnemon, he will be above 180 years old; an age ſurely too great. The ſame may be ſaid of Ezra, if he was that prieſt and ſcribe who read the law, Nehem. viii; for he is the ſon of Serajah, the ſon of Azariah, the ſon of Hilkiah, the ſon of Shallum, &c. (Ezra vii. 1;) and this Serajah went into captivity at the burning of the temple, and was there ſlain (1 Chron. vi. 14. 2 King. xxv. 18;) and from his death to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Mnemon is above 200 years; an age too great for Ezra.

XV. I conſider further that Ezra, chap. iv. names Cyrus, *, Darius, Ahaſuerus, and Artaxerxes, in continual order, as ſucceſſors to one another, and theſe names agree to Cyrus, *, Darius

rius Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, and to no other kings of Perſia. Some take this Artaxerxes to be not the ſucceſſor, but the predeceſſor of Darius Hyſtaſpis; not conſidering, that in his reign the Jews were buſy in building the city and the wall (Ezra iv. 12.) and by conſequence had finiſhed the temple before. Ezra deſcribes firſt how the people of the land hindered the building of the temple all the days of Cyrus, and further, until the reign of Darius (1); and after the temple was built, how they hindered the building of the city in the reign of Ahaſuerus and Artaxerxes (2); and then returns back to the ſtory of the temple in the reign of Cyrus and Darius (3); and this is confirmed by comparing the book of Ezra with the book of Eſdras. For if in the book of Ezra you omit the ſtory of Ahaſuerus and Artaxerxes; and in that of Eſdras you omit the ſame ſtory of Artaxerxes, and that of the three wiſe men; the two books will agree. And therefore the book of Eſdras, if you except the ſtory of the three wiſe men, was originally copied from authentic writings of ſacred authority. Now the ſtory of Artaxerxes, which, with that of Ahaſuerus, in the book of Ezra interrupts the ſtory of Darius, doth not interrupt it in the book of Eſdras, but is there inſerted into the ſtory of Cyrus, between the firſt and ſecond chapter of Ezra; and all the reſt of the ſtory of Cyrus, and that of Darius, is told in the book of Eſdras in continual order, without any interruption. So that the Darius which, in the book of Ezra, precedes Ahaſuerus and Artaxerxes, and the Darius which in the ſame book follows them, is, by the book of Eſdras, one and the ſame Darius; and I take the book of Eſdras to be the beſt interpreter of the book of Ezra. So the Darius mentioned between Cyrus and Ahaſuerus is Darius Hyſtaſpis; and therefore Ahaſuerus and Artaxerxes, who ſucceeded him, are Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus; and the Jews who came up from Artaxerxes to Jeruſalem, and began to build the city and the wall (Ezra iv. 13.) are Ezra with his companions. Which being underſtood, the hiſtory of the Jews in the reign of theſe kings will be as follows.

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(1) Cap. iv. 1—5. (2) —— 6—16. (3) —— 24.

Chapter Sixth.

XVI. After the temple was built, and Darius Hyſtaſpis was dead, the enemies of the Jews, in the beginning of the reign of his ſucceſſor Ahaſuerus or Xerxes, wrote unto him an accuſation againſt them (Ezra iv. 6.) But in the ſeventh year of his ſucceſſor Artaxerxes, Ezra and his companions went up from Babylon with offerings and veſſels for the temple, and power to beſtow on it out of the king's treaſure what ſhould be requiſite (Ezra vii); whence the temple is ſaid to be finiſhed, "according to the "commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of "Perſia," (Ezra vi. 14.) Their commiſſion was alſo to ſet magiſtrates and judges over the land ([1]); and thereby becoming a new body politic, they called a great council or ſanhedrim, to ſeparate the people from ſtrange wives; and they were alſo encouraged to attempt the building of Jeruſalem with its wall: and thence Ezra ſaith in his prayer, that "God had extended mercy "unto them in the ſight of the kings of Perſia, and giving "them a reviving to ſet up the houſe of their God, and to repair "the deſolations thereof, and to give them a WALL in Judah, "even in Jeruſalem" (Ezra ix. 9.) But when they had begun to repair the wall, their enemies wrote againſt them to Artaxerxes: "Be it known," ſay they, "unto the king, that the Jews which "came up from thee to us, are come unto Jeruſalem, building "the rebellious and the bad city, and have ſet up the walls there-"of, and joined the foundations," &c. And the king wrote back, that the Jews ſhould ceaſe, and the city not be built, until another commandment ſhould be given from him: whereupon their enemies "went up to Jeruſalem, and made them ceaſe by "force and power" (Ezra iv.) But in the twentieth year of the king, Nehemiah hearing that the Jews were in great affliction and diſtreſs, and that the wall of Jeruſalem, that wall which had been newly repaired by Ezra, "was broken down, and the gates "thereof burnt with fire;" he obtained leave of the king to go and build the city, and the governor's houſe (Nehem. i. 3. and ii. 6, 8, 17.) And coming to Jeruſalem the ſame year, he continued governor twelve years ([2]), and built the wall; and being

§ XVI.

([1]) Ezra vii. 25.

([2]) Nehem. v. 14.

oppoſed

oppoſed by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geſhem, he perſiſted in the work with great reſolution and patience, until the breaches were made up. Then Sanballat and Geſhem ſent meſſengers unto him five times, to hinder him from ſetting up the doors upon the gates ([3]). But, notwithſtanding, he perſiſted in the work, until the doors were alſo ſet up: ſo the wall was finiſhed in the eight-and-twentieth year of the king (Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 5.) in the five-and-twentieth day of the month Elul, or ſixth month, in fifty and two days after the breaches were made up ([4]), and they began to work upon the gates. While the timber for the gates was preparing and ſeaſoning, they made up the breaches of the wall; both were works of time, and are not jointly to be reckoned within the 52 days. This is the time of the laſt work of the wall, the work of ſetting up the gates after the timber was ſeaſoned and the breaches made up. When he had ſet up the gates, he dedicated the wall with great ſolemnity, and appointed officers "over the chambers for the treaſure, for the offerings, for the firſt-fruits, and for the tithes, to gather into them, out of the fields of the cities, the portions appointed by the law for the prieſts and Levites; and the ſingers and the porters kept the ward of their God (Nehem. xii); but the people in the city were but few, and the houſes were unbuilt," (Nehem. vii. 1, 4.) And in this condition he left Jeruſalem in the 32d year of the king; and after ſome time returning back from the king, he reformed ſuch abuſes as had been committed in his abſence (Nehem. xiii). In the mean time, the genealogies of the prieſts and Levites were recorded in the book of the Chronicles, in the days of Eliaſhib, Joiada, Jonathan, and Jaddua, until the reign of the next king Darius Nothus, whom Nehemiah calls Darius the Perſian (Nehem. xii. 11, 22, 23.) Whence it follows, that Nehemiah was governor of the Jews until the reign of Darius Nothus. And here ends the ſacred hiſtory of the Jews.

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XVII. The hiſtories of the Perſians now extant in the eaſt repreſent, that the old dynaſties of the kings of Perſia were thoſe whom they call Piſchdadians and Kaianides; and that the dynaſty

([3]) Nehem. vi. 1—5. ([4]) ——— 15.

of

of the Kaianides immediately ſucceeded that of the Piſchdadians. They derive the name Kaianides from the word Kai, which, they ſay, in the old Perſian language ſignified a giant, or great king; and they call the firſt four kings of this dynaſty, Kai-Cobad, Kai-Caus, Kai-Coſroes, and Lohoraſp, and by Lohoraſp mean Kai-Axeres, or Cyaxeres. For they ſay that Lohoraſp was the firſt of their kings who reduced the armies to good order and diſcipline; and Herodotus affirms the ſame thing of Cyaxeres. And they ſay further, that Lohoraſp went eaſtward, and conquered many provinces of Perſia; and that one of his generals, whom the Hebrews call Nebuchadnezzar, the Arabians, Bocktanaſſar, and others Raham and Gudars, went weſtward, and conquered all Syria and Judæa, and took the city of Jeruſalem and deſtroyed it. They ſeem to call Nebuchadnezzar the general of Lohoraſp, becauſe he aſſiſted him in ſome of his wars. The fifth king of this dynaſty they call Kiſchtaſp, and by this name mean ſometimes Darius Medus, and ſometimes Darius Hyſtaſpis. For they ſay that he was contemporary to Ozair or Ezra, and to Zaraduſt or Zoroaſtres, the legiſlator of the Ghebers or fire-worſhippers, and eſtabliſhed his doctrines throughout all Perſia; and here they take him for Darius Hyſtaſpis. They ſay alſo that he was contemporary to Jeremiah and to Daniel, and that he was the ſon and ſucceſſor of Lohoraſp; and here they take him for Darius the Mede. The ſixth king of the Kaianides they call Bahaman; and tell us, that Bahaman was Ardſchir Diraz, that is Artaxerxes Longimanus, ſo called from the great extent of his power. And yet they ſay that Bahaman went weſtward into Meſopotamia and Syria, and conquered Belſhazzar the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar, and gave the kingdom to Cyrus, his lieutenant-general over Media: and here they take Bahaman for Darius Medus. Next after Ardſchir Diraz they place Homai, a queen, the mother of Darius Nothus, though really ſhe did not reign. And the two next and laſt kings of the Kaianides they call Darab, the baſtard-ſon of Ardſchir Diraz; and Darab who was conquered by Aſcander Roumi, that is Darius Nothus, and Darius who was conquered by Alexander the Greek. And the kings between theſe two Darius's they omit; as they do alſo Cyrus, Cambyſes.

byſes, and Xerxes. The dynaſty of the Kaianides was therefore that of the Medes and Perſians, beginning with the defection of the Medes from the Aſſyrians, in the end of the reign of Sennacherib, and ending with the conqueſt of Perſia by Alexander the Great. But their account of this dynaſty is very imperfect, ſome kings being omitted, and others being confounded with one another. And their chronology of this dynaſty is ſtill worſe; for to the firſt king they aſſign a reign of 120 years, to the ſecond a reign of 150 years, to the third a reign of 60 years, to the fourth a reign of 120 years, to the fifth as much, and to the ſixth a reign of 112 years. PERSIANS.

XVIII. This dynaſty being the monarchy of the Medes and Perſians; the dynaſty of the Piſchdadians which immediately preceded it, muſt be that of the Aſſyrians. And according to the oriental hiſtorians this was the oldeſt kingdom in the world, ſome of its kings living a thouſand years apiece, and one of them reigning five hundred years, another ſeven hundred years, and another a thouſand years.

XIX. We need not then wonder, that the Egyptians have made the kings in the firſt dynaſty of their monarchy, that which was ſeated at Thebes in the days of David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, ſo very ancient and ſo long-lived; ſince the Perſians have done the like to their kings, who began to reign in Aſſyria two hundred years after the death of Solomon; and the Syrians of Damaſcus have done the like to their kings Adar and Hazael, who reigned an hundred years after the death of Solomon, "worſhipping them as gods, and boaſting their antiquity, and "not knowing," ſaith Joſephus, "that they were but modern."

XX. And whilſt all theſe nations have magnified their antiquities ſo exceedingly, we need not wonder that the Greeks and Latines have made their firſt kings a little older than the truth.

THE

SHORT CHRONICLE.

FROM A

MS. OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON,

IN THE POSSESSION OF

THE REV. DR. EKINS, DEAN OF CARLISLE.

A

SHORT CHRONICLE

FROM THE

First memory of things in EUROPE to the conqueſt of PERSIA by ALEXANDER the GREAT.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE Greek antiquities are full of poetical fictions, becauſe the Greeks wrote nothing in proſe before the conqueſt of Aſia by Cyrus the Perſian. Then Pherecydes Scyrius and Cadmus Mileſius introduced the writing in proſe. Pherecydes Athenienſis, about the end of the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, wrote of antiquities, and digeſted his work by genealogies, and was reckoned one of the beſt genealogers. Epimenides, the hiſtorian, proceeded alſo by genealogies; and Hellanicus, who was twelve years older than Herodotus, digeſted his hiſtory by the ages or ſucceſſions of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva. Others digeſted theirs by the kings of the Lacedemonians, or archons of Athens. Hippias the Elean, about thirty years before the fall of the Perſian empire, publiſhed a breviary, or liſt, of the olympic victors: and about ten years before the fall thereof Ephorus, the diſciple of Iſocrates, formed a chronological hiſtory of Greece, beginning with the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus,

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and ending with the ſiege of Perinthus, in the twelfth year of Philip the father of Alexander the Great. But he digeſted things by generations, and the reckoning by olympiads was not yet in uſe; nor doth it appear that the reigns of kings were yet ſet down by numbers of years. The Arundelian marbles were compoſed ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great (an. 4. olymp. 128.) and yet mention not the olympiads. But in the next olympiad Timæus Siculus publiſhed an hiſtory in ſeveral books down to his own times, according to the olympiads, comparing the Ephori, the kings of Sparta, the archons of Athens, and the prieſteſſes of Argos with the olympic victors; ſo as to make the olympiads, and the genealogies and ſucceſſions of kings, archons, and prieſteſſes, and poetical hiſtories, ſuit with one another, according to the beſt of his judgment. And where he left off, Polybius began and carried on the hiſtory.

So then, a little after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to ſet down the generations, reigns, and ſucceſſions, in numbers of years; and by putting reigns and ſucceſſions equipollent to generations, and three generations to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years (as appears by their chronology) they have made the antiquities of Greece three or four hundred years older than the truth: and this was the original of the technical chronology of the Greeks. Eratoſthenes wrote about an hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great. He was followed by Apollodorus; and theſe two have been followed ever ſince by chronologers.

But how uncertain their chronology is, and how doubtful it was reputed by the Greeks of thoſe times, may be underſtood by theſe paſſages of Plutarch. 'Some reckon,' ſaith he [a], 'Lycurgus contemporary to Iphitus, and to have been his companion in ordering the olympic feſtivals: amongſt whom was 'Ariſtotle the philoſopher, arguing from the olympic diſc which 'had the name of Lycurgus upon it. Others, ſupputing the 'times by the ſucceſſion of the kings of the Lacedemonians, as 'Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus, affirm that he was not a few 'years older than the firſt olympiad. Firſt, Ariſtotle and ſome 'others

[a] In the life of Lycurgus.

'others made him as old as the firſt olympiad; then Eratoſthenes, 'Apollodorus, and ſome others, made him above an hundred 'years older.' And in another place Plutarch [a] tells us: 'The 'congreſs of Solon, with Crœſus, ſome think they can confute 'by chronology. But an hiſtory ſo illuſtrious, and verified by 'ſo many witneſſes, and (which is more) ſo agreeable to the 'manners of Solon, and ſo worthy of the greatneſs of his mind 'and of his wiſdom, I cannot perſuade myſelf to reject becauſe 'of ſome chronological canons, as they call them; which hun'dreds of authors correcting, have not yet been able to conſti'tute any certainty among themſelves about repugnances.' It ſeems the chronologers had made the legiſlature of Solon too ancient to conſiſt with that congreſs.

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[a] In the life of Solon.

For reconciling ſuch repugnances, chronologers have ſometimes doubled the perſons of men. So when the poets had changed Io, the daughter of Inachus, into the Egyptian Iſis, chronologers made her huſband Oſiris, or Bacchus, and his miſtreſs Ariadne as old as Io; and ſo feigned that there were two Ariadne's, one the miſtreſs of Bacchus, the other the miſtreſs of Theſeus, and two Minos's their fathers, and a younger Io the daughter of Jaſus; writing Jaſus corruptly for Inachus: and ſo they have made two Pandion's and two Erechtheus's, giving the name of Erechthonius to the firſt. Homer calls the firſt Erechtheus. And by ſuch corruptions they have exceedingly perplexed ancient hiſtory.

And as for the chronology of the Latins, that is ſtill more uncertain. Plutarch repreſents great uncertainties in the originals of Rome: and ſo doth Servius. The old records of the Latines were burnt by the Gauls ſixty-four years before the death of Alexander the Great; and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldeſt hiſtorian of the Latines, lived an hundred years later then that king.

In ſacred hiſtory, the Aſſyrian empire began with Pul and Tiglathpileſar, and laſted about 170 years. And accordingly Herodotus hath made Semiramis only five generations, or about 166 years, older than Nitocris, the mother of the laſt king of Babylon.

Babylon. But Cteſias has made Semiramis 1500 years older than Nitocris; and feigned a long ſeries of kings of Aſſyria, whoſe names are not Aſſyrian, nor have any affinity with the Aſſyrian names in Scripture.

The prieſts of Egypt told Herodotus, that Menes built Memphis, and the ſumptuous temple of Vulcan in that city: and that Rhampſinitus, Mœris, Aſychis, Pſammiticus, added magnificent porticos to that temple. And it is not likely that Memphis could be famous before Homer's days, who doth not mention it, or that a temple could be above two or three hundred years in building: and yet the prieſts of Egypt had ſo magnified their antiquities before the days of Herodotus, as to tell him, that from Menes to Mœris there were 330 kings, whoſe reigns took up as many ages, that is, eleven thouſand years; and had filled up the interval with feigned kings who had done nothing. And before the days of Diodorus Siculus they had raiſed their antiquities ſo much higher, as to place ſix, eight, or ten, new reigns of kings between thoſe kings whom they had repreſented to Herodotus to ſucceed one another immediately.

In the kingdom of Sicyon, chronologers have ſplit Apis, Epaphus, or Epopeus, into two kings, whom they call Apis and Epopeus; and between them have inſerted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing; and thereby they have made its founder Ægialeus three hundred years older than his brother Phoroneus: and ſome have made the kings of Germany as old as the Flood. And yet before the uſe of letters, the names and actions of men could ſcarce be remembered above eighty or an hundred years after their deaths: and therefore I admit no chronology of things done in Europe above eighty years before Cadmus brought letters into Greece: none of things done in Germany before the riſe of the Roman empire.

Now ſince Eratoſthenes and Apollodorus computed the times by the reigns of the kings of Sparta, and (as appears by their chronology ſtill followed) have made the ſeventeen reigns of thoſe kings between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the battle of Thermopylæ take up 622 years, which is after the

the rate of $36\frac{1}{7}$ years to a reign; and yet a race of ſeventeen kings of that length is no where to be met with in all true hiſtory; and kings, at a moderate reckoning, reign but 18 or 20 years apiece one with another: I have ſtated the time of the return of the Heraclidæ by the laſt way of reckoning; placing it 345 years before the battle of Thermopylæ. And making the Trojan war eighty years older, according to Thucydides; and the Argonautic expedition a generation older; and the wars of Seſoſtris in Thrace, and death of Ino the daughter of Cadmus, a generation older: I have drawn up the following chronological table, ſo as to make chronology ſuit with the courſe of nature, with aſtronomy, with ſacred hiſtory, and with itſelf, without the many repugnances complained of by Plutarch. I do not pretend to be exact to a year. There may be errors of five or ten years, and ſometimes twenty, and not much above. INTRODUCTION.

A SHORT

SHORT CHRONICLE

FROM THE

First memory of things done in EUROPE to the conqueſt of PERSIA by ALEXANDER the GREAT.

The times are ſet down in years before Chriſt.

CHRONICLE. THE Canaanites who fled from Joſhua retired in great numbers into Egypt, and there conquered Timaus, Thamus or Thammuz, king of the lower Egypt, and reigned there under their kings Salatis, Beon, Apachnas, Apophis, Janias, Aſſis, &c. until the days of Eli and Samuel. They fed on fleſh, and ſacrificed men after the manner of the Phœnicians, and were called ſhepherds by the Egyptians who lived only on the fruits of the earth and abominated fleſh-eaters. The upper parts of Egypt were in thoſe days under many kings reigning at Coptos, Thebes, This, Elephantis, and other places, which, by conquering one another, grew by degrees into one kingdom, over which Miſphragmuthoſis reigned in the days of Eli.

Anno ante Chriſtum 1120. About this time Mephres reigned over the upper Egypt from Syene to Heliopolis, and his ſucceſſor Miſphragmuthoſis made a laſting war upon the ſhepherds ſoon after, and cauſed many of them to fly into Paleſtine, Idumea, Syria, and Libya, and under Lelex, Æzeus, Inachus, Pelaſgus, Æolus the Firſt, Cecrops, and other captains, into Greece: and theſe ſtrangers built the firſt houſes in Greece. Before thoſe days,

days, Greece and all Europe was peopled by wandering Cimme- Chronicle.
rians and Scythians from the backſide of the Euxine Sea, who lived a rambling wild ſort of life like the Tartars in the northern parts of Aſia. Of their race was Ogyges, in whoſe days theſe Egyptian ſtrangers came into Greece. The reſt of the ſhepherds were ſhut up by Miſphragmuthoſis in a part of the lower Egypt called Abaris and Peluſium.

Anno 1100. The Philiſtim, ſtrengthened by the acceſs of the ſhepherds, conquer Iſrael and take the Ark. Samuel judges Iſrael.

1085. Hæmon, the ſon of Pelaſgus, reigns in Theſſaly.

1080. Lycaon, the ſon of Pelaſgus, builds Lycoſura; Phoroneus the ſon of Inachus, Phoronicum, afterwards called Argos. Ægialeus the brother of Phoroneus, and ſon of Inachus, Ægialeum, afterwards called Sicyon; the oldeſt towns in Peloponneſus. Till then they built only ſingle houſes ſcattered up and down in the fields. About the ſame time Cecrops built Cecropia in Attica, afterwards called Athens; and Eleuſine the ſon of Ogyges built Eleuſina: and theſe towns gave a beginning to the kingdoms of the Arcadians, Argives, Sicyons, Athenians, Eleuſinians, &c.

1070. Amoſis, or Tethmoſis, the ſucceſſor of Miſphragmuthoſis, drives the ſhepherds out of Abaris, and aboliſhes the Phœnician cuſtom in Heliopolis of ſacrificing men. By their acceſs the Philiſtim became ſo numerous, as to bring into the field againſt Saul 30000 chariots, 6000 horſemen, and people as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore in multitude. Abas, the father of Acriſius and Prætus, comes from Egypt.

1069. Saul is made king of Iſrael, and by the hand of Jonathan gets a great victory over the Philiſtim. Eurotas the ſon of Lelex, and Lacedæmon, who married Sparta the daughter of Eurotas, reign in Laconia and build Sparta. Deucalion flouriſhes.

1060. Samuel dies.

1059. David made king.

1048. The Edomites are conquered by David. Their mariners fly from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, fortify Azoth,

Chronicle. and take Zidon; and the Zidonians who fled from them build Tyre, and make Abibalus their firſt king.

1047. Acriſius marries Eurydice, the daughter of Lacedæmon and Sparta.

1045. The Phœnician mariners who fled from the Red Sea, being uſed to long voyages for the ſake of traffic, begin the like voyages on the Mediterranean from Sidon; and, ſailing as far as Greece, carry away Io the daughter of Inachus, who, with other Grecian women, came to their ſhips to buy their merchandize. The Greek ſeas begin to be infeſted with pirates. Endymion builds Elis.

1043. The Syrians of Zobah and Damaſcus are conquered by David.

1042. Nyctimus the ſon of Lycaon reigns in Arcadia. Deucalion ſtill alive.

1041. Many of the Phœnicians and Syrians flee from Sidon, and come, under the conduct of Cadmus, Cilix, Phœnix, Membliarius, Nicteus, Thaſus, Alymnus, and other captains, into Aſia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Libya; and introduce letters, muſic, poetry, the Octaeteris, metals, and their fabrication, and other arts, ſciences, and cuſtoms of the Phœnicians. At this time Cranaus, the ſucceſſor of Cecrops, reigned in Attica; and in his reign, and the beginning of the reign of Nyctimus, the Greeks place the flood of Deucalion. This flood was ſucceeded by four ages or generations of men; in the firſt of which Chiron, the ſon of Saturn and Philyra, was born; and the laſt of which, according to Heſiod, ended with the Trojan war; and ſo place the deſtruction of Troy four generations, or about 133 years, later than that flood, and than the coming of Cadmus; reckoning with the ancients three generations to an hundred years. With theſe Phœnicians came a ſort of men ſkilled in the religious myſteries, arts, and ſciences of Phœnicia, and ſettled in ſeveral places under the names of Curetes, Corybantes, Telchines, and Idæi Dactyli.

1039. Helen, the ſon of Deucalion, and father of Æolus Xuthus and Dorus, flouriſhes.

1037. Erechtheus reigns in Attica.

1036. Ceres, a woman of Sicily, in ſeeking her daughter who was ſtolen, comes into Attica, and there teaches the Greeks to ſow corn: for which benefaction ſhe was deified after death. She firſt taught the art to Triptolemus, the young ſon of Celeus king of Eleuſis. Chronicle.

1035. The Idæi Dactyli find out iron in Mount Ida in Crete, and work it into armour and iron-tools; and thereby give a beginning to the trades of ſmiths and carpenters in Europe. And by ſinging and dancing in their armour, and keeping time by ſtriking upon one another's armour with their ſwords, they bring in muſic and poetry. And at the ſame time they nurſe up the Cretan Jupiter in a cave of the ſame mountain, dancing about him in their armour.

1034. Ammon reigns in Egypt. He conquered Libya, and reduced that people from a wandering ſavage life to a civil one, and taught them to lay up the fruits of the earth: and from him Libya and the deſert above it were anciently called Ammonia. He was the firſt that built long and tall ſhips with ſails; and had a fleet of ſuch ſhips on the Red Sea, and another on the Mediterranian at Graſa in Libya. Till then they uſed ſmall and round veſſels of burden invented on the Red Sea, and kept within ſight of the ſhore. For enabling them to croſs the ſeas without ſeeing the ſhore, the Egyptians began in his days to obſerve the ſtars: and from this beginning aſtronomy and ſailing had their riſe. Hitherto the luniſolar year had been in uſe: but this year being of an uncertain length, and ſo unfit for aſtronomy, in his days, and in the days of his ſons and grandſons, by obſerving the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars, they found the length of the ſolar year; and made it conſiſt of five days more than the twelve calendar months of the old luniſolar year.

1028. Oenotrus, the youngeſt ſon of Lycaon (the Janus of the Latines) led the firſt colony of the Greeks into Italy, and there taught them to build houſes. Perſeus born.

1025. Arcas, the ſon of Calliſto and grandſon of Lycaon, and Eumelus, the firſt king of Achaia, received bread-corn from Triptolemus.

CHRONICLE. 1020. Apis, Epaphus, or Epopeus, the ſon of Phoroneus, and Nicteus king of Bœotia ſlain. Lycus inherits the kingdom of his brother Nicteus. Ætolus the ſon of Endymion flees into the country of the Curetes in Achaia, and calls it Ætolia; and of Pronoë, the daughter of Phorbus, begets Pleuron and Calydon; who built cities in Ætolia called by their own names. Antiopa, the daughter of Nycteus, is ſent home to Lycus by Lamedon, the ſucceſſor of Apis, and in the way brings forth Amphion and Zethus.

1019. Solomon reigns, and marries the daughter of Ammon; and by means of this affinity is ſupplied with horſes from Egypt. And his merchants from thence alſo bring horſes for all the kings of the Hittites and Syrians; for horſes came originally from Libya: and thence Neptune was called Equeſtris. Tantalus king of Phrygia ſteals Ganimede, the ſon of Tros king of Troas.

1017. Solomon, by the aſſiſtance of the Tyrians, who had mariners amongſt them acquainted with the Red Sea, ſets out a fleet upon that ſea. Creüſa, the daughter of Erechtheus, marries Zuthus the ſon of Hellen. Erechtheus having firſt celebrated the Panathanæa, joins horſes to a chariot. Ægina, the daughter of Aſopus and mother of Æacus, born.

1015. The Temple of Solomon is founded. Minos reigns in Crete, expelling his father, who flees into Italy, and becomes the Saturn of the Latines. Ammon takes Gezer from the Canaanites, and gives it to his daughter, Solomon's wife.

1014. Ammon places Cepheus at Joppa. Ceres being dead, Eumolpus inſtitutes her myſteries in Eleuſine. The myſteries of Rhea are inſtituted in Phrygia, in the city Cybele. About this time temples began to be built in Greece. Hyagnis the Phrygian invents the pipe. After the example of the common-council of the five lords of the Philiſtim, the Greeks ſet up the Amphictyonic council firſt at Thermopylæ, by the influence of Amphictyon the ſon of Deucalion, and a few years after at Delphi by the influence of Acriſius. Among the cities, whoſe deputies met at Thermopylæ, I do not find Athens; and therefore doubt, whether Amphictyon was king of that city. If he was the

the ſon of Deucalion and brother of Hellen, he and Cranaüs might reign together in ſeveral parts of Attica. But I meet with a later Amphictyon, who entertained the great Bacchus. This council worſhipped Ceres, and therefore was inſtituted after her death. CHRONICLE.

1012. Cecrops II. reigns in Attica. Caucon teaches the myſteries of Ceres in Meſſene. Seſac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Arabia Felix.

1011. Pandion, the brother of Cecrops II. reigns in Attica. Pelops the ſon of Tantalus comes into Peloponneſus; marries Hippodamia the grand-daughter of Acriſius; takes Ætolia from Ætolus the ſon of Endymion, and by his reaches grows potent.

1010. Car the ſon of Phoroneus builds a temple to Ceres. Hellen the ſon of Deucalion reigns in Phthiotis.

1008. Seſac, in the reign of his father Ammon, invades Afric and Spain; and ſets up pillars at the mouth of the ſtreights, and in all his conqueſts; and returns by the coaſt of Gaul and Italy.

1006. Minos prepares a fleet; clears the Greek ſeas of pirates; and ſends colonies to the iſlands of the Greeks, ſome of which were not inhabited before. War between Pandion, and Labdacus the grandſon of Cadmus.

1005. Andromeda carried away from Joppa by Perſeus.

1002. Seſac reigns in Egypt and adorns Thebes, dedicating it to his father Ammon by the name of No-Ammon, or Ammon-No; that is, the city or people of Ammon. Whence the Greeks called it Dioſpolis; the city of Jupiter. Seſac alſo erected temples and oracles to his father in Thebes, Ammonia, and Ethiopia, and thereby cauſed his father to be worſhipped as a god in thoſe countries; and I think alſo in Arabia Felix. And this was the original of the worſhip of Jupiter Ammon, and the firſt mention of oracles that I meet with in prophane hiſtory.

1000. Amphion and Zethus ſlay Lycus; put Laius, the ſon of Labdacus, to flight, and reign in Thebes, and wall the city about.

994. Ægeus reigns in Attica.

993. Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus and grandſon of Hellen, reigns in Corinth; and ſome ſay that he built that city.

990.

CHRONICLE. 990. Dædalus and his nephew Talus invent the ſaw, the turning-lath, the wimble, the chip-axe, and other inſtruments of carpenters and joiners, and thereby gave a beginning to thoſe arts in Europe. Dædalus alſo invented the making of ſtatues with their feet aſunder, as if they walked.

988. Minos makes war upon the Athenians for killing his ſon Androgeus. Æacus flouriſhes.

987. Dædalus kills Talus and flees to Minos. A prieſteſs of Jupiter Ammon, being brought by Phœnician merchants into Greece, ſets up the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona; and this gives a beginning to oracles in Greece. And by their dictates the worſhip of the dead is every where introduced.

981. Alcmena born of Electryo, the ſon of Perſeus and Andromeda, and of Eurydice the daughter of Pelops.

980. Laius recovers the kingdom of Thebes. Athamas, the brother of Siſyphus, and father of Phryxus and Helle, marries Ino the daughter of Cadmus.

979. Rehoboam reigns. Thoas is ſent from Crete to Lemnos, and reigns there in the city Hepheſtia; where he works in copper and iron.

974. Seſac ſpoils the temple, and invades Syria, Perſia and India, ſetting up pillars in all his conqueſts. Jeroboam, becoming ſubject to Seſac, ſets up the worſhip of the Egyptian gods in Iſrael.

971. Seſac invades India, and returns with triumph the next year but one. Whence Triëterica Bacchi. He ſets up pillars on two mountains at the mouth of the river Ganges.

968. Theſeus reigns, having overcome the Minotaur; and ſoon after unites the twelve cities of Attica under one government. Seſac, having carried on his victories to mount Caucaſus, leaves his nephew Prometheus there, and Æetes at Colchos.

967. Seſac, paſſing over the Helleſpont, conquers Thrace; kills Lycurgus king thereof, and gives his kingdom and one of his ſinging-women to Oeagrus, the father of Orpheus. Seſac had in his army Ethiopians commanded by Pan, and Libyan women commanded by Merina, or Minerva. It was the cuſtom of the Ethiopians to dance when they were entering into a battle; and

and from their ſkipping they were painted with goats-feet in the form of ſatyrs. Chronicle.

966. Thoas, being made king of Cyprus by Seſac, goes thither with his wife Callicopis, and leaves his daughter Hypſipyle in Lemnos.

965. Seſac is baffled by the Greeks and Scythians; loſes many of his women, with their queen Minerva; compoſes the war; is received by Amphictyon at a feaſt; buries Ariadne; goes back through Aſia and Syria into Egypt with innumerable captives, among whom was Tithonus the ſon of Laomedon king of Troy; and leaves his Libyan Amazons under Martheſia and Lampeto, the ſucceſſor of Minerva, at the river Thermodon. He left alſo in Colchos geographical tables of all his conqueſts; and thence geography had its riſe. His ſinging-women were celebrated in Thrace by the name of the Muſes: and the daughters of Pierus, a Thracian, imitating them, were celebrated by the ſame name.

964. Minos making war upon Cocalus king of Sicily, is ſlain by him. He was eminent for his dominion, his laws, and his juſtice. Upon his ſepulchre, viſited by Pythagoras, was this inſcription, ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟC; the ſepulchre of Jupiter. Danäus with his daughters, flying from his brother Ægyptus (that is from Seſac) comes into Greece. Seſac, uſing the advice of his ſecretary Thoth, diſtributes Egypt into XXXVI nomes; and in every nome erects a temple; and appoints the ſeveral gods, feſtival, and religions of the ſeveral nomes. The temples were the ſepulchres of his great men, where they were to be buried and worſhipped after death, each in his own temple, with ceremonies and feſtivals appointed by him; while he and his queen, by the names of Oſiris and Iſis, were to be worſhipped in all Egypt. Theſe were the temples ſeen and deſcribed by Lucian eleven hundred years after to be of one and the ſame age. And this was the original of the ſeveral nomes of Egypt, and of the ſeveral gods and ſeveral religions in thoſe nomes. Seſac divided alſo the land of Egypt by meaſure amongſt his ſoldiers; and thence geometry had its riſe. Hercules and Euryſtheus born.

CHRONICLE. 963. Amphictyon brings the twelve gods of Egypt into Greece; and theſe are the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, to whom the earth, and planets, and elements are dedicated.

962. Phrixus and Helle fly from their ſtepmother Ino, the daughter of Cadmus. Helle is drowned in the Helleſpont, ſo named from her; but Phryxus arrives at Colchos.

960. The war between the Lapithæ, and the people of Theſſaly called Centaurs.

958. Oedipus kills his father Daius. Sthenelus the ſon of Perſeus reigns in Mycene.

956. Seſac is ſlain by his brother Japetus; who, after death, was deified in Afric by the name of Neptune, and called Typhon by the Egyptians. Orus reigns and routs the Libyans; who, under the conduct of Japetus and his ſon Antæus, or Atlas, invaded Egypt. Seſac, from his making the river Nile uſeful by cutting channels from it to all the cities of Egypt, was called by its names, Sihor or Siris, Nilus, and Ægyptus. The Greeks, hearing the Egyptians lament O Siris and Bou Siris, called him Oſiris and Buſiris. The Arabians, from his great acts, called him Bacchus, that is, the great. The Phrygians called him Ma-ſors, or Mavors, the Valiant; and by contraction Mars. Becauſe he ſet up pillars in all his conqueſts, and his army in his father's reign fought againſt the Africans with clubs, he is painted with pillars and a club. And this is that Hercules who, according to Cicero, was born upon the Nile; and, according to Eudoxus, was ſlain by Typhon; and, according to Diodorus, was an Egyptian, and went over a great part of the world, and ſet up the pillars in Afric. He ſeems to be alſo the Belus, who, according to Diodorus, led a colony of Egyptians to Babylon, and there inſtituted prieſts called Chaldæans, who were free from taxes, and obſerved the ſtars as in Egypt. Hitherto Judah and Iſrael laboured under great vexations: but henceforward Aſa king of Judea had peace ten years.

947. The Ethiopians invade Egypt, and drown Orus in the Nile. Thereupon Bubaſte the ſiſter of Orus kills herſelf by falling from the top of a houſe; and their mother Iſis, or Aſtræa, goes mad: and thus ended the reign of the gods of Egypt.

946.

946. Zerah the Ethiopian is overthrown by Aſa. The people of the lower Egypt make Oſarſiphus their king, and call in two hundred thouſand Jews and Phœnicians againſt the Ethiopians. Menes, or Amenophis, the young ſon of Zerah and Ciſſia, reigns. CHRONICLE.

944. The Ethiopians under Amenophis retire from the lower Egypt, and fortify Memphis againſt Oſarſiphus: and by theſe wars and the Argonautic expedition the great empire of Egypt breaks in pieces. Euryſtheus, the ſon of Sthenelus, reigns in Mycenæ.

943. Evander and his mother Carmenta carry letters into Italy.

942. Orpheus deifies the ſon of Semele by the name of Bacchus; and appoints his ceremonies.

940. The great men of Greece, hearing of the civil-wars and diſtractions of Egypt, reſolve to ſend an embaſſy to the nations upon the Euxine and Mediterranean Seas ſubject to that empire; and for that end order the building of the ſhip Argo.

939. The ſhip Argo is built, after the pattern of the long ſhip in which Danäus came into Greece: and this was the firſt long ſhip build by the Greeks. Chiron, who was born in the golden age, forms the conſtellations for the uſe of the Argonauts; and places the ſolſtitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middles, of the conſtellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonaſſar 316, obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice in the eighth degree of Cancer; and therefore the ſolſtice had then gone back ſeven degrees. It goes back one degree in about ſeventy and two years, and ſeven degrees in about 504 years. Count theſe years back from the year of Nabonaſſar 316, and they will place the Argonautic expedition about 936 years before Chriſt.

Gingris the ſon of Thoas ſlain, and deified by the name of Adonis.

938. Theſeus being fifty years old ſteals Hellen, then ſeven years old. Perithöus, the ſon of Ixion, endeavouring to ſteal Perſephone the daughter of Orcus king of the Moloſſians, is

CHRONICLE. ſlain by the dog of Orcus, and his companion Theſeus is taken and impriſoned. Helena is ſet at liberty by her brothers.

937. The Argonautic expedition. Prometheus leaves Mount Caucaſus, being ſet at liberty by Hercules. Laomedon king of Troy ſlain by Hercules. Priam ſucceeds him. Talus, a brazen man of the brazen age, the ſon of Minos, ſlain by the Argonauts. Æſculapius and Hercules were Argonauts; and Hippocrates was the eighteenth from Æſculapius by the father's ſide, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's ſide. And becauſe theſe generations, being noted in hiſtory, were moſt probably by the chief of the family, and for the moſt part by the eldeſt ſons; we may reckon 28, or at moſt 30, years to a generation. And thus the ſeventeen intervals by the father's ſide, and eighteen by the mother's, will, at a middle reckoning, amount unto about 507 years. Which being counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponneſian war (at which time Hippocrates began to flouriſh) will reach up to the time where we have placed the Argonautic expedition.

936. Theſeus is ſet at liberty by Hercules.

934. The hunting of the Calydonian boar, ſlain by Meleager.

930. Amenophis, with an army out of Ethiopia and Thebais, invades the lower Egypt; conquers Oſarſiphus; and drives out the Jews and Canaanites: and this is reckoned the ſecond expulſion of the ſhepherds. Callicopis dies; and is deified by Thoas with temples at Paphos and Amathus in Cyprus, and at Byblus in Syria, and with prieſts and ſacred rites, and becomes the Venus of the ancients, and the *Dea Cypria* and *Dea Syria:* and from theſe and other places, where temples were erected to her, ſhe was alſo called Paphia, Amathuſia, Byblià, Cytherëa, Salaminia, Cnidia, Erycina, Idalia, &c: and her three waiting-women became the three Graces.

928. The war of the ſeven captains againſt Thebes.

927. Hercules and Æſculapius are deified. Euryſtheus drives the Heraclidæ out of Peloponneſus. He is ſlain by Hyllus the ſon of Hercules. Atreus, the ſon of Pelops, ſucceeds him in the kingdom of Mycenæ. Meneſtheus, the great-grandſon of Erechtheus, reigns at Athens.

925. Theſeus is ſlain; being caſt down from a rock. CHRONICLE.

924. Hyllus, invading Peloponneſus, is ſlain by Echemus.

919. Atreus dies. Agamemnon reigns. In the abſence of Menelaüs, who went to look after what his father Atreus had left him, Paris ſteals Helena.

618. The ſecond war againſt Thebes.

912. Thoas, king of Cyprus and part of Phœnicia, dies: and for making armour for the kings of Egypt is deified with a ſumptuous temple at Memphis, by the name of Baal Canaan, Vulcan. This temple was ſaid to be built by Menes, the firſt king of Egypt who reigned next after the gods; that is, by Menoph, or Amenophis, who reigned next after the death of Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, Bubaſte, and Thoth. The city Memphis was alſo ſaid to be built by Menes. He began to build it when he fortified it againſt Oſarſiphus; and from him it was called Menoph, Moph, Noph, &c. and is to this day called Menuf by the Arabians: and therefore Menes, who built the city and temple, was Menoph or Amenophis. The prieſts of Egypt at length made this temple above a thouſand years older than Amenophis; and ſome of them five or ten thouſand years older. But it could not be above two or three hundred years older than the reign of Pſammiticus, who finiſhed it, and died 614 years before Chriſt. When Menoph, or Menes, built the city, he built a bridge there over the Nile; a work too great to be older than the monarchy of Egypt.

909. Amenophis (called Memnon by the Greeks) built the Memnonia at Suſa; and left Egypt under the government of Proteus, his viceroy.

904. Troy taken. Amenophis was ſtill at Suſa: the Greeks feigning that he came from thence to the Trojan war.

903. Demophoon, the ſon of Theſeus by Phædra the daughter of Minos, reigns at Athens.

901. Amenophis builds ſmall pyramids in Cochome.

895. Teucer builds Salamis in Cyprus. Hadad, or Benhadad, king of Syria dies; and is deified at Damaſcus with a temple and ceremonies.

CHRONICLE. 887. Amenophis dies; and is ſucceeded by his ſon Rameſſes or Rhampſinitus; who builds the weſtern portico of the temple of Vulcan. The Egyptians dedicated to Oſiris, Iſis, Orus ſenior, Typhon, and Nephthe, the ſiſter and wife of Typhon, the five days added by the Egyptians to the twelve calendar months of the luniſolar year; and ſaid, that they were added when theſe five princes were born. They were added therefore in the reign of Ammon, the father of theſe princes. But this year was not brought into uſe before the reign of Amenophis. For in his temple or ſepulchre at Abydus, they placed a circle of 365[c] cubits in compaſs, covered on the upper ſide with a plate of gold, and divided into 365 equal parts, to repreſent all the days of the year; every part having the day of the year, and the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars on that day, noted upon it: and this circle remained there till Cambyſes ſpoiled the temples of Egypt. And from this monument I collect, that it was Amenophis who eſtabliſhed this year, fixing the beginning thereof to one of the four cardinal points of the heavens. For had not the beginning thereof been now fixed, the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars could not have been noted upon the days thereof. The prieſts of Egypt therefore, in the reign of Amenophis, continued to obſerve the heliacal riſings and ſettings of the ſtars upon every day: and when, by the ſun's meridional altitudes, they had found the ſolſtices and equinoxes according to the ſun's mean motion, his equation being not yet known; they fixed the beginning of this year to the vernal equinox, and in memory thereof erected this monument. Now this year being carried into Chaldea, the Chaldeans began their years of Nabonaſſar on the ſame Thoth with the Egyptians; and the Thoth of the firſt year of Nabonaſſar fell upon the 26th day of February: which was thirty-three days and five hours before the vernal equinox, according to the ſun's mean motion: and the Thoth of this year moves backward thirty-three days and five hours in 137 years; and therefore fell upon the vernal equinox 137 years before the æra of Nabonaſſar began; that is, 884 years before Chriſt. And if it began upon the day next after the vernal equinox, it might begin three or four years earlier: and there we may place the death of

of this king. The Greeks feigned that he was the ſon of Tithonus; and therefore he was born after the return of Seſac into Egypt with Tithonus and other captives, and ſo might be about 70 or 75 years old at his death. CHRONICLE.

886. Ulyſſes leaves Calypſo in the iſland Ogygia, perhaps Cadis or Calès. She was the daughter of Atlas, according to Homer. The ancients at length feigned that this iſland, which from Atlas they called Atlantis, had been as big as all Europe, Africa, and Aſia, but was ſunk into the ſea.

883. Dido builds Carthage; and the Phœnicians begin preſently after to ſail as far as the ſtrait's mouth and beyond. Æneas was ſtill alive, according to Virgil.

870. Heſiod flouriſhes. He has told us himſelf, that he lived in the age next after the wars of Thebes and Troy; and that this age ſhould end when the men then living grew hoary and dropt into the grave: and therefore it was but of an ordinary length. And Herodotus has told us, that Heſiod and Homer were but 400 years older than himſelf.

860. Mœris reigns in Egypt. He adorned Memphis, and tranſlated the ſeat of his empire thither from Thebes. There he built the famous labyrinth, and the northern portico of the temple of Vulcan; and dug the great lake called the Lake of Mœris; and upon the bottom of it built two great pyramids of brick. And theſe things, being not mentioned by Homer or Heſiod, were unknown to them, and done after their days. He wrote alſo a book of geometry.

852. Hazael, the ſucceſſor of Hadad at Damaſcus, dies, and is deified. Theſe gods, Hadad and Hazael, together with Arathes the wife of Hadad, were worſhipped in their ſepulchres or temples till the days of Joſephus the Jew; and the Syrians boaſted their antiquity, not knowing, ſaith Joſephus, that they were novel.

844. The Æolic migration. Bœotia, formerly called Cadmëis, is ſeized by the Bœotians.

838. Cheops reigns in Egypt. He built the greateſt pyramid for his ſepulchre, and forbid the worſhip of the former kings; intending to have been worſhipped himſelf.

CHRONICLE. 825. The Heraclidæ, after three generations, or an hundred years, reckoned from their former expedition, return into Peloponneſus. Henceforward to the end of the firſt Meſſenian war reigned ten kings of Sparta by one race, and nine by another: ten of Meſſene; and nine of Arcadia: which, reckoning according to the ordinary courſe of nature about 18 or 20 years to a reign, one reign with another, will ſcarce take up above 200 years. And the ſeven reigns more in each of the two races of the Spartan kings to the battle of Thermopylæ, may take up 140 years more; and ſo place the return of the Heraclidæ about 820 years before Chriſt.

824. Cephren reigns in Egypt, and builds another great pyramid.

808. Mycerine reigns there, and begins the third great pyramid. He ſhut up the dead body of his daughter in a hollow ox, and cauſed her to be worſhipped daily with odours.

804. The war between the Athenians and Spartans, in which Codrus king of the Athenians is ſlain.

802. Nitocris, the ſiſter of Mycerine, ſucceeds him, and finiſhes the third great pyramid.

794. The Ionic migration under the conduct of the ſons of Codrus.

790. Pul founds the Aſſyrian empire.

788. Aſychis reigns in Egypt, and builds the eaſtern portico of the temple of Vulcan very ſplendidly; and a large pyramid of brick made of mud, dug out of the Lake of Mœris. Egypt breaks into ſeveral kingdoms. Gnephactus and Boccharis reign ſucceſſively in the upper Egypt; Stephanates, Nechepſos, and Nechus, at Sais; Anyſis, or Amoſis, at Anyſis, or Hanes; and Tacellotis at Bubaſte.

776. Iphitus reſtores the olympiads: and from this æra the olympiads are now reckoned. Gnephactus reigns at Memphis.

772. Necepſos and Petoſiris invent aſtrology in Egypt.

762. Boccharis reigns in Egypt.

760. Semiramis begins to flouriſh. Sanchoniatho writes.

751. Sabacon the Ethiopian invades Egypt, now divided into various

various kingdoms; burns Boccharis; ſlays Nechus; and makes Anyſis fly. Chronicle.

747. Pul is ſucceeded at Babylon by Nabonaſſar; and at Nineveh, by Tiglathpilaſer. The Egyptians who fled from Sabacon carry their aſtronomy and aſtrology to Babylon; and found the æra of Nabonaſſar in Egyptian years of 365 days, beginning on the ſame day with thoſe of Egypt.

740. Tiglathpilaſſer king of Aſſyria takes Damaſcus, and captivates the Syrians.

729. Tiglathpilaſſer is ſucceeded by Salmanaſſer.

721. Salmanaſſer, king of the Aſſyrians, carries the ten tribes into captivity.

719. Sennacherib reigns over Aſſyria.

717. Tirhakah reigns in Æthiopia.

714. Sennacherib is put to flight by the Ethiopians and Egyptians.

713. The Medes revolt from the Aſſyrians. Sennacherib ſlain. Aſſerhadon ſucceeds him. This is that Aſſerhadon-Pul, or Sardanapalus, the ſon of Anacyndaraxis or Sennacherib, who built Tarſus and Anchiale in one day.

710. Lycurgus brings the poems of Homer out of Aſia into Greece.

708. Lycurgus becomes tutor to Charillus, or Charilaüs, the young king of Sparta. Ariſtotle makes Lycurgus as old as Iphitus, becauſe his name was upon the olympic diſc. But the diſc was one of the five games called the Quinquertium; and the Quinquertium was firſt inſtituted upon the eighteenth olympiad. Socrates and Thucydides made the inſtitutions of Lycurgus about 300 years older than the end of the Peloponneſian war; that is, 705 years before Chriſt.

701. Sabacon, after a reign of 50 years, relinquiſhes Egypt to his ſon Sevechus, or Sethon; who becomes prieſt of Vulcan, and neglects military affairs.

698. Maneſſes reigns.

697. The Corinthians began firſt of any men to build ſhips with three orders of oars, called Triremes. Hitherto the Greeks had uſed long veſſels of fifty oars.

CHRONICLE. 687. Tirhakah reigns in Egypt.

681. Aſſerhadon takes Babylon.

673. The Jews conquered by Aſſerhadon, and Manaſſes carried captive to Babylon.

671. Aſſerhadon invades Egypt. The government of Egypt committed to twelve princes.

668. The weſtern nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt, revolt from the Aſſyrians. Aſſerhadon dies, and is ſucceeded by Saoſduchinus. Maneſſes returns from captivity.

658. Phraortes reigns in Media. The Prytanes reign in Corinth, expelling their kings.

657. The Corinthians overcome the Corcyreans at ſea; and this was the oldeſt ſea-fight. Achias the ſon of Evagetus, of the ſtock of Hercules, led a colony from Corinth into Sicily, and built Syracuſe.

655. The firſt Meſſenian war begins: it laſted twenty years. Pſammiticus becomes king of all Egypt, by conquering the other eleven kings, with whom he had already reigned fifteen years; he reigned about 39 years more. Henceforward the Ionians had acceſs into Egypt; and thence came the Ionian philoſophy, aſtronomy, and geometry.

650. Charops the firſt decennial archon of the Athenians. Some of theſe archons might die before the end of the ten years, and the remainder of the ten years be ſupplied by a new archon: and hence the ſeven decennial archons might not take up above forty or fifty years.

647. Saoſduchinus king of Aſſyria dies, and is ſucceeded by Chyniladon.

640. Joſias reigns in Judæa.

636. Phraortes king of the Medes is ſlain in a war againſt the Aſſyrians. Aſtyages ſucceeds him.

635. The Scythians invade the Medes and Aſſyrians.

633. Battus builds Cyrene, where Iraſa, the city of Antæus, had ſtood.

625. Nabopolaſſar revolts from the king of Aſſyria, and reigns over Babylon.

624. Phalantus leads the Parthenians into Italy, and builds Tarentum.

617.

617. The ſecond Meſſenian war begins. Pſammiticus dies. Nechao reigns in Egypt. Rome is built. CHRONICLE.

611. Cyaxeres reigns over the Medes.

610. Creon the firſt annual archon of the Athenians. The princes of the Scythians ſlain in a feaſt by Cyaxeres.

609. Joſiah ſlain. Cyaxeres and Nebuchadnezzar overthrow Niniveh; and, by ſharing the Aſſyrian empire, grow great.

607. Cyaxeres makes the Scythians retire beyond Colchos and Iberia; and ſeizes the Aſſyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

606. Nebuchadnezzar invades Syria and Judæa. Cyaxeres makes war upon Alyattes king of Lydia.

604. Nabopolaſſar dies; and is ſucceeded by his ſon Nebuchadnezzar, who had already reigned two years with his father.

601. In the ſixth year of the Lydian war, a total eclipſe of the ſun, predicted by Thales, April 28, between 8 and 9 of the clock in the morning, puts an end to a battle between the Medes and Lydians. Whereupon they make peace; and ratify it by a marriage between Aſtyages, the ſon of Cyaxeres, and Ariene the daughter of Alyattes.

600. Darius the Mede, the ſon or grandſon of Cyaxeres, is born.

599. Cyrus is born of Mandane, the ſiſter of Cyaxeres, and daughter of Aſtyages.

598. The Meſſenians, being conquered, fly into Sicily and build Meſſana.

596. Suſiana and Elam conquered by Nebuchadnezzar. Caranus and Perdiccas fly from Phidon, and found the kingdom of Macedon. Phidon introduces weights and meaſures, and the coining of ſilver money.

588. The temple of Solomon is burnt by Nebuchadnezzar.

584. Phidon preſides in the 49th olympiad.

580. Draco is archon of the Athenians, and makes laws for them. Phidon is overthrown. Two men choſen by lot out of the city Elis, to preſide in the olympic games.

575. The Amphictyons make war upon the Cyrrheans, by the advice of Solon, and take Cyrrha. Cliſthenes, Alcmæon,

Chronicle. and Eurolycus, commanded the forces of the Amphictyons, and were contemporary to Phidon. For Leocides the ſon of Phidon, and Megacles the ſon of Alcmæon, at one and the ſame time courted Agariſta the daughter of Cliſthenes.

569. Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt. Darius the Mede reigns.

563. Solon being archon of the Athenians, makes laws for them.

557. Periander dies; and Corinth becomes free from tyrants.

555. Nabonnidus reigns at Babylon. His mother Nitocris adorns and fortifies that city.

553. The conference between Crœſus and Solon.

550. Piſiſtratus becomes tyrant at Athens.

547. Sardes is taken by Cyrus. Darius the Mede re-coins the Lydian money into Darics. Solon dies, Hegiſtratus being archon of Athens.

538. Babylon is taken by Cyrus.

536. Cyrus overcomes Darius the Mede, and tranſlates the empire to the Perſians. The Jews return from captivity.

529. Cyrus dies. Cambyſes reigns.

521. Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes reigns. The Magi are ſlain. The various religions of the ſeveral nations of Perſia, which conſiſted in the worſhip of their ancient kings, are aboliſhed; and by the influence of Hyſtaſpes and Zoroaſtres the worſhip of the ſupreme God, at altars without temples, is ſet up in all Perſia.

520. The ſecond temple is built at Jeruſalem by the command of Darius.

515. The ſecond temple is finiſhed and dedicated.

513. Harmodius and Ariſtogiton ſlay Hipparchus, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, tyrant of the Athenians.

508. The kings of the Romans expelled and conſuls erected.

491. The battle of Marathon.

485. Xerxes reigns.

480. The paſſage of Xerxes over the Helleſpont into Greece, and battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

464. Artaxerxes Longimanus reigns.

457. Ezra returns into Judæa. Jonathan, the father of Jadua, was now grown up; having a chamber in the temple.

444. Nehemiah returns into Judæa. Herodotus writes. CHRONICLE.

431. The Peloponneſian war begins.

428. Nehemiah drives away Eliezar, the brother of Jadua; becauſe he had married Nicaſo, the daughter of Sanballat.

424. Darius Nothus reigns.

422. Sanballat builds a temple in Mount Gerizim, and makes his ſon-in-law Eleazar the firſt high-prieſt thereof.

412. Hitherto the prieſts and Levites were numbered and written in the chronicles of the Jews before the death of Nehemiah: at which time either Johanan or Jadua was high-prieſt: and here ends the ſacred hiſtory of the Jews.

405. Artaxerxes Mnemon reigns. The end of the Peloponneſian war.

332. The Perſian empire conquered by Alexander the Great.

331. Darius Codomanus, the laſt king of Perſia, ſlain.

END OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PROPHECIES OF HOLY WRIT,

PARTICULARLY THE

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL,

AND THE

APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN.

PART I.

UPON THE

PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PROPHECIES, &c.

CHAP. I.

Introduction concerning the Compilers of the books of the Old Teſtament.

WHEN Manaſſes ſet up a carved image in the houſe of the Lord, and built altars in the two courts of the houſe to all the hoſt of heaven, and uſed inchantments and witchcraft and familiar ſpirits, and for his great wickedneſs was invaded by the army of Aſſerhadon king of Aſſyria, and carried captive to Babylon; the book of the Law was loſt till the eighteenth year of his grandſon Joſiah. Then Hilkiah the high-prieſt, upon repairing the temple, found it there; and the king lamented, that their fathers had not done after the words of the book, and commanded that it ſhould be read to the people, and cauſed the people to renew the holy covenant with God. This is the book of the Law now extant.

2 Chron. xxxiii. 5, 6, 7.

2 Chron. xxxiv.

II. When Shiſhak came out of Egypt and ſpoiled the temple, and brought Judah into ſubjection to the monarchy of Egypt (which was in the fifth year of Rehoboam) the Jews continued under

2 Chron. xii. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9. and xv. 3, 5, 6.

CHAPTER FIRST. great troubles for about twenty years; being "without the true "God, and without a teaching-prieſt, and without law: and in "thoſe times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to "him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inha-"bitants of the countries, and nation was deſtroyed of nation, "and city of city, for God did vex them with all adverſity." 2 Chron. xiv. 1,6,7,8,9,12. But when Shiſhak was dead, and Egypt fell into troubles, Judah had quiet ten years; and in that time Aſa built fenced cities in Judah, and got up an army of 580000 men; with which, in the 15th year of his reign, he met and overcame Zerah the Ethiopian; who had conquered Egypt and Libya, and Troglodytica, and came out with an army of 1000000 Libyans and Ethiopians, to recover the countries conquered by Seſac. And 2 Chron. xv. 3, 12, 13, 16, 18. after this victory Aſa dethroned his mother for idolatry; and he renewed the altar, and brought new veſſels of gold and ſilver into the temple; and he and the people entered into a new covenant to ſeek the Lord God of their fathers, upon pain of death to thoſe who worſhipped other gods; and his ſon Jehoſaphat took away the high places; and in the third year of his reign ſent ſome of his princes, and of the prieſts and Levites, to teach in the cities of Judah; and they had the book of the Law with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people. This is that book of the Law which was afterwards loſt in the reign of Manaſſes, and found again in the reign of Joſiah; and therefore it was written before the third year of Jehoſaphat.

III. The ſame book of the Law was preſerved and handed down to poſterity by the Samaritans; and therefore was received by the 2 Kings xvii. 27, 28, 32, 33. ten tribes before their captivity. For when the ten tribes were captivated, a prieſt of the captivity was ſent back to Bethel, by order of the king of Aſſyria, to inſtruct the new inhabitants of Samaria, in "the manner of the God of the land;" and the Samaritans had the Pentateuch from this prieſt, as containing the law or "manner of the God of the land," which he was to teach 2 Kings xvii. 34, 41. them. For they perſevered in the religion which he taught them, joining with it the worſhip of their own gods; and by perſevering in what they had been taught, they preſerved this book

book of their law in the original character of the Hebrews; while the two tribes, after their return from Babylon, changed the character to that of the Chaldees, which they had learned at Babylon.

JEWISH CANON.

IV. And ſince the Pentateuch was received as the book of the Law, both by the two tribes and by the ten tribes; it follows, that they received it before they became divided into two kingdoms. For after the diviſion, they received not laws from one another, but continued at variance. Judah could not reclaim Iſrael from the ſin of Jeroboam, and Iſrael could not bring Judah to it. The Pentateuch therefore was the book of the Law in the days of David and Solomon. The affairs of the tabernacle and temple were ordered by David and Solomon, according to the law of this book; and David in the 78th Pſalm, admoniſhing the people to give ear to the law of God, means the law of this book. For in deſcribing how their forefathers kept it not, he quotes many hiſtorical things out of the books of Exodus and Numbers.

V. The race of the kings of Edom, before there reigned any king over Iſrael, is ſet down in the book of Geneſis; and therefore that book was not written, entirely in the form now extant before the reign of Saul. The writer ſet down the race of thoſe kings till his own time; and therefore wrote, before David conquered Edom. The Pentateuch is compoſed of the law and the hiſtory of God's people together; and the hiſtory hath been collected from ſeveral books: ſuch as were the Hiſtory of the Creation compoſed by Moſes, Gen. ii. 4; the Book of the Generations of Adam, Gen. v. i; and the Book of the Wars of the Lord Num. xxi. 14. This Book of Wars contained what was done at the Red Sea, and in the journeying of Iſrael through the Wilderneſs, and therefore was begun by Moſes: and Joſhua might carry it on to the conqueſt of Canaan. For Joſhua wrote ſome things in the book of the law of God (Joſh. xxiv. 26.) and therefore might write his own wars in the Book of Wars; thoſe being the principal wars of God. Theſe were public books; and therefore not written without the authority of Moſes and Joſhua. And Samuel had leiſure in the reign of Saul to put them into the

Chapter First.

form of the books of Moſes and Joſhua now extant, inſerting into the book of Geneſis the race of the kings of Edom, until there reigned a king in Iſrael.

VI. The book of the Judges is a continued hiſtory of the Judges down to the death of Sampſon; and therefore was compiled after his death out of the acts of the Judges. Several things in this book are ſaid to be done "when there was no king in Iſrael," (Judg. xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 25.) and therefore this book was written after the beginning of the reign of Saul. When it was written, the Jebuſites dwelt in Jeruſalem (Jud. i. 21); and therefore it was written before the eighth year of David (2 Sam. v. 8. and 1 Chron. xi. 6.) The books of Moſes, Joſhua, and Judges, contain one continued hiſtory, down from the creation to the death of Sampſon. Where the Pentateuch ends, the book of Joſhua begins; and where the book of Joſhua ends, the book of Judges begins. Therefore all theſe books have been compoſed out of the writings of Moſes, Joſhua, and other records, by one and the ſame hand, after the beginning of the reign of Saul, and before the eighth year of David. And Samuel was a ſacred writer (1 Sam. x. 25.) acquainted with the hiſtory of Moſes and the Judges (1 Sam. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.) and had leiſure in the reign of Saul, and ſufficient authority to compoſe theſe books. He was a prophet, and judged Iſrael all the days of his life, and was in the greateſt eſteem with the people; and the law, by which he was to judge the people, was not to be publiſhed by leſs authority than his own, the law-maker being not inferior to the judge. And the book of Jaſher, which is quoted in the book of Joſhua (Joſh. x. 13.) was in being at the death of Saul (2 Sam. i. 18.)

VII. At the dedication of the temple of Solomon, when the Ark was brought into the moſt holy place, there was nothing in it but the two tables (1 Kings viii. 9.) and therefore when the Philiſtines took the Ark, they took out of it the book of the law, and the golden pot of manna, and Aaron's rod. And this and other loſſes in the deſolation of Iſrael, by the conquering Philiſtines, might give occaſion to Samuel, after ſome reſpite from thoſe enemies, to recollect the ſcattered writings of Moſes and

Joſhua,

Joſhua, and the records of the patriarchs and judges, and compoſe them in the form now extant.

VIII. The book of Ruth is a hiſtory of things done in the days of the Judges, and may be looked upon as an addition to the book of the Judges, written by the ſame author, and at the ſame time. For it was written after the birth of David (Ruth iv. 17, 22.) and not long after; becauſe the hiſtory of Boaz and Ruth, the great-grandfather and great-grandmother of David, and that of their contemporaries, could not be well remembered above two or three generations. And ſince this book derives the genealogy of David from Boaz and Ruth, and omits David's elder brothers and his ſons; it was written in honour of David, after he was anointed king by Samuel, and before he had children in Hebron, and by conſequence in the reign of Saul. It proceeds not to the hiſtory of David; and therefore ſeems to have been written, preſently after he was anointed. They judge well, therefore, who aſcribe to Samuel the books of Joſhua, Judges, and Ruth.

IX. Samuel is alſo reputed the author of the firſt book of Samuel, till the time of his death. The two books of Samuel cite no authors, and therefore ſeem to be originals. They begin with his genealogy, birth, and education, and might be written partly in his life-time by himſelf, or his diſciples the prophets at Naioth in Ramah (1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 20.) and partly after his death by the ſame diſciples.

X. The books of the Kings cite other authors; as the book of the Acts of Solomon; the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Iſrael; and the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah. The books of the Chronicles cite the book of Samuel the ſeer; the book of Nathan the prophet; and the book of Gad the ſeer, for the acts of David: the book of Nathan the prophet; the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite; and the viſions of Iddo the ſeer, for the acts of Solomon: the book of Shemajah the prophet; and the book of Iddo the ſeer concerning genealogies, for the acts of Rehoboam and Abijah: the book of the kings of Judah and Iſrael for the acts of Aſa, Joaſh, Amaziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manaſſeh, and Joſiah: the book of Hanani the

the ſeer, for the acts of Jehoſaphat; and the viſions of Iſaiah for the acts of Uzziah and Hezekiah. Theſe books were therefore collected out of the hiſtorical writings of the antient ſeers and prophets. And becauſe the books of the Kings and Chronicles quote one another, they were written at one and the ſame time: and this time was after the return from the Babylonian captivity; becauſe they bring down the hiſtory of Judah, and the genealogies of the kings of Judah, and of the high-prieſts, to that captivity. The book of Ezra was originally a part of the book of the Chronicles, and has been divided from it: for it begins with the two laſt verſes of the books of Chronicles; and the firſt book of Eſdras begins with the two laſt chapters thereof. Ezra was therefore the compiler of the books of Kings and Chronicles, and brought down the hiſtory to his own time. He was a ready ſcribe in the law of God; and for aſſiſting him in this work Nehemias founded a library, and "gathered together "the acts of the kings and the prophets, and of David, and the "epiſtles of the kings concerning the holy gifts" (2 Maccab. ii. 13.) By the Acts of David, I underſtand here the two books of Samuel, or at leaſt the ſecond book. Out of the Acts of the Kings, written from time to time by the prophets, he compoſed the books of the kings of Judah and Iſrael, the Chronicles of the kings of Judah, and the Chronicles of the kings of Iſrael. And in doing this he joined thoſe acts together in due order of time, copying the very words of the authors; as is manifeſt from hence, that the books of the Kings and Chronicles frequently agree with one another in words for many ſentences together: where they agree in ſenſe, there they agree in words alſo.

XI. So the prophecies of Iſaiah, written at ſeveral times, he has collected into one body: and the like he did for thoſe of Jeremiah, and the reſt of the prophets, down to the days of the ſecond temple. The book of Jonah is the hiſtory of Jonah, written by another hand. The book of Daniel is a collection of papers written at ſeveral times. The ſix laſt chapters contain prophecies, written at ſeveral times by Daniel himſelf; the ſix firſt are a collection of hiſtorical papers written by others: the

fourth

fourth chapter is a decree of Nebuchadnezzar: the firſt chapter was written after Daniel's death; for the author ſaith, that Daniel continued to the firſt year of Cyrus; that is, to his firſt year over the Perſians and Medes, and third year over Babylon: and, for the ſame reaſon, the fifth and ſixth chapters were alſo written after his death; for they end with theſe words: "So "this Daniel proſpered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign "of Cyrus the Perſian:" yet theſe words might be added by the collector of the papers, whom I take to be Ezra. JEWISH CANON.

XII. The pſalms compoſed by Moſes, David, and others, ſeem to have been alſo collected by Ezra into one volume. I reckon him the collector, becauſe in this collection I meet with pſalms as late as the Babylonian captivity, but with none later.

XIII. After theſe things Antiochus Epiphanes ſpoiled the temple; commanded the Jews to forſake the Law upon pain of death; and cauſed the ſacred books to be burnt wherever they could be found: and in theſe troubles the book of the Chronicles of the kings of Iſrael was entirely loſt. But upon recovering from this oppreſſion, Judas Maccabæus gathered together all thoſe writings that were to be met with (2 Maccab. ii. 14.) and in reducing them into order, part of the prophecies of Iſaiah, or ſome other prophet, have been added to the end of the prophecies of Zechariah; and the book of Ezra has been ſeparated from the book of Chronicles, and ſet together in two different orders; in one order in the book of Ezra, received into the canon, and in another order in the firſt book of Eſdras.

XIV. After the Roman captivity, the Jews, for preſerving their traditions, put them in writing in their Talmud; and for preſerving their ſcriptures, agreed upon an edition; and pointed it, and counted the letters of every ſort in every book: and by preſerving only this edition, the antienter various lections, except what can be diſcovered by means of the Septuagint verſion, are now loſt; and ſuch marginal notes, or other corruptions, as by the errors of the tranſcribers, before this edition was made, had crept into the text, are now ſcarce to be corrected.

XV. The Jews, before the Roman captivity, diſtinguiſhed the ſacred books into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, or holy

CHAPTER FIRST.

holy writings; and read only the law and the prophets in their ſynagogues. And Chriſt and his apoſtles laid the ſtreſs of religion upon the law and the prophets (Matt. vii. 12. xxii. 4. Luke xvi. 16, 29, 31. xxiv. 44. Acts xxiv. 14. xxvi. 22. Rom. iii. 21.) By the Hagiographa they meant the hiſtorical books, called Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Eſther, the book of Job, the Pſalms, the books of Solomon, and the Lamentations. The Samaritans read only the Pentateuch: and when Jehoſaphat ſent men to teach in the cities, they had with them only the book of the law; for the prophecies now extant were not then written. And upon the return from the Babylonian captivity, Ezra read only the book of the law to the people, from morning to noon, on the firſt day of the ſeventh month; and from day to day in the feaſt of tabernacles: for he had not yet collected the writings of the prophets into one volume now extant; but inſtituted the reading of them after the collection was made. By reading the law and the prophets in the ſynagogues, thoſe books have been kept freer from corruption than the Hagiographa.

XVI. In the infancy of the nation of Iſrael, when God had given them a law, and made a covenant with them to be their God if they would keep his commandments, he ſent prophets to reclaim them, as often as they revolted to the worſhip of other gods: and upon their returning to him, they ſometimes renewed the covenant which they had broken. Theſe prophets he continued to ſend till the days of Ezra: but after their prophecies were read in the ſynagogues, thoſe prophecies were thought ſufficient. For if the people would not hear Moſes and the old prophets, they would hear no new ones, no not "though they ſhould riſe "from the dead." At length when a new treaty was to be preached to the Gentiles, namely, "that Jeſus was the Chriſt," God ſent new prophets and teachers: but after their writings were alſo received and read in the ſynagogues of the Chriſtians, prophecy ceaſed a ſecond time. We have Moſes, the prophets, and apoſtles, and the words of Chriſt himſelf; and if we will not hear them, we ſhall be more inexcuſable than the Jews. For the prophets and apoſtles have foretold, that as Iſrael often revolted

volted and brake the covenant, and upon repentance renewed it; ſo there ſhould be a falling away among the Chriſtians, ſoon after the days of the apoſtles; and that in the latter days God would deſtroy the impenitent revolters, and make a new covenant with his people: and the giving ear to the prophets is a fundamental character of the true church. For God has ſo ordered the prophecies, that in the latter days "the wiſe may underſtand, "but the wicked ſhall do wickedly, and none of the wicked "ſhall underſtand," (Dan. xii. 9, 10.) The authority of emperors, kings, and princes, is human. The authority of councils, ſynods, biſhops, and preſbyters, is human. The authority of the prophets is divine, and comprehends the ſum of religion, reckoning Moſes and the apoſtles among the prophets; and "if "an angel from heaven preach any other goſpel *than what they* "*have preached*, let him be accurſed." Their writings contain the covenant between God and his people, with inſtructions for keeping this covenant; inſtances of God's judgments upon them that break it; and predictions of things to come. While the people of God keep the covenant, they continue to be his people: when they break it, they ceaſe to be his people or church, and become "the ſynagogue of God, who ſay they are Jews and are "not." And no power on earth is authorized to alter this covenant.

Jewish Canon.

XVII. The predictions of things to come relate to the ſtate of the church in all ages: and amongſt the old prophets, Daniel is moſt diſtinct in order of time, and eaſieſt to be underſtood: and therefore in thoſe things which relate to the laſt times, he muſt be made the key to the reſt.

CHAP. II.

OF THE PROPHETIC LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER SECOND.

FOR underſtanding the prophecies, we are, in the firſt place, to acquaint ourſelves with the figurative language of the prophets. This language is taken from the analogy between the world natural, and an empire or kingdom conſidered as a world politic.

II. Accordingly, the whole world natural conſiſting of Heaven and Earth, ſignifies the whole world politic, conſiſting of Thrones and People; or ſo much of it as is conſidered in the prophecy: and the things in that world ſignify the analogous things in this. For the Heavens, and the things therein, ſignify thrones and dignities, and thoſe who enjoy them; and the Earth, with the things thereon, the inferior people; and the loweſt parts of the Earth, called Hades, or Hell, the loweſt or moſt miſerable part of them. Whence aſcending towards heaven, and deſcending to the earth, are put for riſing and falling in power and honour: riſing out of the earth, or waters, and falling into them, for the riſing up to any dignity or dominion, out of the inferior ſtate of the people, or falling down from the ſame into that inferior ſtate; deſcending into the lower parts of the earth, for deſcending to a very low and unhappy ſtate; ſpeaking with a faint voice out of the duſt, for being in a weak and low condition; moving from one place to another, for tranſlation from one office, dignity, or dominion, to another; great earthquakes, and the ſhaking of heaven and earth, for the ſhaking of dominions, ſo as to diſtract or overthrow them; the creating a new heaven and earth, and the paſſing away of an old one, or the beginning

ning and end of the world, for the riſe and ruin of the body politic ſignified thereby. PROPHETIC LANGUAGE.

III. In the heavens, the Sun and Moon are, by interpreters of dreams, put for the perſons of kings and queens. But in ſacred prophecy, which regards not ſingle perſons, the Sun is put for the whole ſpecies and race of kings, in the kingdom or kingdoms of the world politic, ſhining with regal power and glory; the Moon for the body of the common people, conſidered as the king's wife; the Stars for ſubordinate princes and great men, or for biſhops and rulers of the people of God, when the Sun is Chriſt; Light for the glory, truth, and knowledge, wherewith great and good men ſhine and illuminate others; Darkneſs for obſcurity of condition, and for error, blindneſs, and ignorance; darkening, ſmiting, or ſetting of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, for the ceaſing of a kingdom, or for the deſolation thereof, proportional to the darkneſs; darkening the ſun, turning the moon into blood, and falling of the ſtars, for the ſame; new moons, for the return of a diſperſed people into a body politic or eccleſiaſtic.

IV. Fire and meteors refer to both heaven and earth, and ſignify as follows; burning any thing with fire, is put for the conſuming thereof by war; a conflagration of the earth, or turning a country into a lake of fire, for the conſumption of a kingdom by war; the being in a furnace, for the being in ſlavery under another nation; the aſcending up of the ſmoke of any burning thing for ever and ever, for the continuation of a conquered people under the miſery of perpetual ſubjection and ſlavery; the ſcorching heat of the ſun, for vexatious wars, perſecutions and troubles inflicted by the king; riding on the clouds, for reigning over much people; covering the ſun with a cloud, or with ſmoke, for oppreſſion of the king by the armies of an enemy; tempeſtuous winds, or the motion of clouds, for wars; thunder, or the voice of a cloud, for the voice of a multitude; a ſtorm of thunder, lightening, hail, and overflowing rain, for a tempeſt of war deſcending from the heavens and clouds politic, on the heads of their enemies; rain, if not immoderate, and

CHAPTER SECOND. dew, and living water, for the graces and doctrines of the Spirit; and the defect of rain, for ſpiritual barrenneſs.

V. In the earth, the dry land and congregated waters, as a ſea, a river, a flood, are put for the people of ſeveral regions, nations, and dominions; embittering of waters, for great affliction of the people by war and perſecution; turning things into blood, for the myſtical death of bodies politic, that is, for their diſſolution; the overflowing of a ſea or river, for the invaſion of the earth politic, by the people of the waters; drying up of waters, for the conqueſt of their regions by the earth; fountains of waters for cities, the permanent heads of rivers politic; mountains and iſlands, for the cities of the earth and ſea politic, with the territories and dominions belonging to thoſe cities; dens and rocks of mountains, for the temples of cities; the hiding of men in thoſe dens and rocks, for the ſhutting up of idols in their temples; houſes and ſhips, for families, aſſemblies, and towns, in the earth and ſea politic; and a navy of ſhips of war, for an army of that kingdom that is ſignified by the ſea.

VI. Animals alſo and Vegetables are put for the people of ſeveral regions and conditions; and particularly trees, herbs, and land animals, for the people of the earth politic: flags, reeds, and fiſhes, for thoſe of the waters politic; birds and inſects, for thoſe of the politic heaven and earth; a foreſt, for a kingdom; and a wilderneſs, for a deſolate and thin people.

VII. If the world politic, conſidered in prophecy, conſiſts of many kingdoms; they are repreſented by as many parts of the world natural; as the nobleſt by the celeſtial frame, and then the moon and clouds are put for the common people; the leſs noble, by the earth, ſea, and rivers, and by the animals or vegetables, or buildings therein; and then the greater and more powerful animals and taller trees, are put for kings, princes, and nobles. And becauſe the whole kingdom is the body politic of the king; therefore the ſun, or a tree, or a beaſt, or bird, or a man, whereby the king is repreſented, is put in a large ſignification for the whole kingdom; and ſeveral animals, as a lion, a bear, a leopard, a goat, according to their qualities, are put for ſeveral

ſeveral kingdoms and bodies politic; and ſacrificing of beaſts, for ſlaughtering and conquering of kingdoms; and friendſhip between beaſts, for peace between kingdoms. Yet ſometimes vegetables and animals are, by certain epithets or circumſtances, extended to other ſignifications; as a tree, when called the "tree of life" or "of knowledge;" and a beaſt, when called "the old ſerpent," or worſhiped.

PROPHETIC LANGUAGE.

VIII. When a beaſt or man is put for a kingdom, his parts and qualities are put for the analogous parts and qualities of the kingdom: as the head of a beaſt, for the great men who precede and govern; the tail for the inferior people, who follow and are governed; the heads, if more than one, for the number of capital parts, or dynaſties, or dominions in the kingdom, whether collateral or ſucceſſive, with reſpect to the civil government; the horns on any head, for the number of kingdoms in that head, with reſpect to military power; ſeeing, for underſtanding; and the eyes, for men of underſtanding and policy; and in matters of religion, for Επισκοποι, biſhops; ſpeaking, for making laws; the mouth, for a law-giver, whether civil or ſacred; the loudneſs of the voice, for might and power; the faintneſs thereof, for weakneſs; eating and drinking, for acquiring what is ſignified by the things eaten and drank; the hairs of a beaſt or man, and the feathers of a bird, for people; the wings, for the number of kingdoms repreſented by the beaſt; the arm of a man, for his power, or for any people wherein his ſtrength and power conſiſts; his feet, for the loweſt of the people, or for the latter end of the kingdom; the feet, nails, and teeth of beaſts of prey, for armies and ſquadrons of armies; the bones, for ſtrength, and for fortified places; the fleſh, for riches and poſſeſſions; and the days of their acting, for years; and when a tree is put for a kingdom, its branches, leaves, and fruit, ſignify as do the wings, feathers, and food of a bird or beaſt.

IX. When a man is taken in a myſtical ſenſe; his qualities are often ſignified by his actions, and by the circumſtances of things about him. So a ruler is ſignified by his riding on a beaſt; a warrior and conqueror, by his having a ſword and bow; a potent man, by his gigantic ſtature; a judge, by weights and meaſures;

CHAPTER SECOND. ſures; a ſentence of abſolution, or condemnation, by a white or a black ſtone; a new dignity, by a new name; moral or civil qualifications, by garments; honour and glory, by ſplendid apparel; royal dignity, by purple or ſcarlet, or by a crown; righteouſneſs, by white and clean robes; wickedneſs, by ſpotted and filthy garments; affliction, mourning, and humiliation, by clothing in ſack-cloth; diſhonour, ſhame, and want of good works, by nakedneſs; error and miſery, by drinking a cup of his or her wine that cauſeth it; propagating any religion for gain, by exerciſing traffick and merchandize with that people whoſe religion it is; worſhiping or ſerving the falſe gods of any nation, by committing adultery with their princes, or by worſhiping them; a council of a kingdom, by its image; idolatry, by blaſphemy; overthrow in war, by a wound of man or beaſt; a durable plague of war, by a ſore and pain; the affliction or perſecution which a people ſuffers in labouring to bring forth a new kingdom, by the pain of a woman in labour to bring forth a man-child; the diſſolution of a body politic or eccleſiaſtic, by the death of a man or beaſt; and the revival of a diſſolved dominion, by the reſurrection of the dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE VISION OF THE IMAGE COMPOSED OF FOUR METALS.

THE prophecies of Daniel are all of them related to one another, as if they were but ſeveral parts of one general prophecy, given at ſeveral times. The firſt is the eaſieſt to be underſtood, and every following prophecy adds ſomething new to the former. The firſt was given in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, in the ſecond year of his reign; but the king forgetting his dream, it was given again to Daniel in a dream, and by him revealed to the king. And thereby Daniel preſently became famous for wiſdom, and revealing of ſecrets: inſomuch, that Ezekiel his contemporary, in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, ſpake thus of him to the king of Tyre: "Behold," ſaith he, "thou art wiſer than Daniel, there "is no ſecret that they can hide from thee" (Ezek. xxviii. 3.) And the ſame Ezekiel, in another place, joins Daniel with Noah and Job, as moſt high in the favour of God (Ezek. xiv. 14, 16, 18, 20.) And in the laſt year of Belſhazzar, the queen-mother ſaid of him to the king: "Behold there is a man in thy "kingdom, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy gods; and in the "days of thy father, light and underſtanding and wiſdom, like "the wiſdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king "Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I ſay, thy father made "maſter of the magicians, aſtrologers, Chaldeans and ſooth-"ſayers: foraſmuch as an excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and "underſtanding, interpreting of dreams, and ſhewing of hard "ſentences, and diſſolving of doubts, were found in the ſame "Daniel,

Image of Four Metals.

CHAPTER THIRD.

" Daniel, whom the king named Belteſhazzar" (Dan. v. 11, 12.) Daniel was in the greateſt credit amongſt the Jews, till the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian: and to reject his prophecies, is to reject the Chriſtian religion. For this religion is founded upon his prophecy concerning the Meſſiah.

II. Now in this viſion of the image compoſed of four metals, the foundation of all Daniel's prophecies is laid. It repreſents a body of four great nations, which ſhould reign over the earth ſucceſſively, viz. the people of Babylonia, the Perſians, the Greeks, and the Romans. And by a ſtone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all the four metals to pieces, and " became a great mountain, and filled the whole " earth;" it further repreſents that a new kingdom ſhould ariſe, after the four, and conquer all thoſe nations, and grow very great, and laſt to the end of all ages.

III. The head of the image was of Gold; and ſignifies the nations of Babylonia, who reigned firſt, as Daniel himſelf interprets. " Thou art this head of gold," ſaith he to Nebuchadnezzar. Theſe nations reigned till Cyrus conquered Babylon, and within a few months after that conqueſt revolted to the Perſians, and ſet them up above the Medes. The breaſt and arms of the image were of Silver; and repreſent the Perſians, who reigned next. The belly and thighs of the image were of Braſs; and repreſent the Greeks, who, under the dominion of Alexander the Great, conquered the Perſians, and reigned next after them. The legs were of Iron; and repreſent the Romans, who reigned next after the Greeks, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes. For in that year they conquered Perſeus king of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks; and from thenceforward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with great power till the days of Theodoſius the Great. Then by the incurſion of many northern nations, they brake into many ſmaller kingdoms, which are repreſented by the feet and toes of the image, compoſed part of iron, and part of clay. For then, ſaith Daniel, " the kingdom ſhall be di- " vided, and there ſhall be in it of the ſtrength of iron, but " they ſhall not cleave one to another.

" And in the days of theſe kings, ſaith Daniel, ſhall the " God of heaven ſet up a kingdom which ſhall never be de- " ſtroyed: and the kingdom ſhall not be left to other people; " but it ſhall break in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdoms, " and it ſhall ſtand for ever. Foraſmuch as thou ſaweſt that " the ſtone was cut out of the mountains without hands, and " that it brake in pieces the iron, the braſs, the clay, the ſilver " and the gold."

CHAP. IV.

Of the Viſion of the Four Beaſts.

IN the next viſion, which is of the Four Beaſts, the prophecy of the four empires is repeated, with ſeveral new additions; ſuch as are the two wings of the Lion; the three ribs in the mouth of the Bear; the four wings and four heads of the Leopard; the eleven horns of the fourth Beaſt; and the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, to the antient of days ſitting in judgment. DANIEL's FOUR BEASTS.

II. The firſt Beaſt was like a lion, and had eagle's wings, to denote the kingdoms of Babylon and Media, which overthrew the Aſſyrian empire, and divided it between them; and thereby became conſiderable, and grew into great empires. In the former prophecy, the empire of Babylonia was repreſented by the head of gold; in this both empires are repreſented together by the two wings of the lion. " And I beheld," ſaith Daniel [a], " till " the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the " earth, and made to ſtand upon the feet as a man, and a man's

[a] Chap. vii. 4.

CHAPTER FOURTH. "heart was given to it;" that is, till it was humbled and ſubdued, and made to know its human ſtate.

III. The ſecond beaſt was like a bear; and repreſents the empire which reigned next after the Babylonians, that is, the empire of the Perſians. "Thy kingdom is divided," or broken, ſaith Daniel to the laſt king of Babylon, "and given to the Medes and "Perſians" (Dan. v. 28.) This beaſt "raiſed itſelf up on one "ſide;" the Perſians being under the Medes at the fall of Babylon, but preſently riſing up above them. "And it had three "ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it ([a])," to ſignify the kingdoms of Sardes, Babylon, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but did not belong to its proper body. And it devoured much fleſh, the riches of thoſe three kingdoms.

[a] Chap. vii. 5.

IV. The third beaſt was the kingdom which ſucceeded the Perſian; and this was the empire of the Greeks (Dan. viii. 6, 7, 20, 21.) It was "like a Leopard," to ſignify its fierceneſs; and had four heads and four wings, to ſignify that it ſhould become divided into four kingdoms (Dan. viii. 22.) for it continued in a monarchial form during the reign of Alexander the Great, and his brother Aridæus, and young ſons Alexander and Hercules; and then brake into four kingdoms, by the governors of provinces putting crowns on their own heads, and by mutual conſent reigning over their provinces. Caſſander reigned over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus; Lyſimachus over Thrace and Bithynia; Ptolemy over Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœloſyria, and Paleſtine; and Seleucus over Syria.

V. The fourth beaſt was the empire which ſucceeded that of the Greeks; and this was the Roman. This beaſt was exceeding dreadful and terrible, and had great iron teeth, and devoured and brake in pieces, and ſtamped the reſidue with its feet; and ſuch was the Roman empire. It was larger, ſtronger, and more formidable and laſting than any of the former. It conquered the kingdom of Macedon, with Illyricum and Epirus, in the eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes, anno Nabonaſſ. 580; and inherited that of Pergamus, anno Nabonaſſ. 615; and conquered that of Syria, anno Nabonaſſ. 679, and that of Egypt, anno Nabonaſſ. 718. And by theſe and other conqueſts it became

came greater and more terrible than any of the three former beaſts. This empire continued in its greatneſs till the reign of Theodoſius the Great; and then brake into ten kingdoms, repreſented by the ten horns of this beaſt; and continued in a broken form till the antient of days ſat in a throne like fiery flame, and "the judgment was ſet, and the books were opened, and the beaſt was ſlain and his body deſtroyed, and given "to the burning flames; and one like the Son of man came "with the clouds of heaven, and came to the ancient of days [a]," and received dominion over all nations, and judgment was given to the ſaints of the moſt High, and the time came that they poſſeſſed the kingdom.

DANIEL'S FOUR BEASTS.

[a] Chap. vii. 13.

VI. "I beheld," ſaith Daniel [b], "till the beaſt was ſlain, and "his body deſtroyed, and given to the burning flames. As concerning the reſt of the beaſts, they had their dominion taken away: "yet their lives were prolonged for a ſeaſon and a time." And therefore all the four beaſts are ſtill alive, though the dominion of the three firſt be taken away. The nations of Chaldea and Aſſyria are ſtill the firſt beaſt: thoſe of Media and Perſia are ſtill the ſecond beaſt: thoſe of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Aſia Minor, Syria and Egypt, are ſtill the third: and thoſe of Europe, on this ſide Greece, are ſtill the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beaſt is confined to the nations on this ſide the river Euphrates, and the body of the fourth beaſt is confined to the nations on this ſide Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third beaſt among the nations on this ſide of the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth beaſt, among the nations on this ſide of Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldeans, Medes, and Perſians, in thoſe kingdoms, becauſe they belonged to the bodies of the two firſt beaſts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire ſeated at Conſtantinople, among the horns of the fourth beaſt, becauſe it belonged to the body of the third.

[b] Chap. vii. 11, 12.

CHAP. V.

Of the kingdoms repreſented by the feet of the image compoſed of iron and clay.

DACIA was a large country bounded on the ſouth by the Danube; on the eaſt, by the Euxine Sea; on the north, by the river Neiſter and the mountain Crapac; and on the weſt, by the river Tibeſis, or Teys, which runs ſouthward into the Danube a little above Belgrade. It comprehended the countries now called Tranſylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and the eaſtern part of the upper Hungary. Its antient inhabitants were called Getæ by the Greeks, Daci by the Latins, and Goths by themſelves. Alexander the Great attacked them, and Trajan conquered them, and reduced their country into a province of the Roman empire: and thereby the propagation of the Goſpel among them was much promoted. They were compoſed of ſeveral Gothic nations, called Oſtrogoths, Viſigoths, Vandals, Gepides, Lombards, Burgundians, Alans, &c. who all agreed in their manners, and ſpake the ſame language, as Procopius repreſents ([a]). While they lived under the Romans, the Goths or Oſtrogoths were ſeated in the eaſtern parts of Dacia; the Vandals, in the weſtern part upon the river Teys, where the rivers Mareſh and Kereſh run into it: the Viſigoths were between them: the Gepides, according to Jornandes, were upon the Viſtula: the Burgundians, a Vandalic nation, were between the Viſtula and the ſouthern fountain of the Boriſthenes, at ſome diſtance from the mountain Crapac northwards; where Ptolemy places them, by the names of Phrugundiones and Burgiones: the Alans, another Gothic nation, were between the northern fountain of the Boriſthenes and the mouth of the river Tanais; where Ptolemy

[a] Procop. lib. 1. de Bell. Vandal.

lemy placeth the mountain Alanus, and weſtern ſide of the Palus Mæotis. FEET OF DANIEL'S IMAGE.

II. Theſe nations continued under the dominion of the Romans till the ſecond year of the emperor Philip, and then for want of their military pay began to revolt; the Oſtrogoths ſetting up a kingdom, which, under their kings Oſtrogotha, Cniva, Araric, Geperic, and Hermanaric, encreaſed till the year of Chriſt 376; and then, by an incurſion of the Huns from beyond the Tanais, and the death of Hermanaric, brake into ſeveral ſmaller kingdoms. Hunnimund, the ſon of Hermanaric, became king over the Oſtrogoths; Fridigern over the Viſigoths; Winithar, or Vinithar, over a part of the Goths, called Gruthungi by Ammian, Gothunni by Claudian, and Sarmatæ and Scythians by others: Athanaric reigned over another part of the Goths in Dacia, called Thervingi; Box, over the Antes in Sarmatia; and the Gepides had alſo their king. The Vandals fled over the Danube from Geberic, in the latter end of the reign of Conſtantine the Great, and had ſeats granted them in Pannonia by that emperor; where they lived quietly forty years, viz. till the year 377; when ſeveral Gothic nations, flying from the Hunns, came over the Danube, and had ſeats granted them in Mæſia and Thrace by the Greek emperor Valens. But the next year they revolted; called in ſome Goths, Alans, and Hunns, from beyond the Danube; and routed the Roman army; ſlew the emperor Valens; and ſpread themſelves into Greece and Pannonia as far as the Alps. In the years 379 and 380 they were checked by the arms of the emperors Gratian and Theodoſius, and made a ſubmiſſive peace: the Viſigoths and Thervingi returned to their ſeats in Mæſia and Thrace; the Hunns retired over the Danube; and the Alans and Gruthingi obtained ſeats in Pannonia.

III. About the year 373, or 374, the Burgundians roſe from their ſeats upon the Viſtula, with an army of eighty thouſand men to invade Gallia; and being oppoſed, ſeated themſelves upon the northern ſide of the Rhine, over againſt Mentz. In the year 358 a body of the Salian Franks, with their king, coming from the river Sala, were received into the empire by the emperor Julian, and ſeated in Gallia between Brabant and the Rhine:

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and their king Mellobaudes was made *Comes domeſticorum* by the emperor Gratian. Richomer, another noble Salian Frank, was made *Comes domeſticorum*, and *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ* by Theodoſius; and A. C. 384, was conſul with Clearchus. He was a great favourite of Theodoſius, and accompanied him in his wars againſt Eugenius; but died in the expedition, and left a ſon called Theudomir; who afterwards became king of the Salian Franks in Brabant. In the time of this war, ſome Franks from beyond the Rhine invaded Gallia under the conduct of Genobald, Marcomir, and Suno; but were repulſed by Stilico: and Marcomir being ſlain, was ſucceeded in Germany by his ſon Pharamond.

III. While theſe nations remained quiet within the empire, ſubject to the Romans, many others continued ſo beyond the Danube, till the death of the emperor Theodoſius; and then roſe up in arms. For Paulus Diaconus in his *Hiſtoria Miſcell.* lib. xiv. ſpeaking of the times next after the death of this emperor, tells us: *Eodem tempore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes maximæ trans Danubium habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor ſunt, Gothi ſcilicet, Huiſogothi, Gepides & Vandali; & nomen tantùm & nihil aliud mutantes. Iſti ſub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium tranſeuntes, locati ſunt in terrâ Romanorum: & Gepides quidem, ex quibus poſtea diviſi ſunt Longobardi & Avares, villas, quæ ſunt circa Singidonum & Sirmium, habitavere.* And Procopius, in the beginning of his *Hiſtoria Vandalica*, writes to the ſame purpoſe. Hitherto the Weſtern Empire continued entire, but now brake into many kingdoms.

IV. Theodoſius died A. C. 395; and then the Viſigoths, under the conduct of Alaric, the ſucceſſor of Fridigern, roſe from their ſeats in Thrace, and waſted Macedon, Theſſaly, Achaia, Peloponneſus, and Epirus, with fire and ſword for five years together; when turning weſtward, they invaded Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Pannonia; and from thence went into Italy, A. C. 402; and the next year were ſo beaten at Pollentia and Verona, by Stilico the commander of the forces of the Weſtern Empire, that Claudian calls the remainder of the forces of Alaric, *tantâ ex gente reliquias breves*; and Prudentius, *Gentem deletam.* Thereupon Alaric

ric made peace with the emperor, being ſo far humbled, that Oroſius ſaith he did, *pro pace optimâ & quibuſcumque ſedibus ſuppliciter & ſimpliciter orare*. This peace was ratified by mutual hoſtages; Ætius was ſent hoſtage to Alaric; and Alaric continued a free prince in the ſeats now granted to him.

V. When Alaric took up arms, the nations beyond the Danube began to be in motion; and the next winter, between A. C. 395 and 396, a great body of Hunns, Alans, Oſtrogoths, Gepides, and other northern nations, came over the frozen Danube, being invited by Rufinus: when their brethren, who had obtained ſeats within the empire, took up arms alſo. Jerome calls this great multiude, Hunns, Alans, Vandals, Goths, Sarmatirans, Quades, and Marcomans; and ſaith, that they invaded all places between Conſtantinople and the Julian Alps; waſting Scythia, Thrace, Macedon, Dardania, Dacia, Theſſaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia. The Suevians alſo invaded Rhætia: for when Alaric ravaged Pannonia, the Romans were defending Rhætia; which gave Alaric an opportunity of invading Italy, as Claudian thus mentions.

> "*Non niſi perfidiâ nacti penetrabile tempus,*
> "*Irrupere Getæ, noſtras dum Rhætia vires*
> "*Occupat, atque alio deſudant Marte cohortes.*"

And when Alaric went from thoſe parts into Italy, ſome other barbarous nations invaded Noricum and Vindelicia, as the ſame poet Claudian thus writes:

> "——— *Jam fœdera gentes*
> "*Exuerant, Latiique auditâ clade feroces*
> "*Vendelicos ſaltus & Norica rura tenebant.*"

This was in the years 402 and 403. And among theſe nations I reckon the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans; for they were all in arms at this time. The Quades and Marcomans were Suevian nations; and they and the Suevians came originally from Bohemia, and the river Suevus or Sprake in Luſatia; and were now united under one common king called Ermeric, who ſoon after led them into Gallia. The Vandals and Alans might alſo

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about this time extend themſelves into Noricum. Uldin alſo, with a great body of Hunns, paſſed the Danube about the time of Chryſoſtom's baniſhment, that is, A. C. 404, and waſted Thrace and Mæſia. Radagaiſus, king of the Gruthunni and ſucceſſor of Winithar, inviting over more barbarians from beyond the Danube, invaded Italy with an army of above two hundred thouſand Goths; and within a year or two, A. C. 405 or 406, was overcome by Stilico, and periſhed with his army. In this war Stilico was aſſiſted with a great body of Hunns and Oſtrogoths, under the conduct of Uldin and Sarus, who were hired by the emperor Honorius. In all this confuſion it was neceſſary for the Lombards in Pannonia to arm themſelves in their own defence, and aſſert their liberty, the Romans being no longer able to protect them.

VI. And now Stilico, purpoſing to make himſelf emperor, procured a military prefecture for Alaric, and ſent him into the Eaſt in the ſervice of Honorius the Weſtern emperor; committing ſome Roman troops to his conduct, to ſtrengthen his army of Goths, and promiſing to follow ſoon after with his own army. His pretence was to recover ſome regions of Illyricum, which the Eaſtern emperor was accuſed to detail injuriouſly from the Weſtern; but his ſecret deſign was to make himſelf emperor, by the aſſiſtance of the Vandals and their allies: for he himſelf was a Vandal. For facilitating this deſign, he invited a great body of the barbarous nations to invade the Weſtern Empire, while he and Alaric invaded the Eaſtern. And theſe nations under their ſeveral kings, the Vandals under Godegiſilus, the Alans in two bodies, the one under Goar, the other under Reſplendial, and the Suevians, Quades, and Marcomans, under Ermeric, marched through Rhætia to the ſide of the Rhine, leaving their ſeats in Pannonia to the Hunns and Oſtrogoths; and joined the Burgundians under Gundicar, and ruffled the Franks in their further march. On the laſt of December, A. C. 406, they paſſed the Rhine at Ments, and ſpread themſelves into Germania Prima and the adjacent regions; and amongſt other actions the Vandals took Triers. Then they advanced into Belgium, and began to waſte that country. Whereupon the Salian Franks in Brabant took

up arms, and under the conduct of Theudomir, the ſon of Ri-cimer, or Richomer, above-mentioned, made ſo ſtout a reſiſt-ance, that they ſlew almoſt twenty thouſand of the Vandals, with their king Godegeſilus, in battle; the reſt eſcaping only by a party of Reſplendial's Alans, which came timely to their aſ-ſiſtance.

Feet of Daniel's Image.

VIII. Then the Britiſh ſoldiers, alarmed by the rumour of theſe things, revolted, and ſet up tyrants there; firſt Marcus, whom they ſlew preſently; then Gratian, whom they ſlew within four months; and laſtly Conſtantine, under whom they invaded Gallia, A. C. 408, being favoured by Goar and Gundicar. And Conſtantine having poſſeſſed a good part of Gallia, created his ſon Conſtans Cæſar, and ſent him into Spain to order his affairs there, A. C. 409.

IX. In the mean time Reſplendial, ſeeing the aforeſaid diſaſter of the Vandals, and that Goar was gone over to the Romans, led his army from the Rhine; and, together with the Suevians and reſidue of the Vandals, went towards Spain; the Franks in the mean time proſecuting their victory ſo far as to retake Triers, which, after they had plundered, they left to the Romans. The Barbarians were at firſt ſtopt by the Pyrenean Mountains; which made them ſpread themſelves into Aquitain: but the next year they had the paſſage betrayed by ſome ſoldiers of Conſtans; and entering Spain, 4 Kal. Octob. A. C. 409, they conquered every one what he could; and at length, A. C. 411, divided their conqueſts by lot; the Vandals obtained Bœtica, and part of Gallæcia; the Suevians the reſt of Gallæcia; and the Alans, Luſitania and the Carthaginian province: the emperor for the ſake of peace confirming them in thoſe ſeats by grant, A. C. 413.

X. The Roman Franks above-mentioned, having made Theudomir their king, began ſtrait, after their conqueſt of the Vandals, to invade their neighbours alſo. The firſt they ſet upon were the Gauls of Brabant [a]: but meeting with notable reſiſtance, they deſired their alliance: and ſo thoſe Gauls fell off from the Romans, and made an intimate league with the Franks to be as one people, marrying with one another, and conforming to one another's manners, till they became one without diſtinction. Thus

[a] Galli Arborici: whence the region was named Arboricbant; and by contraction, Brabant.

by

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by the acceſs of theſe Gauls, and of the foreign Franks alſo, who afterwards came over the Rhine, the Salian kingdom ſoon grew very great and powerful.

XI. Stilico's expedition againſt the Greek emperor was ſtopt by the order of Honorius; and then Alaric came out of Epirus into Noricum, and requeſted a ſum of money for his ſervice. The ſenate was inclined to deny him; but by Stilico's mediation granted it. But after ſome time Stilico being accuſed of a traiterous conſpiracy with Alaric, and ſlain 10 Kal. Sept. A. C. 408; Alaric was thereby diſappointed of his money, and reputed an enemy to the empire. He then broke ſtrait into Italy, with the army he brought out of Epirus, and ſent to his brother Adolphus to follow him with what forces he had in Pannonia; which were not great, but yet not to be deſpiſed. Thereupon Honorius, fearing to be ſhut up in Rome, retired to Ravenna in October, A. C. 408. And from that time Ravenna continued to be the ſeat of the Weſtern emperors. In thoſe days the Hunns alſo invaded Pannonia; and ſeizing the deſerted ſeats of the Vandals, Alans, and Goths, founded a new kingdom there. Alaric advancing to Rome beſieged it, and, 9 Kal. Sept. A. C. 410, took it: and afterwards attempting to paſs into Africa was ſhipwreckt. After which Honorius made peace with him, and got up an army to ſend againſt the tyrant Conſtantine.

XII. At the ſame time Gerontius, one of Conſtantine's captains, revolted from him, and ſet up Maximus emperor in Spain. Whereupon Conſtantine ſent Edobec, another of his captains, to draw to his aſſiſtance the Barbarians under Goar and Gundicar in Gallia, and ſupplies of Franks and Alemans from beyond the Rhine; and committed the cuſtody of Vienne in Gallia Narbonenſis to his ſon Conſtans. Gerontius advancing, firſt ſlew Conſtans at Vienne, and then began to beſiege Conſtantine at Arles. But Honorius at the ſame time ſending Conſtantius with an army on the ſame errand, Gerontius fled; and Conſtantius continued the ſiege, ſtrengthened by the acceſs of the greateſt part of the ſoldiers of Gerontius. After four months ſiege, Edobec having procured ſuccours, the barbarian kings at Ments, Goar and Gundicar, conſtitute Jovinus emperor; and together with him ſet forward

forward to relieve Arles. At their approach Conſtantius retired. They purſued, and he beat them by ſurprize; but not proſecuting his victory, the Barbarians ſoon recovered themſelves; yet not ſo as to hinder the fall of the tyrants Conſtantine, Jovinus and Maximus. Britain could not be recovered to the empire, but remained ever after a diſtinct kingdom. FEET OF DANIEL'S IMAGE.

XIII. The next year, A. C. 412, the Viſigoths, being beaten in Italy, had Aquitain granted them to retire into: and they invaded it with much violence; cauſing the Alans and Burgundians to retreat, who were then depopulating of it. At the ſame time the Burgundians were brought to peace; and the emperor granted them for inheritance a region upon the Rhine, which they had invaded: and the ſame, I preſume, he did with the Alans. But the Franks not long after retaking and burning Triers, Caſtinus, A. C. 415, was ſent againſt them with an army, who routed them, and ſlew Theudomir their king. This was the ſecond taking of Triers by the Franks. It was therefore taken four times, once by the Vandals and thrice by the Franks. Theudomir was ſucceeded by Pharamond, the prince or king of the Salian Franks in Germany. From thence he brought new forces, reigned over the whole, and had ſeats granted to his people within the empire near the Rhine.

XIV. And now the Barbarians were all quieted, and ſettled in ſeveral kingdoms within the empire, not only by conqueſt, but alſo by the grants of the emperor Honorius. For Rutilius in his Itinerary, written in autumn, *Anno Urbis* 1169, that is, accordcording to Varro's computation then in uſe, A. C. 416, thus laments the waſted fields:

"*Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis.*"

And then adds:

"*Jam tempus laceris poſt longa incendia fundis*
"*Vel paſtorales ædificare caſas.*"

And a little after;

"*Æternum tibi Rhenus aret.*"

 And

And Oroſius in the end of his hiſtory, which was finiſhed A. C. 417, repreſents now a general pacification of the barbarous nations by the words *comprimere, coanguſtare, addicere gentes immaniſſimas*; terming them *imperio addictas*, becauſe they had obtained ſeats in the empire by league and compact; and *coanguſtatas*, becauſe they did no longer invade all regions at pleaſure, but by the ſame compact remained quiet in the ſeats then granted them. And theſe are the kingdoms of which the feet of the image were henceforward compoſed; and which are repreſented by iron and clay intermixed, which did not ſtick one to another, and were of different ſtrength.

CHAP. VI.

Of the ten kingdoms repreſented by the ten horns of the fourth beaſt.

Chapter Sixth.

NOW by the wars above-deſcribed, the Weſtern empire of the Romans, about the time that Rome was beſieged and taken by the Goths, became broken into the following ten kingdoms:

1. The kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa.
2. The kingdom of the Suevians in Spain.
3. The kingdom of the Viſigoths.
4. The kingdom of the Alans in Gallia.
5. The kingdom of the Burgundians.
6. The kingdom of the Franks.

7. The

HORNS OF DANIEL'S FOURTH BEAST.

7. The kingdom of the Britains.
8. The kingdom of the Hunns.
9. The kingdom of the Lombards.
10. The kingdom of Ravenna.

II. Seven of theſe kingdoms are thus mentioned by Sigonius. "*Honorio*[1] *regnante, in Pannoniam Hunni*[2]*, in Hiſpaniam Vandali*[3]*,* "*Alani*[4]*, Suevi*[5] *& Gothi*[6]*, in Galliam Alani*[4]*, Burgundiones*[7]*, & Gothi*[6]*,* "*certis ſedibus permiſſis, accepti.*" Add the Franks, Britains, and Lombards, and you have the ten: for theſe aroſe about the ſame time with the ſeven. But let us view them ſeverally.

I.

First Horn. VANDALS.

The kings of the Vandals were, A. C. 407, Godegeſilus; 407, Gunderic; 426, Geiſeric; 477, Hunneric; 484, Gundemund; 496, Thraſamund; 523, Geiſeric; 530, Gelimer. Godegeſilus led them into Gallia, A. C. 406; Gunderic into Spain, A. C. 409; Geiſeric into Africa, A. C. 427; and Gelimer was conquered by Beliſarius, A. C. 533. Their kingdom laſted in Gallia, Spain, and Africa together 126 years; and in Africa they were very potent. The Alans had only two kings of their own in Spain; Reſplendial, and Ataces Utacus or Othacar. Under Reſplendial they went into France, A. C. 407, and into Spain, A. C. 409. Ataces was ſlain with almoſt all his army by Vallia king of the Viſigoths, A. C. 419. And then the remainder of theſe Alans ſubjected themſelves to Gunderic king of the Vandals in Bœtica, and went afterwards with them into Africa, as I learn out of Procopius. Whence the kings of the Vandals ſtiled themſelves kings of the Vandals and Alans; as may be ſeen in the edict of Hunneric, recited by Victor in his Vandalic perſecution. In conjunction with the Chatti, theſe Alans gave the name of Cathalaunia, or Catth-Alania, to the province which is ſtill ſo called. Theſe Alans had alſo Gepides among them; and therefore the Gepides came into Pannonia before the Alans left it. There they became ſubject to the Hunns till the death of Attila, A. C. 454, and at length were conquered by the Oſtrogoths.

II. The

II.

Chapter Sixth. Second Horn. Suevians.

The kings of the Suevians were, A. C. 407, Ermeric; 438, Rechila; 448, Rechiarius; 458, Maldra; 460, Frumarius; 463, Regiſmund. And after ſome other kings who are unknown, reigned, A. C. 558, Theudomir; 568, Miro; 582, Euboricus; and 583, Andeca. This kingdom, after it had been once ſeated in Spain, remained always in Gallæcia and Luſitania: Ermeric, after the fall of the Alan kingdom, enlarged it into all Gallæcia, forcing the Vandals to retire into Bœtica and the Carthaginian province. This kingdom laſted 177 years according to Iſidorus; and then was ſubdued by Leovigildus king of the Viſigoths, and made a province of his kingdom, A. C. 585.

III.

Third Horn. Visigoths.

The kings of the Viſigoths were, A. C. 400, Alaric; 410, Athaulphus; 415, Sergeric and Vallia; 419, Theoderic; 451, Thoriſmund; 452, Theoderic; 465, Euric; 482, Alaric; 505, Genſalaric; 526, Amalaric; 531, Theudius; 548, Theudiſclus, &c. I date this kingdom from the time that Alaric left Thrace and Greece, to invade the Weſtern Empire. In the end of the reign of Athaulphus, the Goths were humbled by the Romans, and attempted to paſs out of France into Spain. Sergeric reigned but a few days. In the beginning of Vallia's reign they aſſaulted the Romans afreſh; but were again repulſed; and then made peace on this condition, that they ſhould, on the behalf of the empire, invade the Barbarian kingdoms in Spain: and this they did, together with the Romans, in the years 417 and 418, overthrowing the Alans and part of the Vandals. Then they received Aquitain of the emperor by a full donation, leaving their conqueſts in Spain to the emperor: and thereby the ſeats of the conquered Alans came into the hands of the Romans. In the year 455, Theoderic, aſſiſted by the Burgundians, invaded Spain, which was then almoſt all ſubject to the Suevians, and took a part of it from them. A. C. 506, the Goths were driven out of Gallia by the Franks. A. C. 585, they conquered the Suevian kingdom, and became lords of all Spain. A. C. 713,

the Saracens invaded them; but in time they recovered their dominions, and have reigned in Spain ever ſince. HORNS OF DANIEL'S FOURTH BEAST.

IV.

The kings of the Alans in Gallia were Goar, Sambida, Eocharic, Sangibanus, Beurgus, &c. Under Goar they invaded Gallia, A. C. 407, and had ſeats given them near the Rhine, A. C. 412. Under Sambida, whom Bucher makes the ſucceſſor, if not the ſon of Goar, they had the territories of Valence given them by Ætius the emperor's general, A. C. 440. Under Eocharic they conquered a region of the rebelling Galli Arborici, given them alſo by Ætius. This region was from them named *Alenconium, quaſi Alanorum conventus.* Under Sangibanus they were invaded, and their regal city Orleans was beſieged by Attila king of the Hunns, with a vaſt army of 500000 men. Ætius, and the Barbarian kings of Gallia, came to raiſe the ſiege, and beat the Hunns in a very memorable battle, A. C. 451, *in campis Catalaunicis*, ſo called from theſe Alans mixed with the Chatti. The region is now called Campania or Champagne. In that battle were ſlain on both ſides 162000 men. A year or two after, Attila returned with an immenſe army to conquer this kingdom; but was again beaten by them and the Viſigoths together in a battle of three days continuance, with a ſlaughter almoſt as great as the former. Under Beurgus, or Biorgor, they infeſted Gallia round about, till the reign of Maximus the emperor; and then they paſſed the Alps in winter, and came into Liguria; but were there beaten, and Beurgus ſlain by Ricimer commander of the emperor's forces, A. C. 464. Afterwards they were again beaten by the joint force of Odoacer king of Italy, and Childeric king of the Franks, about the year 480; and again by Theudobert, king of the Auſtrian Franks, about the year 511. Fourth Horn. ALANS.

V.

The kings of the Burgundians were, A. C. 407, Gundicar; 436, Gundioc; 467, Bilimer; 473, Gundobaldus with his brothers; 510, Sigiſmund; 517, Godomarus. Under Gundicar they invaded Gallia, A. C. 407; and had ſeats given them Fifth Horn. BURGUNDIANS.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

by the emperor near the Rhine in Gallia Belgica, A. C. 412. They had Saxons among them, and were now ſo potent, that Oroſius, A. C. 417, wrote of them: "*Burgundionem eſſe præ-*" *validam manum, Galliæ hodieque teſtes ſunt; in quibus præ-*" *ſumptâ poſſeſſione conſiſtunt.*" About the year 435 they received great overthrows by Ætius, and ſoon after by the Hunns: but five years after had Savoy granted them to be ſhared with the inhabitants; and from that time became again a potent kingdom, being bounded by the river Rhodanus, but afterwards extending much farther into the heart of Gallia. Gundobald conquered the regions about the rivers Araris and Rhodanus, with the territories of Marſeilles; and invading Italy, in the time of the emperor Glycerius, conquered all his brethren. Godomarus made Orleans his royal ſeat: whence the kingdom was called *Regnum Aurelianorum.* He was conquered by Clotharius and Childebert, kings of the Franks, A. C. 526. From thenceforward this kingdom was ſometimes united to the kingdom of the Franks, and ſometimes divided from it, till the reign of Charles the Great; who made his ſon Carolottus king of Burgundy. From that time, for about 300 years together, it enjoyed its proper kings; and was then broken into the dukedom of Burgundy, county of Burgundy, and county of Savoy; and afterwards thoſe were broken into other leſſer countries.

VI.

Sixth Horn. FRANKS.

The kings of the Franks were, A. C. 407, Theudomir; 417, Pharamond; 428, Clodio; 448, Merovæus; 456, Childeric; 482, Clodovæus, &c. Windeline and Bucher, two of the moſt diligent ſearchers into the originals of this kingdom, make it begin the ſame year with the Barbarian invaſions of Gallia, that is, A. C. 407. Of the firſt kings there is in Labbe's Bibliotheca M. S. this record.

" HISTORICA QUÆDAM EXCERPTA

" EX VETERI STEMMATE GENEALOGICO REGUM FRANCIÆ.

" GENOBALDUS, MARCOMERUS, SUNO, THEODEMERIS. *Iſti*
" *duces, vel reguli extiterunt à principio gentis Francorum diverſis*
" *tem-*

" *temporibus. Sed incertum relinquunt hiſtorici, quali ſibi procrea-* HORNS OF DANIEL'S FOURTH BEAST.
" *tionis lineâ ſucceſſerunt.*

" PHARAMUNDUS: *ſub hoc rege ſuo primo Franci legibus ſe ſub-*
" *dunt; quas primores eorum tulerunt Wiſogaſtus, Atrogaſtus, Sa-*
" *legaſtus.*

" CHLOCHILO. *Iſte, tranſito Rheno, Romanos in Carbonariâ*
" *ſylvâ devicit; Camaracum cepit & obtinuit; annis* 20 *regnavit.*
" *Sub hoc rege Franci uſque ſummam progreſſi ſunt.*

" MEROVECHUS. *Sub hoc rege Franci Trevirim deſtruunt;*
" *Metim ſuccendunt; uſque Aurelianum perveniunt.*"

2. Now for Genobaldus, Marcomer, and Suno, they were captains of the Tranſrhenane Franks in the reign of Theodoſius, and concern us not. We are to begin with Theudomir, the firſt king of the rebelling Salii, called Didio by Ivo Carnotenſis, and Thiedo and Theudemerus by Rhenanus. His face is extant in a coin of gold found with this inſcription, THEUDEMIR REX, publiſhed by Petavius, and ſtill, or lately, extant, as Windeline teſtifies: which ſhews that he was a king, and that in Gallia; ſeeing that rude Germany underſtood not then the coining of money, nor uſed either Latin words or letters. He was the ſon of Ricimer, or Richomer, the favourite of the emperor Theodoſius; and ſo being a Roman Frank, and of the Salian royal blood, they therefore upon the rebellion made him king. The whole time of his reign you have ſtated in *Excerptis Gregorii Turonenſis è Fredigario, cap.* 5, 6, 7, 8; where the making him king, the tyranny of Jovinus, the ſlaughter of the aſſociates of Jovinus, the ſecond taking of Triers by the Franks, and their war with Caſtinus, in which this king was ſlain, are as a ſeries of ſucceſſive things thus ſet down in order. " *Extinctis Duci-*
" *bus in Francis, denuo Reges creantur, ex eâdem ſtirpe quâ prius*
" *fuerant. Eodem tempore Jovinus ornatus regios aſſumpſit. Con-*
" *ſtantinus fugam verſus Italiam dirigit; miſſis à Jovino Principe*
" *percuſſoribus, ſuper Mentio flumine, capite truncatur. Multi*
" *nobilium juſſu Jovini apud Avernis capti, & à ducibus Honorii*
" *crudeliter interempti ſunt. Trevirorum civitas, factione unius*
" *ex ſenatoribus nomine Lucii, à Francis capta & incenſa eſt.—*
" *Caſtinus Domeſticorum Comes expeditionem accipit contra Francos,*
" *&c.*"

"*&c.*" Then returning to ſpeak of Theudomir, he adds: "*Franci electum à ſe regem, ſicut priùs fuerat, crinitum inquirentes diligenter ex genere Priami, Frigi & Francionis, ſuper ſe creàrunt, nomine Theudemerum filium Richemeris; qui in hoc prælio, quod ſuprà memini, à Romanis interfectus eſt:*" that is, in the battle with Caſtinus's army. Of his death, Gregory Turonenſis makes this further mention: "*In conſularibus legimus Theodemerem regem Francorum, filium Ricimeris quondam, & Aſcilam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos.*"

3. Upon the victory of the Romans, the Franks and rebelling Gauls, who in the time of Theudomir were at war with one anther, united to ſtrengthen themſelves; as Ordericus Vitalis thus mentions: "*Cùm Galli priùs contra Romanos rebellâſſent, Franci iis ſociati ſunt; & pariter juncti, Ferramundum Sunonis ducis filium, ſibi regem præfecerunt.*" Proſper ſets down the time; *anno 25 Honorii, Pharamundus regnat in Franciâ.* This, Bucher well obſerves, refers to the end of the year 416, or the beginning of the next year, dating the years of Honorius from the death of Valentinian; and argues well, that at this time Pharamond was not only king by the conſtitùtion of the Franks, but crowned alſo by the conſent of Honorius, and had a part of Gallia aſſigned him by covenant. And this might be the cauſe that Roman writers reckoned him the firſt king: which ſome not underſtanding, have reputed him the founder of this kingdom by an army of the Tranſrhenane Franks. He might come with ſuch an army, but he ſucceeded Theudomir by right of blood and conſent of the people. For the above-recited paſſage of Fredigarius, "*Extinctis Ducibus, in Francis denuo Reges creantur ex eâdem ſtirpe quâ prius fuerant,*" implies, that the kingdom continued to this new-elected family, during the reign of more kings than one. If you date the years of Honorius from the death of his father, the reign of Pharamond might begin two years later than is aſſigned by Bucher. The Salique laws made in his reign, which are yet extant, ſhew by their name that it was the kingdom of the Salii over which he reigned; and, by the pecuniary mulcts in them, that the place where he reigned abounded much with money, and conſequently was with-

in

in the empire; rude Germany knowing not the uſe of money till they mixed with the Romans. In the preface alſo to the Salique laws, written and prefixed to them ſoon after the converſion of the Franks to the Chriſtian religion, that is, in the end of the reign of Merovæus, or ſoon after, the original of this kingdom is thus deſcribed: "*Hæc enim gens, quæ, fortis* "*dum eſſet & robore valida, Romanorum jugum duriſſimum de ſuis* "*cervicibus excuſſit pugnando, &c.*" This kingdom therefore was erected, not by invaſion but by rebellion, as was deſcribed above. Proſper, in regiſtering their kings in order, tells us: "*Pharamundus regnat in Franciâ; Clodio regnat in Franciâ;* "*Merovæus regnat in Franciâ.*" And who can imagine but that in all theſe places he meant one and the ſame Francia? And yet it is certain that the Francia of Merovæus was in Gallia.

Horns of Daniel's fourth Be

4. Yet the father of Pharamond being king of a body of Franks in Germany in the reign of the emperor Theodoſius, as above; Pharamond might reign over the ſame Franks in Germany, before he ſucceeded Theudomir in the kingdom of the Salians within the empire, and even before Theudomir began his reign; ſuppoſe in the firſt year of Honorius; or when thoſe Franks, being repulſed by Stilico, loſt their kings Marcomir and Suno; one of which was the father of Pharamond: and the Roman Franks, after the death of Theudomir, might invite Pharamond with his people from beyond the Rhine. But we are not to regard the reign of Pharamond in Germany: we are to date this reign from its riſe within the empire, and to look upon it as ſtrengthened by the acceſs of other Franks coming from beyond the Rhine, whether in the reign of this king or in that of his ſucceſſor Clodio. For in the laſt year of Pharamond's reign, Ætius took from him a part of his poſſeſſion in Gallia: but his ſucceſſor Clodio, whom Fredigarius repreſents as the ſon of Theudomir, and ſome call Clogio, Cloio, and Claudius, inviting from beyond the Rhine a great body of Franks, recovered all, and carried on their conqueſts as far as the river Soame. Then thoſe Franks, dividing conqueſts with them, erected certain new kingdoms at Cologn and Cambray, and ſome other cities: all which were afterwards conquered by Clodovæus; who alſo drove the Goths out of Gallia,

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lia, and fixed his ſeat at Paris, where it has continued ever ſince. And this was the original of the preſent kingdom of France.

VII.

Seventh Horn. Britain.

The kings of Britain were, A. C. 407 or 408, Marcus, Gratian, and Conſtantine, ſucceſſively; A. C. 425, Vortigern; 466, Aurelius Ambroſius; 498, Uther Pendraco; 508, Arthur; 542, Conſtantinus; 545, Aurelius Cunanus; 578, Vortiporeus; 581, Malgo; 586, Careticus; 613, Cadwan; 635, Cadwalin; 676, Cadwalladar. The three firſt were Roman tyrants, who revolted from the empire. Oroſius, Proſper, and Zoſimus, connect their revolt with the irruptions of the Barbarians into Gallia, as conſequent thereunto. Proſper, with whom Zoſimus agrees, puts it in the year which began the day after that irruption. The juſt time I thus recollect: Marcus reigned not many days; Gratian four months; and Conſtantine three years. He was ſlain the year after the taking of Rome, that is, A. C. 411, 14 Kal. Octob. Whence the revolt was in ſpring, A. C. 408. Sozomen joins Conſtantine's expedition into Gallia with Arcadius's death, or the times a little after; and Arcadius died A. C. 408, May the 1ſt. Now though the reign of theſe tyrants was but ſhort, yet they gave a beginning to the kingdom of Britain, and ſo may be reckoned the three firſt kings; eſpecially ſince the poſterity of Conſtantine, viz. his ſons Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uther Pendraco, and his grandſon Arthur, reigned afterwards. For from the time of the revolt of theſe tyrants, Britain continued a diſtinct kingdom, abſolved from ſubjection to the empire; the emperor not being able to ſpare ſoldiers, to be ſent thither to receive and keep the iſland, and therefore neglecting it; as we learn by unqueſtionable records. For Proſper tells us: "*A. C.* "410, *Variane Coſ. Hâc tempeſtate præ valetudine Romanorum,* "*vires funditus attenuatæ Britanniæ.*" And Sigebert, conjoining this with the ſiege of Rome, ſaith: "*Britannorum vires* "*attenuatæ, & ſubſtrahunt ſe à Romanorum dominatione.*" And Zoſimus, lib. 6: "The Tranſrhenane Barbarians invading all "places, reduced the inhabitants of the iſland of Britain, and "alſo certain Celtic nations to that paſs, that they fell off from "the

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" the Roman empire; and being no longer obedient to the Ro- " man laws, καθ' ἑαυτὸν βιοτεύειν, they lived in ſeparate bodies " after their own pleaſure. The Britons therefore took up " arms; and hazarding themſelves for their own ſafety, freed " their cities from the imminent Barbarians. In like manner " all Brabant, and ſome other provinces of the Gauls imitating " the Britons, freed themſelves alſo; ejecting the Roman preſi- " dents, and forming themſelves into a ſort of commonwealth " according to their own pleaſure. This rebellion of Britain " and the Celtic nations happened when Conſtantine uſurped the " kingdom." So alſo Procopius, lib. 1. Vandal. ſpeaking of the ſame Conſtantine, ſaith: " Conſtantine being overcome in " battle, was ſlain with his children: Βρεταννίαν μέν τοι Ῥωμαῖοι " ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔχον· ἀλλ' οὖσα ὑπὸ τυράννους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενε. " Yet the Romans could not recover Britain any more, but from " that time it remained under tyrants." And Beda, l. 1. c. 11. " *Fracta eſt Roma à Gothis anno* 1164 *ſuæ conditionis*; *ex quo* " *tempore Romani in Britanniâ regnare ceſſaverunt*." And Ethelwaldus: " *A tempore Romæ à Gothis expugnatæ, ceſſavit impe-* " *rium Romanorum à Britanniâ inſulâ, & ab aliis, quas ſub jugo* " *ſervitutis tenebant, multis terris*." And Theodoret, ſerm. 9. *de curand. Græc. affect.* about the year 424, reckons the Britons among the nations which were not then in ſubjection to the Roman empire. Thus Sigonius: " *Ad annum* 411, *Imperium* " *Romanorum, poſt exceſſum Conſtantini, in Britanniâ nullum fuit*."

2. Between the death of Conſtantine and the reign of Vortigern was an interregnum of about 14 years; in which the Britons had wars with the Picts and Scots; and twice obtained the aſſiſtance of a Roman legion; who drove out the enemy, but told them poſitively at their departure, that they would come no more. Of Vortigern's beginning to reign, there is this record in an old chronicle in Nennius, quoted by Camden and others: " *Guortigernus tenuit imperium in Britanniâ, Theodoſio & Valen-* " *tiniano Coſſ.* [*viz. A. C.* 425.] *& in quarto anno regni ſui Sax-* " *ones ad Britanniam venerunt, Felice & Tauro Coſſ.*" [*viz. A. C.* 428.] This coming of the Saxons, Sigebert refers to the 4th year of Valentinian; which falls in with the year 428 aſſigned by

by this chronicle: and two years after the Saxons, together with the Picts, were beaten by the Britons. Afterwards, in the reign of Martian the emperor, that is, between the years 450 and 456, the Saxons under Hengiſt were called in by the Britons; but ſix years after revolted from them; made war upon them with various ſucceſs; and by degrees ſucceeded them ([a]). Yet the Britons continued a flouriſhing kingdom till the reign of Careticus; and the war between the two nations continued till the pontificate of Sergius, A. C. 688.

[a] Rolevins Antiq. Saxon. l. 1. c. 6.

VIII.

Eighth Horn. Hunns.

The kings of the Hunns were, A. C. 406, Octar and Rugila; 433, Bleda and Attila. Octar and Rugila were the brothers of Munzuc king of the Hunns, in Gothia beyond the Danube; and Bleda and Attila were his ſons, and Munzuc was the ſon of Balamir. The two firſt, as Jornandes tells us, were kings of the Hunns, but not of them all; and had the two laſt for their ſucceſſors. I date the reign of the Hunns in Pannonia from the time that the Vandals and Alans relinquiſhed Pannonia to them, A. C. 407: Sigonius, from the time that the Viſigoths relinquiſhed Pannonia, A. C. 408. "*Conſtat,*" ſaith he, "*quòd* "*Gothis, ex Illyrico profectis, Hunni ſucceſſerunt; atque imprimis* "*Pannoniam tenuerunt. Neque enim Honorius, viribus ad reſiſt-* "*endum in tantis difficultatibus deſtitutus, prorſus eos prohibere po-* "*tuit; ſed meliore conſilio, animo ad pacem converſo, fœdus cum* "*eis, datis acceptiſque obſidibus, fecit; ex quibus qui dati ſunt,* "*Ætius, qui etiam Alarico tributus fuerat, præcipuè memoratur.*" How Ætius was hoſtage to the Goths and Hunns is related by Frigeridus; who, when he had mentioned that Theodoſius, emperor of the Eaſt, had ſent grievous commands to John, who after the death of Honorius had uſurped the crown of the Weſterm Empire, he ſubjoins: "*Iis permotus Johannes, Ætium, id* "*tempus curam palatii gerentem, cum ingenti auri pondere ad* "*Chunnos tranſmiſit, notos ſibi obſidiatûs ſui tempore, & familiari* "*amicitiâ devinctos.*" And a little after: "*Ætius tribus annis* "*Alarici obſes, dehinc Chunnorum, poſtea Carpilionis gener ex Co-* "*mite domeſticorum & Joannis curopalatæ.*" Now Bucher ſhews, that

that Ætius was hoſtage to Alaric till the year 410, when Alaric died; and to the Hunns, between the years 411 and 415; and ſon-in-law to Carpilio about the year 417 or 418; and Curopalates to John about the end of the year 423. Whence it is probable that he became hoſtage to the Hunns about the year 412 or 413; when Honorius made leagues with almoſt all the barbarous nations, and granted them ſeats: but I had rather ſay with Sigonius, that Ætius became hoſtage to Alaric A. C. 403. It is further manifeſt out of Proſper, that the Hunns were in quiet poſſeſſion of Pannonia in the year 432. For in the firſt book of Euſebius's chronicle Proſper writes: "*Anno decimo poſt obitum* "*Honorii, cùm ad Chunnorum gentem, cui tunc Rugila præerat,* "*poſt prælium cum Bonifacio ſe Ætius contuliſſet, impetrato auxilio* "*ad Romanorum ſolum regreditur.*" And in the ſecond book: "*Ætio & Valerio Coſſ. Ætius, depoſitâ poteſtate, profugus ad Hunnos* "*in Pannoniâ pervenit; quorum amicitiâ auxilioque uſus, pacem* "*principum interpellatæ poteſtatis obtinuit.*" Hereby it appears, that at this time Rugila, or as Maximus calls him Rechilla, reigned over the Hunns in Pannonia; and that Pannonia was not now ſo much as accounted within the ſoil of the empire, being formerly granted away to the Hunns; and that theſe were the very ſame body of Hunns with which Ætius had, in the time of his being an hoſtage, contracted friendſhip: by virtue of which, as he ſolicited them before to the aid of John the Tyrant, A. C. 424, ſo now he procured their interceſſion for himſelf with the emperor. Octar died A. C. 430; for Socrates tells us, that about that time the Burgundians, having been newly vexed by the Hunns, upon intelligence of Octar's death, ſeeing them without a leader, ſet upon them ſuddenly with ſo much vigour, that 3000 Burgundians ſlew 10000 Hunns. Of Rugila's being now king in Pannonia, you have already heard. He died A. C. 433, and was ſucceeded by Bleda; as Proſper and Maximus inform us. This Bleda, with his brother Attila, were before this time kings of the Hunns beyond the Danube, their father Munzuc's kingdom being divided between them; and now they united the kingdom of Pannonia to their own. Whence Paulus Diaconus ſaith, they did "*regnum intra Pannonium Da-*

"*ciamque*

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"*ciamque gerere.*" In the year 441, they began to invade the empire afreſh, adding to the Pannonian forces new and great armies from Scythia. But this war was preſently compoſed; and then Attila, ſeeing Bleda inclined to peace, ſlew him, A. C. 444; inherited his dominions; and invaded the empire again. At length, after various great wars with the Romans, Attila periſhed A. C. 454; and his ſons quarrelling about his dominions, gave occaſion to the Gepides, Oſtrogoths, and other nations who were their ſubjects, to rebel and make war upon them. The ſame year the Oſtrogoths had ſeats granted them in Pannonia by the emperors Marcian and Valentinian; and with the Romans ejected the Hunns out of Pannonia, ſoon after the death of Attila, as all hiſtorians agree. This ejection was in the reign of Avitus, as is mentioned in the *Chronicum Boiorum*, and in Sidonius, *Carm.* 7. *in Avitum*, which ſpeaks thus of that emperor.

"—— *Cujus ſolum amiſſas poſt ſæcula multa*
"*Pannonias revocavit iter; jam credere promptum eſt*
"*Quid faciet bellis.*"

The poet means, that by the coming of Avitus, the Hunns yielded more eaſily to the Goths. This was written by Sidonius in the beginning of the reign of Avitus: and his reign began in the end of the year 455, and laſted not one full year.

2. Jornandes tells us: "*Duodecimo anno regni Valiæ, quando & Hunni poſt pene quinquaginta annos invaſâ Pannoniâ, à Romanis & Gothis expulſi ſunt.*" And Marcellinus: "*Hierio & Ardaburio Coſſ. Pannoniæ, quæ per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, à Romanis receptæ ſunt.*" Whence it ſhould ſeem that the Hunns invaded and held Pannonia from the year 378 or 379 to the year 427, and then were driven out of it. But this is a plain miſtake: for it is certain that the emperor Theodoſius left the empire entire; and we have ſhewed out of Proſper, that the Hunns were in quiet poſſeſſion of Pannonia in the year 432. The Viſigoths in thoſe days had nothing to do with Pannonia, and the Oſtrogoths continued ſubject to the Hunns till the death of Attila, A. C. 454; and Valia king of the Viſigoths did

did not reign twelve years. He began his reign in the end of the year 415; reigned three years; and was ſlain A. C. 419; as Idacius, Iſidorus, and the Spaniſh manuſcript chronicles ſeen by Grotius teſtify. And Olympiodorus, who carries his hiſtory only to the year 425, ſets down therein the death of Valia king of the Viſigoths, and conjoins it with that of Conſtantius, which happened A. C. 420. Wherefore the Valia of Jornandes, who reigned at the leaſt twelve years, is ſome other king. And I ſuſpect, that this name hath been put by miſtake for Valamir king of the Oſtrogoths: for the action recorded was of the Romans and Oſtrogoths driving the Hunns out of Pannonia after the death of Attila; and it is not likely, that the hiſtorian would refer the hiſtory of the Oſtrogoths to the years of the Viſigothic kings. This action happened in the end of the year 455; which I take to be the twelfth year of Valamir in Pannonia; and which was almoſt fifty years after the year 406, in which the Hunns ſucceeded the Vandals and Alans in Pannonia. Upon the ceaſing of the line of Hunnimund, the ſon of Hermaneric, the Oſtrogoths lived without kings of their own nation about forty years together, being ſubject to the Hunns. And when Alaric ([a]) began to make war upon the Romans, which was in the year 444, he made Valamir, with his brothers Theodomir and Videmir, the grandſons of Vinethar, captains or kings of theſe Oſtrogoths under him. In the twelfth year of Valamir's reign, dated from thence, the Hunns were driven out of Pannonia.

Horns of Daniel's fourth Beast.

[a] For Alaric, read Attila.

3. Yet the Hunns were not ſo ejected, but that they had further conteſts with the Romans, till the head of Denfix the ſon of Attila was carried to Conſtantinople, A. C. 469, in the conſulſhip of Zeno and Marcian, as Marcellinus relates. Nor were they yet totally ejected the empire: for beſides their reliques in Pannonia, Sigonius tells us, that when the emperors Marcian and Valentinian granted Pannonia to the Goths, which was in the year 454, they granted part of Illyricum to ſome of the Hunns and Sarmatians. And in the year 526, when the Lombards, removing into Pannonia, made war there with the Gepides; the Avares, a part of the Hunns, who had taken the name of Avares from one of their kings, aſſiſted the Lombards

CHAPTER SIXTH. in that war: and the Lombards afterwards, when they went into Italy, left their ſeats in Pannonia to the Avares in recompence of their friendſhip. From that time the Hunns grew again very powerful; their kings, whom they called Chagan, troubling the empire much in the reigns of the emperors Mauritius, Phocas, and Heraclius: and this is the original of the preſent kingdom of Hungary, which from theſe Avares and other Hunns mixed together, took the name of Hun-Avaria, and by contraction Hungary.

IX.

Ninth Horn. LOMBARDS. The Lombards, before they came over the Danube, were commanded by two captains, Ibor and Ayon: after whoſe death they had kings, Agilmund, Lamiſſo, Lechu, Hildehoc, Gudehoc, Claſſo, Tato, Wacho, Walter, Audoin, Alboin, Cleophis, &c. Agilmund was the ſon of Ayon, who became their king, according to Proſper, in the conſulſhip of Honorius and Theodoſius, A. C. 389; reigned thirty-three years, according to Paulus Warnefridus; and was ſlain in battle by the Bulgarians. Proſper places his death in the conſulſhip of Marinianus and Aſclepiodorus, A. C. 423. Lamiſſo routed the Bulgarians, and reigned three years; and Lechu almoſt forty. Gudehoc was contemporary to Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy, and led his people from Pannonia into Rugia, a country on the north ſide of Noricum next beyond the Danube; from whence Odoacer then carried his people into Italy. Tato overthrew the kingdom of the Heruli beyond the Danube. Wacho conquered the Suevians, a kingdom then bounded on the eaſt by Bavaria, on the weſt by France, and on the ſouth by the Burgundians. Audoin returned into Pannonia A. C. 526, and there overcame the Gepides. Alboin, A. C. 551, overthrew the kingdom of the Gepides, and ſlew their king Chunnimund; A. C. 563, he aſſiſted the Greek emperor againſt Totila king of the Oſtrogoths in Italy; and, A. C. 568, led his people out of Pannonia into Lombardy, where they reigned till the year 774.

2. According to Paulus Diaconus, the Lombards, with many other Gothic nations, came into the empire from beyond the Danube

nube in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, that is, between the years 395 and 408. But they might come in a little earlier: for we are told that the Lombards, under their captains Ibor and Ayon, beat the Vandals in battle; and Proſper placeth this victory in the conſulſhip of Auſonius and Olybrius, that is, A. C. 379. Before this war, the Vandals had remained quiet forty years, in the ſeats granted them in Pannonia by Conſtantine the Great. And therefore if theſe were the ſame Vandals, this war muſt have been in Pannonia; and might be occaſioned by the coming of the Lombards over the Danube into Pannonia, a year or two before the battle; and ſo have put an end to that quiet which had laſted forty years. After Gratian and Theodoſius had quieted the Barbarians, they might either retire over the Danube, or continue quiet under the Romans till the death of Theodoſius; and then either invade the empire anew, or throw off all ſubjection to it. By their wars, firſt with the Vandals, and then with the Bulgarians, a Scythian nation ſo called from the river Volga whence they came, it appears, that even in thoſe days they were a kingdom not contemptible.

HORNS OF DANIEL'S FOURTH BEAST.

X.

Theſe nine kingdoms being rent away, we are next to conſider the reſidue of the Weſtern Empire. While this empire continued entire, it was the beaſt itſelf: but the reſidue thereof is only a part of it. Now if this part be conſidered as a horn, the reign of this horn may be dated from the tranſlation of the imperial ſeat from Rome to Ravenna, which was in October, A. C. 408. For then the emperor Honorius, fearing that Alaric would beſiege him in Rome, if he ſtaid there, retired to Millan, and thence to Ravenna: and the enſuing ſiege and ſacking of Rome confirmed his reſidence there; ſo that he and his ſucceſſors ever after made it their home. Accordingly Macchiavel, in his Florentine hiſtory, writes, that Valentinian having left home, tranſlated the ſeat of the empire to Ravenna.

Tenth Horn. Reſidue of WESTERN EMPIRE.

2. Rhætia belonged to the Weſtern emperors, ſo long as that empire ſtood; and then it deſcended, with Italy and the Roman

ſenate, to Odoacer king of the Heruli in Italy; and after him, to Theoderic king of the Oſtrogoths, and his ſucceſſors, by the grant of the Greek emperors. Upon the death of Valentinian the Second, the Alemans and Suevians invaded Rhætia, A. C. 455. But I do not find they erected any ſettled kingdom there: for in the year 457, while they were yet depopulating Rhætia, they were attacked and beaten by Burto, maſter of the horſe to the emperor Majoranus; and I hear nothing more of their invading Rhætia. Clodovæus king of France, in or about the year 496, conquered a kingdom of the Alemans, and ſlew their laſt king Ermeric. But this kingdom was ſeated in Germany, and only bordered upon Rhætia: for its people fled from Clodovæus into the neighbouring kingdom of the Oſtrogoths under Theoderic; who received them as friends, and wrote a friendly letter to Clodovæus in their behalf: and by this means they became inhabitants of Rhætia, as ſubjects under the dominion of the Oſtrogoths.

3. When the Greek emperor conquered the Oſtrogoths, he ſucceeded them in the kingdom of Ravenna, not only by right of conqueſt, but alſo by right of inheritance; the Roman ſenate ſtill going along with this kingdom. Therefore we may reckon that this kingdom continued in the exarchate of Ravenna and ſenate of Rome: for the remainder of the Weſtern Empire went along with the ſenate of Rome, by reaſon of the right which this ſenate ſtill retained, and at length exerted, of chuſing a new Weſtern emperor.

4. I have now enumerated the ten kingdoms into which the Weſtern Empire became divided at its firſt breaking; that is, at the time of Rome's being beſieged and taken by the Goths. Some of theſe kingdoms at length fell, and new ones aroſe: but whatever was their number afterwards, they are ſtill called the Ten Kings from their firſt number.

CHAP. VII.

Of the eleventh horn of Daniel's Fourth Beaſt.

"NOW Daniel conſidered the horns, and behold there came
"up among them another horn, before whom there were
"three of the firſt horns plucked up by the roots; and behold in
"this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth
"ſpeaking great things ([a]),—*and his* look was more ſtout than his [a] Chap. vii. 8.
"fellows,—and the ſame horn made war with the ſaints, and
"prevailed againſt them ([b]): *and one who ſtood by, and made Daniel* [b] Ver. 20, 21.
"*know the interpretation of theſe things, told him, that* the ten
"horns were ten kings that ſhould ariſe, and another ſhould
"ariſe after them, and be diverſe from the firſt, and he ſhould
"ſubdue three kings ([c]), and ſpeak great words againſt the moſt [c] Ver. 24.
"High, and wear out the ſaints, and think to change times and
"laws: and that they ſhould be given into his hands until a
"time and times and half a time ([d])." Kings are put for kingdoms, [d] Ver. 25.
as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth beaſt, and rooted up three of his firſt horns; and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the riſe of the ten horns. But it was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life or ſoul peculiar to itſelf, with eyes and a mouth. By its eyes, it was a ſeer; and by its mouth ſpeaking great things and changing times and laws, it was a prophet as well as a king. And ſuch a ſeer, a prophet and a king, is the church of Rome.

II. A ſeer, Ἐπίσκοπος, is a biſhop in the literal ſenſe of the word; and this church claims the univerſal biſhoprick.

III. With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations as an oracle; and pretends to infallibility, and that his dictates are binding

ing to the whole world; which is to be a prophet in the higheſt degree.

IV. In the eighth century, by rooting up and ſubduing the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the ſenate and dukedom of Rome, he acquired Peter's patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby roſe up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beaſt.

V. In a ſmall book printed at Paris, A. C. 1689, entitled, "*An* "*hiſtorical diſſertation upon ſome coins of Charles the Great,* "*Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their ſucceſſors, ſtamped at* "*Rome,*" it is recorded, that in the days of pope Leo X. there was remaining in the Vatican, and till thoſe days expoſed to public view, an inſcription in honour of Pipin, the father of Charles the Great, in theſe words: "*Pipinum pium, primum fuiſſe qui* "*amplificandæ Eccleſiæ Romanæ viam aperuerit, Exarchatu Ra-* "*vennate, & plurimis aliis oblatis:*" "That Pipin the Pius was "the firſt who opened a way to the grandeur of the church of "Rome, conferring upon her the exarchate of Ravenna, and "many other oblations." In and before the reign of the emperors Gratian and Theodoſius, the biſhop of Rome lived ſplendidly; but this was by the oblations of the Roman ladies, as Ammianus deſcribes. After thoſe reigns Italy was invaded by foreign nations, and did not get rid of her troubles before the fall of the kingdom of Lombardy. It was certainly by the victory of the ſee of Rome over the Greek emperor, the king of Lombardy, and the ſenate of Rome, that ſhe acquired Peter's patrimony, and roſe up to her greatneſs. The donation of Conſtantine the Great is a fiction; and ſo is the donation of the *Alpes Cottiæ* to the pope by Aripert king of the Lombards: for the *Alpes Cottiæ* were a part of the exarchate; and, in the days of Aripert, belonged to the Greek emperor.

VI. The invocation of the dead, and veneration of their images, being gradually introduced in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th centuries; the Greek emperor Philippicus declared againſt the latter, A. C. 711 or 712 [a]. And the emperor Leo Iſaurus, to put a ſtop to it, called a meeting of counſellors and biſhops in his palace, A. C. 726; and by their advice put out an edict againſt that worſhip,

[a] Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, ad ann. 726.

worſhip, and wrote to pope Gregory II. that a general council might be called. But the pope thereupon called a council at Rome; confirmed the worſhip of images; excommunicated the Greek emperor; abſolved the people from their allegiance; and forbad them to pay tribute, or otherwiſe be obedient to him. Then the people of Rome, Campania, Ravenna, and Pentapolis, with the cities under them, revolted; and laid violent hands upon their magiſtrates, killing the exarch Paul at Ravenna, and laying aſide Peter duke of Rome, who was become blind: and when Exhileratus, duke of Campania, incited the people againſt the pope; the Romans invaded Campania, and ſlew him with his ſon Hadrian. Then a new exarch, Eutychius, coming to Naples, ſent ſome ſecretly to take away the lives of the pope and the nobles of Rome: but the plot being diſcovered, the Romans revolted abſolutely from the Greek emperor, and took an oath to preſerve the life of the pope; to defend his ſtate; and be obedient to his authority in all things. Thus Rome with its duchy, including part of Tuſcany and part of Campania, revolted in the year 726, and became a free ſtate under the government of the ſenate of this city. The authority of the ſenate in civil affairs was henceforward abſolute; the authority of the pope extending hitherto no farther than to the affairs of the church only.

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VII. At that time the Lombards ([a]) alſo being zealous for the worſhip of images, and pretending to favour the cauſe of the pope, invaded the cities of the exarchate: and at length, viz. A. C. 752, took Ravenna, and put an end to the exarchate. And this was the firſt of the three kingdoms which fell before the little horn.

[a] Sigonius ibid. ad ann. 726, 752.

VIII. In the year 751 pope Zechary depoſed Childeric ([b]), a ſlothful and uſeleſs king of France, and the laſt of the race of Meroværus; and, abſolving his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, gave the kingdom to Pipin the major of the palace; and thereby made a new and potent friend. His ſucceſſor, pope Stephen III ([c]) knowing better how to deal with the Greek emperor than with the Lombards, went the next year to the king of the Lombards, to perſuade him to return the exarchate to the emperor. But this not ſucceeding, he went into France; and perſuaded

[b] Sigon. ibid. ann. 750.

[c] Sigon. ibid. ann. 753, 754, 755.

Pipin

CHAPTER SEVENTH. Pipin to take the exarchate and Pentapolis from the Lombards, and give it to St. Peter. Accordingly Pipin, A. C. 754, came with an army into Italy, and made Aiſtulphus king of the Lombards promiſe to ſurrender: but the next year Aiſtulphus, on the contrary, to revenge himſelf on the pope, beſieged the city of Rome. Whereupon the pope ſent letters to Pipin, wherein he told him, that if he came not ſpeedily againſt the Lombards, "*pro datâ ſibi potentiâ, alienandum fore à regno Dei & vitâ* "*æternâ*;" he ſhould be excommunicated. Pipin therefore, fearing a revolt of his ſubjects, and being indebted to the church of Rome, came ſpeedily with an army into Italy; raiſed the ſiege; beſieged the Lombards in Pavia; and forced them to ſurrender the exarchate and region of Pentapolis to the pope, for a perpetual poſſeſſion. Thus the pope became lord of Ravenna, and the exarchate, ſome few cities excepted; and the keys were ſent to Rome, and laid upon the confeſſion of St. Peter, that is, upon his tomb at the high altar, "*in ſignum veri perpetuique do-* "*minii, ſed pietate Regis gratuitâ*," as the inſcription of a coin of Pipin hath it. This was in the year of Chriſt 755. And henceforward the popes, being temporal princes, left off in their epiſtles and bulls to note the years of the Greek emperors, as they had hitherto done.

IX. After this ([a]) the Lombards invading the pope's countries, pope Adrian ſent to Charles the Great, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Pipin, to come to his aſſiſtance. Accordingly Charles entered Italy with an army; invaded the Lombards; overthrew their kingdom; became maſter of their countries; and reſtored to the pope not only what they had taken from him, but alſo the reſt of the exarchate, which they had promiſed Pipin to ſurrender to him, but had hitherto detained; and alſo gave him ſome cities of the Lombards; and was in return himſelf made *Patricius* by the Romans, and had the authority of confirming the elections of the popes conferred upon him. Theſe things were done in the years 773 and 774. This kingdom of the Lombards was the ſecond kingdom which fell before the little horn. But Rome, which was to be the ſeat of his kingdom, was not yet his own.

[a] Sigon. ib. ann. 773.

X. In the year 796, Leo III. being made pope, notified his election to Charles the Great by his legates; ſending to him for a preſent, the golden keys of the confeſſion of Peter, and the banner of the city of Rome (a): the firſt, as an acknowledgment of the pope's holding the cities of the exarchate and Lombardy by the grant of Charles; the other, as a ſignification that Charles ſhould come and ſubdue the ſenate and people of Rome, as he had done the exarchate and the kingdom of the Lombards. For the pope at the ſame time deſired Charles to ſend ſome of his princes to Rome, who might ſubject the Roman people to him, and bind them by oath *in fide & ſubjectione*, in fealty and ſubjection, as his words are recited by Sigonius. An anonymous poet, publiſhed by Boeclerus at Straſburg, expreſſeth it thus:

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a Sigon. de Regno Ital. ad ann. 796.

" *Admonuitque piis precibus, qui mittere vellet*
" *Ex propriis aliquos primoribus, ac ſibi plebem*
" *Subdere Romanam, ſervandaque fœdera cogens*
" *Hanc fidei ſacramentis promittere magnis.*"

XI. Hence aroſe a miſunderſtanding between the pope and the city: and the Romans about two or three years after, by aſſiſtance of ſome of the clergy, raiſed ſuch tumults againſt him, as gave occaſion to a new ſtate of things in all the Weſt. For two of the clergy accuſed him of certain crimes; and with an armed force of the Romans ſeized him; ſtripped him of his ſacerdotal habit; and impriſoned him in a monaſtery. But by aſſiſtance of his friends he made his eſcape, and fled into Germany to Charles the Great; to whom he complained of the Romans for acting againſt him out of a deſign to throw off all authority of the church, and to recover their antient freedom. In his abſence, his accuſers with their forces ravaged the poſſeſſions of the church, and ſent the accuſations to Charles; who, before the end of the year, ſent the pope back to Rome with a large retinue. The nobles and biſhops of France who accompanied him, examined the chief of his accuſers at Rome, and ſent them into France in cuſtody. This was in the year 799. The next year Charles himſelf went to Rome; and, upon a day appointed, preſided in a

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council of Italian and French biſhops to hear both parties. But when the pope's adverſaries expected to be heard; the council declared, that he who was the ſupreme judge of all men, was above being judged by any other than himſelf ([a]): whereupon the pope made a ſolemn declaration of his innocence before all the people; and by doing ſo was looked upon as acquitted.

[a] Vide Anaſtaſium.

XII. Soon after, upon Chriſtmas-day, the people of Rome, who had hitherto elected their biſhop, and reckoned that they and their ſenate inherited the rights of the antient ſenate and people of Rome; voted Charles their emperor, and ſubjected themſelves to him in ſuch manner, as the old Roman empire and their ſenate were ſubjected to the old Roman emperors. The pope crowned him, and anointed him with holy oil, and worſhiped him on his knees after the manner of adoring the old Roman emperors; as the aforeſaid poet thus relates:

> "*Poſt laudes igitur dictas, & ſummus eundem*
> "*Præſul adoravit; ſicut mos debitus olim*
> "*Principibus fuit antiquis.*"

The emperor, on the other hand, took the following oath to the pope: "*In nomine Chriſti ſpondeo atque polliceor, Ego Carolus* "*Imperator coram Deo & beato Petro Apoſtolo, me protectorem ac* "*defenſorem fore hujus ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ in omnibus utilita*-"*tibus, quatenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio, prout ſciero potero*-"*que.*" The emperor was alſo made conſul of Rome, and his ſon Pipin crowned king of Italy: and henceforward the emperor ſtiled himſelf "*Carolus ſereniſſimus, Auguſtus, à Deo corona*-"*tus, magnus, pacificus, Romæ gubernans imperium*, or *Impera*-"*tor Romanorum*;" and was prayed for in the churches of Rome. His image was henceforward put upon the coins of Rome. And the enemies of the pope, to the number of three hundred Romans and two or three of the clergy, were ſentenced to death. The three hundred Romans were beheaded in one day in the Lateran fields: but the clergymen, at the interceſſion of the pope, were pardoned, and baniſhed into France. And thus the right of the Roman emperors, which had hitherto been in the Greek emperors,

perors, was by this act transferred in the Weſt to the kings of France. ELEVENTH HORN.

XIII. After theſe things Charles (a) gave the city and duchy of Rome to the pope, ſubordinately to himſelf as emperor of the Romans; ſpent the winter in ordering the affairs of Rome, and thoſe of the apoſtolic ſee, and of all Italy, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, and in making new laws for them; and returned the next ſummer into France; leaving the city under its ſenate, and both under the pope and himſelf. And hearing that his new laws were not obſerved by the judges in dictating the law, nor by the people in hearing it; and that the great men took ſervants from free men, and from the churches and monaſteries, to labour in their vineyards, fields, paſtures and houſes; and continued to exact cattle and wine of them, and to oppreſs thoſe that ſerved the churches: he wrote to his ſon Pipin to remedy theſe abuſes; to take care of the church; and ſee his laws executed.

[a] Sigon. de Regno Ital.

XIV. Now the ſenate and people, and principality of Rome, I take to be the third king the little horn overcame, and even the chief of the three. For this people elected the pope and the emperor; and now, by electing the emperor and making him conſul, was acknowledged to retain the authority of the old Roman ſenate and people. This city was the metropolis of the old Roman empire, repreſented in Daniel by the fourth beaſt; and by ſubduing the ſenate and people and duchy, it became the metropolis of the little horn of that beaſt, and compleated Peter's patrimony, which was the kingdom of that horn. Beſides, this victory was attended with greater conſequences, than thoſe over the other two kings. For it ſet up the Weſtern Empire, which continues to this day. It ſet up the pope above the judicature of the Roman ſenate, and above that of a council of Italian and French biſhops, and even above all human judicature; and gave him the ſupremacy over the Weſtern churches and their councils, in a high degree. It gave him "a look more ſtout than his "fellows;" ſo that when this new religion began to be eſtabliſhed in the minds of men, he grappled not only with kings, but even with the Weſtern emperor himſelf. It is obſervable alſo, that

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that the cuſtom of kiſſing the pope's feet, an honour ſuperior to that of kings and emperors, began about this time. There are ſome inſtances of it in the ninth century: Platina tells us, that the feet of pope Leo IV. were kiſſed, according to antient cuſtom, by all who came to him: and ſome ſay that Leo III. began this cuſtom; pretending, that his hand was infected by the kiſs of a woman. The popes began alſo about this time to canonize ſaints; and to grant indulgences and pardons: and ſome repreſent, that Leo III. was the firſt author of all theſe things. It is further obſervable, that Charles the Great, between the years 775 and 796, conquered all Germany, from the Rhine and Danube northward to the Baltic Sea, and eaſtward to the river Teis; extending his conqueſts alſo into Spain, as far as the river Eber: and by theſe conqueſts he laid the foundation of the new empire; and, at the ſame time, he propagated the Roman-Catholic religion into all his conqueſts; obliging the Saxons and Hunns, who were heathens, to receive the Roman faith; and diſtributing his northern conqueſts into biſhopricks, granting tithes to the clergy and Peter-pence to the pope: by all which the church of Rome was highly enlarged, enriched, exalted, and eſtabliſhed.

XV. In the before-mentioned "Diſſertation upon ſome coins of "Charles the Great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their ſucceſſors, ſtamped at Rome," there is a draught of a piece of Moſaic work, which pope Leo III. cauſed to be made in his palace near the church of John Lateran, in memory of his ſending the ſtandard or banner of the city of Rome, curiouſly wrought, to Charles the Great; and which ſtill remained there, at the publiſhing of the ſaid book. In the Moſaic work there appeared Peter with three keys in his lap, reaching the Pallium to the pope, with his right-hand, and the banner of the city to Charles the Great, with his left. By the pope was this inſcription, SCISSIMUS D. N. LEO PP: by the king, this; D. N. CARVLO REGI: and under the feet of Peter, this; BEATE PETRE, DONA VITAM LEONI PP, ET VICTORIAM CARVLO REGI DONA. This monument gives the title of king to Charles; and therefore was erected, before he was emperor. It was erected, when Peter was reaching the Pallium to the pope, and the pope was ſending the banner of the city

city to Charles, that is, A. C. 796. The words above, viz. "*Sanc-* ELEVENTH HORN.
"*tiſſimus Dominus noſter Leo Papa Domino noſtro Carolo Regi,*" relate to the meſſage; and the words below, viz. "*Beate Petre, dona* "*vitam Leoni Papæ, & victoriam Carolo regi dona,*" are a prayer, that in this undertaking God would preſerve the life of the pope, and give victory to the king over the Romans. The three keys, in the lap of Peter, ſignify the keys of the three parts of his patrimony; that of Rome with its duchy, which the pope claimed and was conquering; thoſe of Ravenna, with the exarchate, and of the territories taken from the Lombards; both which he had newly conquered. Theſe were the three dominions, whoſe keys were in the lap of St. Peter; and whoſe crowns are now worn by the pope; and by the conqueſt of which he became the little horn of the fourth beaſt. By Peter's giving the Pallium to the pope with his right-hand, and the banner of the city to the king with his left, and by naming the pope before the king in the inſcription, may be underſtood, that the pope was then reckoned ſuperior in dignity to the kings of the earth.

XVI. After the death of Charles the Great, his ſon and ſucceſſor Ludovicus Pius, at the requeſt of the pope ([a]), confirmed the donations of his grandfather and father to the ſee of Rome. And in the confirmation he names firſt Rome, with its duchy extending into Tuſcany and Campania; then the exarchate of Ravenna, with Pentapolis; and, in the third place, the territories taken from the Lombards. Theſe are his three conqueſts; and he was to hold them of the emperor for the uſe of the church, *ſub integritate*, entirely; without the emperor's meddling therewith, or with the juriſdiction or power of the pope therein, unleſs called thereto in certain caſes. This ratification the emperor Ludovicus made under an oath: and as the king of the Oſtrogoths, for acknowledging that he held his kingdom of Italy of the Greek emperor, ſtamped the effigies of the emperor on one ſide of his coins, and his own on the reverſe; ſo the pope made the like acknowledgment to the Weſtern emperor. For the pope began now to coin money: and the coins of Rome are henceforward found with the heads of the emperors (Charles, Ludovicus Pius, Lo-

[a] Confirmationem recitat Sigonius, lib. 4. de Regno Italiæ, ad ann. 817.

Lotharius) and their ſucceſſors, on the one ſide, and the pope's inſcription on the reverſe, for many years.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the power of the eleventh Horn of Daniel's fourth Beaſt, to change times and laws.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

IN the reign of the Greek emperor Juſtinian, and again in the reign of Phocas, the biſhop of Rome obtained ſome dominion over the Greek churches, but of no long continuance. His ſtanding dominion was only over the nations of the Weſtern Empire, repreſented by Daniel's fourth beaſt. And this juriſdiction was ſet up by the following edict of the emperors Gratian and Valentinian.——"*Volumus* ([a]), *ut quicunque judicio Damaſi, quod* "*ille cum Concilio quinque vel ſeptem habuerit Epiſcoporum, vel* "*eorum, qui Catholici ſunt, judicio vel Concilio condemnatus fuerit;* "*ſi juſtè voluerit Eccleſiam retentare, ut qui ad ſacerdotale judi-* "*cium per contumeliam non iviſſet: ut ab illuſtribus viris Præfec-* "*tis Prætorio Galliæ atque Italiæ, authoritate adhibitâ, ad Epiſ-* "*copale judicium remittatur; ſive à Conſularibus vel Vicariis, ut* "*ad Urbem Romam ſub proſecutione perveniat. Aut ſi in longin-* "*quioribus partibus alicujus ferocitas talis emerſerit, omnis ejus* "*cauſæ edictio ad Metropolitæ in eâdem Provinciâ Epiſcopi deduce-* "*retur examen. Vel ſi ipſe Metropolitanus eſt, Romam neceſſariò,* "*vel ad eos quos Romanus Epiſcopus judices dederit, ſine delatione* "*contendat.—Quòd ſi vel Metropolitani Epiſcopi, vel cujuſcunque ſa-* "*cerdotis, iniquitas eſt ſuſpecta, aut gratia; ad Romanum Epiſco-*

(a) See the Annals of Baronius, anno 381. ſect. 6.

"*pum, vel ad Concilium quindecim finitimorum Epiſcoporum ac-* CHANGE OF TIMES AND LAWS.
"*cerſitum liceat provocare; modò ne poſt examen habitum, quod*
"*definitum fuerit, integretur.*" This edict wanting the name of both Valens and Theodoſius in the title, was made in the time between their reigns; that is, in the end of the year 378, or the beginning of 379. It was directed to the *Præfecti Prætorio Italiæ & Galliæ*; and therefore was general. For the *Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ* governed Italy, *Illyricum occidentale*, and Africa; and the *Præfectus Prætorio Galliæ* governed Gallia, Spain, and Britain.

II. The granting of this juriſdiction to the pope gave ſeveral biſhops occaſion to write to him for his reſolutions upon doubtful caſes; and to his anſwering them by decretal epiſtles: and henceforward he gave laws to the Weſtern churches by ſuch epiſtles. Himerius biſhop of Tarraco, the head city of a province in Spain, writing to pope Damaſus for his direction about certain eccleſiaſtical matters, and the letter not arriving at Rome till after the death of Damaſus, A.C. 384; his ſucceſſor Siricius anſwered the letter with a legiſlative authority, telling him of one thing: "*Cùm hoc fieri—miſſa ad Provincias, à venerandæ memoriæ prædeceſſore meo Liberio, generalia decreta prohibeant.*" Of another: "*Noverint ſe ab omni eccleſiaſtico honore, quo indignè uſi ſunt, Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritate, dejectos.*" Of another: "*Sciturí poſthac omnium Provinciarum ſummi Antiſtites, quòd ſi ultrò ad ſacros ordines quenquam de talibus eſſe aſſumendum, & de ſuo & de aliorum ſtatu, quos contra Canones & interdicta noſtra provexerint, congruam ab Apoſtolicâ Sede promendam eſſe ſententiam.*" And the epiſtle he concludes thus: "*Explicuimus ut arbitror, frater chariſſime, univerſâ quæ digeſta ſunt in querelam; & ad ſingulas cauſas, de quibus ad Romanam Eccleſiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis, retuliſti; ſufficientia, quantum opinor, reſponſa reddidimus. Nunc fraternitatis tuæ animum ad ſervandos canones, & tenenda decretalia conſtituta, magis ac magis incitamus: adhæc quæ ad tua conſulta reſcripſimus, in omnium Coepiſcoporum perferri facias notionem; & non ſolum eorum, qui in tuâ ſunt diœceſi conſtituti, ſed etiam ad univerſos Carthaginenſes, ac Bœticos, Luſitanos atque* [a] *Gallicos, vel eos qui*

[a] Populos Gallicios.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

" *qui vicinis tibi collimitant hinc inde Provinciis, hæc, quæ à nobis " ſunt ſalubri ordinatione diſpoſita, ſub literarum tuarum proſecu- " tione mittantur. Et quanquam ſtatuta ſedis Apoſtolicæ, vel Ca- " nonum venerabilia definita, nulli Sacerdotum Domini ignorare ſit " liberum: utilius tamen, atque pro antiquitate ſacerdotii tui, di- " lectioni tuæ eſſe admodum poterit glorioſum; ſi ea, quæ ad te ſpe- " ciali nomine generaliter ſcripta ſunt, per unanimitatis tuæ ſollici- " tudinem, in univerſorum fratrum noſtrorum notitiam perferantur; " quatenus & quæ à nobis, non inconſultè, ſed providè, ſub nimiâ " cautelâ & deliberatione, ſunt ſalubriter conſtituta, intemerata per- " maneant; & omnibus in poſterum excuſationibus aditus, qui jam " nulli apud nos patere poterit, obſtruatur. Dat. 3 Id. Febr. Ar- " cadio & Bautone viris clariſſimis Conſulibus, A. C.* 385." Pope Liberius, in the reign of Jovian, or Valentinian I. ſent general decrees to the provinces, ordering that the Arians ſhould not be rebaptized: and this he did in favour of the council of Alexandria; that nothing more ſhould be required of them, than to renounce their opinions. Pope Damaſus is ſaid to have decreed in a Roman council, that tithes and tenths ſhould be paid upon pain of an Anathema; and that " Glory be to the Father, &c." ſhould be ſaid or ſung at the end of the Pſalms. But the firſt decretal epiſtle, now extant, is this of Siricius to Himerius; and by this epiſtle the pope made Himerius his vicar over all Spain for promulging his decrees, and ſeeing them obſerved. The biſhop of Sevill was alſo the pope's vicar ſometimes; for pope Simplicius wrote thus to Zeno, biſhop of Sevill: " *Talibus idcirco glori- " antes indiciis, congruum duximus vicariâ Sedis noſtræ te auctoritate " fulciri: cujus vigore munitus, Apoſtolicæ inſtitutionis Decreta, " vel ſanctorum terminos Patrum, nullatenus tranſcendi permittas.*" And Pope Hormiſda (a) made the biſhop of Sevill his vicar over Bœtica and Luſitania; and the biſhop of Tarraco his vicar over all the reſt of Spain, as appears by his epiſtles to them.

(a) Hormiſd. Epiſt. 24, 26.

III. Pope Innocent the Firſt, in his decretal epiſtle to Victricius, biſhop of Rouen in France, A. C. 404, in purſuance of the edict of Gratian, made this decree: " *Si quæ autem cauſæ vel conten- " tiones inter Clericos, tam ſuperioris ordinis quàm etiam inferioris, " fuerint exortæ; ut ſecundum Synodum Nicenam congregatis ejuſ- " dem*

"*dem Provinciæ Epiſcopis, jurgium terminetur: nec alicui liceat,* "*Romanæ* ([a]) *Eccleſiæ, cujus in omnibus cauſis debet reverentia* "*cuſtodiri, relictis his ſacerdotibus, qui in eâdem Provinciâ Dei* "*Eccleſiam nutu Divino gubernant, ad alias convolare Provincias.* "*Quod ſiquis fortè præſumpſerit; & ab officio Clericatûs ſummo-* "*tus, & injuriarum reus judicetur. Si autem majores cauſæ in* "*medium fuerint devolutæ, ad Sedem Apoſtolicam, ſicut Synodus ſta-* "*tuit, & beata conſuetudo exigit, poſt judicium Epiſcopale referan-* "*tur.*" By theſe letters it appears to me that Gallia was now ſubject to the pope; and had been ſo for ſome time; and that the biſhop of Rouen was then his vicar, or one of them: for the pope directs him, to refer the greater cauſes to the ſee of Rome, according to cuſtom. But the biſhop of Arles ſoon after became the pope's vicar over all Gallia: for pope Zoſimus, A. C. 417, ordaining that none ſhould have acceſs to him without the credentials of his vicars, conferred upon Patroclus, the biſhop of Arles, this authority over all Gallia by the following decree.

CHANGE OF TIMES AND LAWS.

[a] The words, *ſine auctoritate*, ſeem wanting.

"*Zoſimus univerſis Epiſcopis per Gallias & ſeptem Provincias* "*conſtitutis.*

"*Placuit Apoſtolicæ Sedi, ut ſiquis ex quâlibet Galliarum parte* "*ſub quolibet eccleſiaſtico gradu, ad nos Romæ venire contendit, vel* "*alio terrarum ire diſponit; non aliter proficiſcatur, niſi Metropo-* "*litani Epiſcopi Formatas acceperit; quibus ſacerdotium ſuum, vel* "*locum eccleſiaſticum quem habet, ſcriptorum ejus adſtipulatione* "*perdoceat: quod ex gratiâ ſtatuimus: quia plures epiſcopi, ſive preſ-* "*byteri, ſive eccleſiaſtici ſimulantes, quia nullum documentum For-* "*matarum extat, per quod valeant confutari, in nomen venerationis* "*irrepunt, & indebitam reverentiam promerentur. Quiſquis igi-* "*tur, fratres chariſſimi, prætermiſſâ ſupradicti Formatâ, ſive epiſ-* "*copus, ſive preſbyter, ſive diaconus, aut deinceps inferiori gradu* "*ſit, ad nos venerit; ſciat ſe omnino ſuſcipi non poſſe. Quam* "*auctoritatem ubique nos miſiſſe manifeſtum eſt; ut cunctis regio-* "*nibus innoteſcat, id quod ſtatuimus omnimodis eſſe ſervandum. Si-* "*quis autem hæc ſalubriter conſtituta temerare tentaverit ſponte* "*ſuâ, ſe à noſtrâ noverit communione diſcretum. Hoc autem*

"*privilegium Formatarum ſancto Patroclo, fratri & coepiſcopo noſ-*
"*tro, meritorum ejus ſpeciali contemplatione, conceſſimus.*" And that the biſhop of Arles was ſometimes the pope's vicar over all France, is affirmed alſo by all the biſhops of the dioceſs of Arles, in their letter to pope Leo I. "*Cui id etiam honoris dignita-*
"*tiſque collatum eſt,*" ſay they, "*ut non tantùm has Provincias*
"*poteſtate propriâ gubernaret; verùm etiam omnes Gallias, ſibi*
"*Apoſtolicæ Sedis vice mandatâ, ſub omni eccleſiaſticâ regulâ con-*
"*tineret.*" And pope Pelagius I. A. C. 556, in his epiſtle to Sapaudus biſhop of Arles: "*Majorum noſtrorum, operante Dei*
"*miſericordiâ, cupientes inhærere veſtigiis, & eorum actus divino*
"*examine in omnibus imitari: Charitati tuæ per univerſam Gal-*
"*liam, ſanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ, cui divinâ gratiâ præſidemus, vices*
"*injungimus.*"

IV. By the influence of the ſame imperial edict, not only Spain and Gallia, but alſo Illyricum became ſubject to the pope. Damaſcus made Aſcholius, or Acholius, biſhop of Theſſalonica, the metropolis of Oriental Illyricum, his vicar for hearing of cauſes; and in the year 382, Acholius, being ſummoned by pope Damaſcus, came to a council at Rome. Pope Siricius, the ſucceſſor of Damaſcus, decreed, that no biſhop ſhould be ordained in Illyricum without the conſent of Anyſius, the ſucceſſor of Acholius. And the following popes gave Rufus, the ſucceſſor of Anyſius, a power of calling provincial councils: for in the collections of Holſtenius, there is an account of a council of Rome convened under pope Boniface II. in which were produced letters of Damaſus, Siricius, Innocent I. Boniface I. and Cæleſtine biſhops of Rome, to Aſcholius, Anyſius, and Rufus, biſhops of Theſſalonica; in which letters they commend to them the hearing of cauſes in Illyricum, granted by the lord and the holy canons to the apoſtolic ſee throughout that province. And pope Siricius ſaith in his epiſtle to Anyſius: *Etiam dudum, frater chariſſime,*
"*per Candidianum Epiſcopum, qui nos præceſſit ad Dominum, hu-*
"*juſmodi literas dederamus; ut nulla licentia eſſet, ſine conſenſu tuo*
"*in Illyrico Epiſcopos ordinare præſumere; quæ utrum ad te perve-*
"*nerint, ſcire non potui. Multa enim geſta ſunt per contentionem*
"*ab Epiſcopis in ordinationibus faciendis, quod tua melius caritas*
"*novit.*"

" *novit.*" And a little after: " *Ad omnem enim hujuſmodi auda-* " *ciam comprimendam vigilare debet inſtantia tua, Spiritu in te* " *Sancto fervente: ut vel ipſe, ſi potes, vel quos judicaveris Epiſ-* " *copos idoneos, cum literis dirigas, dato conſenſu qui poſſit, in ejus* " *locum qui defunctus vel depoſitus fuerit, Catholicum Epiſcopum* " *vitâ & moribus probatum, ſecundum Nicænæ Synodi ſtatuta, vel* " *Eccleſiæ Romanæ, Clericum de Clero meritum ordinare.*" And pope Innocent I. ſaith in his epiſtle to Anyſius: " *Cui* [Anyſio] " *etiam anteriores tanti ac tales viri prædeceſſores mei Epiſcopi, id* " *eſt, ſanctæ memoriæ Damaſus, Siricius, atque ſuprà memoratus* " *vir, ita detulerunt; ut omnia quæ in omnibus illis partibus gere-* " *rentur, Sanctitati tuæ, quæ plena juſtitiæ eſt, traderent cognoſ-* " *cenda.*" And in his epiſtle to Rufus, the ſucceſſor of Anyſius: " *Ita longis intervallis diſterminatis à me eccleſiis diſcat conſulen-* " *dum; ut prudentiæ gravitatique tuæ committendam curam, cau-* " *ſaſque, ſiquæ exoriantur, per Achaiæ, Theſſaliæ, Epiri veteris,* " *Epiri novæ, & Cretæ, Daciæ Mediterraneæ, Daciæ Ripenſis,* " *Mœſiæ, Dardaniæ, & Prævali eccleſias, Chriſto domino annuente,* " *cenſeam. Verè enim ejus ſacratiſſimis monitis, lectiſſimæ ſinceri-* " *tatis tuæ providentiæ & virtuti hanc injungimus ſollicitudinem:* " *non primitus hæc ſtatuentes, ſed Præceſſores noſtros Apoſtolicos imi-* " *tati; qui beatiſſimis Acholio & Anyſio injungi pro meritis iſta vo-* " *luerunt.*" And Boniface I. in his decretal epiſtle to Rufus, and the reſt of the biſhops in Illyricum: " *Nullus, ut frequenter dixi,* " *alicujus ordinationem citra ejus* [Epiſcopi Theſſalonicenſis] *con-* " *ſcientiam celebrare præſumat: cui, ut ſupra dictum eſt, vice noſ-* " *trâ cuncta committimus.*" And pope Cæleſtine, in his decretal epiſtle to the biſhops throughout Illyricum, ſaith: " *Vicem noſ-* " *tram per veſtram Provinciam noveritis* [Rufo] *eſſe commiſſam;* " *ita ut ad eum, fratres cariſſimi, quicquid de cauſis agitur, refera-* " *tur. Sine ejus conſilio nullus ordinetur. Nullus uſurpet, eodem* " *inconſcio, commiſſam illi Provinciam; colligere, niſi cum ejus vo-* " *luntate, Epiſcopus non præſumat.*" And in the cauſe of Perigenes, in the title of his epiſtle, he thus enumerates the provinces under this biſhop: " *Rufo & cæteris Epiſcopis per Macedo-* " *niam, Achaiam, Theſſaliam, Epirum veterem, Epirum novam,* " *Prævalin, & Daciam conſtitutis.*" And pope Xiſtus, in a de-

cretal epiſtle to the ſame biſhops: "*Illyricanæ omnes Eccleſiæ, ut* "*à deceſſoribus noſtris recepimus, & nos quoque fecimus, ad cu-* "*ram nunc pertinent Theſſalonicenſis Antiſtitis; ut ſuâ ſollicitudine,* "*ſiquæ inter fratres naſcantur, ut aſſolent, actiones, diſtinguat atque* "*definiat; & ad eum, quicquid à ſingulis ſacerdotibus agitur, re-* "*feratur. Sit Concilium, quotiens cauſæ fuerint; quotiens ille, pro* "*neceſſitatum emergentium ratione, decreverit.*" And pope Leo I. in his decretal epiſtle to Anaſtaſius biſhop of Theſſalonica: "*Sin-* "*gulis autem Metropolitanis ſicut poteſtas iſta committitur, ut in* "*ſuis provinciis jus habeant ordinandi; ita eos Metropolitanos à te* "*volumus ordinari; maturo tamen & decocto judicio.*"

V. Occidental Illyricum comprehended Pannonia *Prima* and *Secunda*, Savia, Dalmatia, Noricum Mediterraneum, and Noricum Ripenſe; and its metropolis was Sirmium, till Attila deſtroyed this city. Afterwards Laureacum became the metropolis of Noricum, and both Pannonias, and Salona the metropolis of Dalmatia. Now the biſhops of Laureacum and Salona ([a]) received the *Pallium* from the pope: and Zoſimus, in his decretal epiſtle to Heſychius biſhop of Salona, directed him to denounce the apoſtolic decrees as well to the biſhops of his own, as to thoſe of the neighbouring provinces. The ſubjection of theſe provinces to the ſee of Rome ſeems to have begun in Anemius; who was ordained biſhop of Sirmium by Ambroſe biſhop of Millan, and who, in the council of Aquileia under pope Damaſus, A. C. 381, declared his ſentence in theſe words: "*Caput Illyrici non* "*niſi civitas Sirmienſis; ego igitur illius civitatis epiſcopus ſum.* "*Eum, qui non confitetur filium Dei æternum, & coeternum patri,* "*qui eſt ſempiternus, anathema dico.*" The next year Anemius and Ambroſe, with Valerian biſhop of Aquileia, Acholius biſhop of Theſſalonica, and many others, went to the council of Rome, which met for over-ruling the Greek church by majority of votes, and exalting the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, as was attempted before in the council of Sardica.

[a] Vide Caroli à S. Paulo Geographiam Sacram, p. 72, 73.

VI. Aquileia was the ſecond city of the Weſtern Empire, and by ſome called the ſecond Rome. It was the metropolis of Iſtria, Forum Julium, and Venetia; and its ſubjection to the ſee of Rome is manifeſt by the decretal epiſtle of Leo I. directed to Ni-

cetas,

cetas, biſhop of this city. For the pope begins his epiſtle thus: "*Regreſſus ad nos filius meus Adeodatus Diaconus Sedis noſtræ, di-lectionem tuam popoſciſſe memorat, ut de his à nobis authoritatem Apoſtolicæ Sedis acciperes; quæ quidem magnam difficultatem di-judicationis videntur aſferre.*" Then he ſets down an anſwer to the queſtions propoſed by Nicetas, and concludes thus: "*Hanc autem epiſtolam noſtram, quam ad conſultationem tuæ fraternitatis emiſimus, ad omnes fratres & comprovinciales tuos epiſcopos facies pervenire, ut in omnium obſervantiâ data proſit authoritas. Data* 12 *Kal. Apr. Majorano Aug. Coſ. A. C.* 458." Gregory ([a]) the Great, A. C. 591, cited Severus, biſhop of Aquileia, to appear before him in judgment in a council at Rome.

[a] Greg. M. lib. 1. Indic. 9. epiſt. 16.

VII. The biſhops of Aquileia and Millan created one another; and therefore were of equal authority, and alike ſubject to the ſee of Rome. Pope Pelagius ([b]), about the yea r557, teſtified this in the following words: "*Mos antiquus fuit,*" ſaith he, "*ut quia pro longinquitate vel difficultate itineris, ab Apoſtolico illis oneroſum fuerit ordinari; ipſi ſe invicem, Mediolanenſis & Aquileienſis, ordinare epiſcopos debuiſſent.*" Theſe words imply, that the ordination of theſe two biſhops belonged to the ſee of Rome. When Laurentius biſhop of Millan had excommunicated Magnus, one of his preſbyters, and was dead; Gregory the Great ([c]) abſolved Magnus, and ſent the *Pallium* to the new-elected biſhop Conſtantius; whom ([d]) the next year he reprehended of partiality in judging Fortunatus, and commanded him to ſend Fortunatus to Rome to be judged there. Four years after he ([e]) appointed the biſhops of Millan and Ravenna to hear the cauſe of one Maximus; and two years after, viz. A. C. 601, when Conſtantius was dead, and the people of Millan had elected Deuſdedit his ſucceſſor, and the Lombards had elected another; Gregory ([f]) wrote to the notary, clergy, and people of Millan, that, by the authority of his letters, Deuſdedit ſhould be ordained; and that he, whom the Lombards had ordained, was an unworthy ſucceſſor of Ambroſe. Whence I gather, that the church of Millan had continued in this ſtate of ſubordination to the ſee of Rome, ever ſince the days of Ambroſe; for Ambroſe himſelf acknowledged the authority of the ſee of Rome. "*Eccleſia Romana* ([g]),"

[b] Apud Gratianum de Mediolanenſi & Aquileienſi Epiſcopis.

[c] Greg. M. lib. 3. epiſt. 26. & lib. 4. epiſt. 1.

[d] Greg. lib. 5. epiſt. 4.

[e] Greg. lib. 9. epiſt. 10 & 67.

[f] Greg. lib. 11. epiſt. 3, 4.

[g] Ambroſ. l. 3. de ſacramentis, c. 1.

ſaith he, "*hanc conſuetudinem non habet, cujus typum in omnibus* "*ſequimur & formam.*" And a little after: "*In omnibus cupio* "*ſequi Eccleſiam Romanam.*" And in his Commentary upon 1 Tim. iii. "*Cum totus mundus Dei ſit, tamen domus ejus eccleſia* "*dicitur; cujus hodie rector eſt Damaſus.*" In his oration on the death of his brother Satyrus, he relates how his brother coming to a certain city of Sardinia, "*advocavit epiſcopum loci; percon-* "*tatuſque eſt ex eo, utrum cum epiſcopis Catholicis, hoc eſt cum Ro-* "*manâ eccleſiâ, conveniret?*" And in conjunction with the ſynod "of Aquileia, A. C. 381, in a ſynodical epiſtle to the emperor Gratian, he ſaith: "*Totius orbis Romani caput Romanam eccle-* "*ſiam, atque illam ſacroſanctam Apoſtolorum fidem, ne turbari ſi-* "*neret, obſecranda fuit clementia veſtra; inde enim in omnes ve-* "*nerandæ communionis jura dimanant.*" The churches therefore of Aquileia and Millan were ſubject to the ſee of Rome from the days of the emperor Gratian. Auxentius, the predeceſſor of Ambroſe, was not ſubject to the ſee of Rome; and conſequently the ſubjection of the church of Millan began in Ambroſe. This dioceſe of Millan contained Liguria with Inſubria, the Alpes Cottiæ, and Rhætia; and was divided from the dioceſe of Aquileia by the river Addua. In the year 844, the biſhop of Millan broke off from the ſee of Rome; and continued in this ſeparation about 200 years, as is thus mentioned by Sigonius[a]: "*Eodem anno Angilbertus, Mediolanenſis Archiepiſcopus, ab eccleſiâ* "*Romanâ parum compertâ de cauſâ deſcivit; tantumque exemplo* "*in poſterum valuit, ut non niſi poſt ducentos annos eccleſia Medio-* "*lanenſis ad Romanæ obedientiam auctoritatemque redierit.*"

[a] Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. 5.

VIII. The biſhop of Ravenna, the metropolis of Flaminia and Æmilia, was alſo ſubject to the pope. For pope Zoſimus, A. C. 417, excommunicated ſome of the preſbyters of that church; and wrote a commonitory epiſtle about them to the clergy of that church, as a branch of the Roman church: "*In ſuâ,*" ſaith he, "*hoc* "*eſt, in eccleſiâ noſtrâ Romanâ.*" And when thoſe of Ravenna, having elected a new biſhop, gave notice thereof to pope Sixtus[b]; the pope ſet him aſide, and ordained Peter Chryſologus in his room. Chryſologus, in his epiſtle to Eutyches, extant in the acts of the council of Chalcedon, wrote thus: "*Nos pro ſtudio* "*pacis*

[b] See Baronius, anno 433, ſect. 24.

"*pacis & fidei, extra conſenſum Romanæ civitatis epiſcopi, cauſas* "*fidei audire non poſſumus.*" And pope Leo I. being conſulted by Leo, biſhop of Ravenna, about ſome queſtions, anſwered him by a decretal epiſtle, A. C. 451. And pope Gregory the Great, reprehending John biſhop of Ravenna about the uſe of the *Pallium*[a]; tells him of a precept of one of his predeceſſors, pope John, commanding that all the privileges formerly granted to the biſhop and church of Ravenna ſhould be kept: and this biſhop John returned a ſubmiſſive anſwer; and after his death pope Gregory ordered a viſitation of the church of Ravenna; ſent the *Pallium* to his ſucceſſor Marinian, as of antient cuſtom; and confirmed the privileges heretofore granted to this church. Yet this church revolted ſometimes from the church of Rome, but returned again to its obedience.

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[a] Greg. M. lib. 3. epiſt. 56, 57, & lib. 5. epiſt. 25, 26, 56.

IX. The reſt of Italy, with the iſlands adjacent, containing the *ſuburbicarian* regions, or ten provinces under the temporal vicar of Rome, viz. [1] Campania, [2] Tuſcia and Umbria, [3] Picenum *ſuburbicarium*, [4] Sicily, [5] Apulia and Calabria, [6] Brutii and Lucania, [7] Samnium, [8] Sardinia, [9] Corſica, and [10] Valeria, conſtituted the proper province of the biſhop of Rome. For the council of Nice, in their fifth canon, ordained, that councils ſhould be held every ſpring and autumn in every province; and, according to this canon, the biſhops of this province met every half year at Rome. For in this ſenſe, pope Leo I. applied this canon to Rome, in a decretal epiſtle to the biſhops of Sicily, written *Alippio & Ardabure Coſſ.* A. C. 447. "*Quia ſaluberrimè,*" ſaith he, "*à ſanctis patribus* "*conſtitutum eſt, binos in annis ſingulis epiſcoporum debere eſſe con-* "*ventus; terni ſemper ex vobis, ad diem tertium kalendarum Octo-* "*brium, Romam æterno concilio ſociandi occurrant. Et indiſſimu-* "*lanter à vobis hæc conſuetudo ſervetur; quoniam adjuvante Dei* "*gratiâ facilius poterit provideri, ut in eccleſiis Chriſti nulla ſcan-* "*dala, nulli naſcantur errores, cùm coram apoſtolo Petro ſemper* "*in communione retractatum fuerit, ut omnia canonum Decreta* "*apud omnes domini ſacerdotes inviolata permaneant.*" The province of Rome therefore comprehended Sicily, with ſo much of

Italy and the neighbouring iſlands, as ſent biſhops to the annual councils of Rome; but extended not into the provinces of Ravenna, Aquileia, Milian, Arles, &c. thoſe provinces having councils of their own. The biſhops in every province of the Roman empire were convened in council by the metropolitan, or biſhop of the head city of the province; and this biſhop preſided in that council: but the biſhop of Rome did not only preſide in his own council of the biſhops of the *ſuburbicarian* regions, but alſo gave orders to the metropolitans of all the other provinces in the Weſtern Empire, as their uſual governor; as may be further perceived by the following inſtances.

X. Pope Zoſimus, A. C. 417, cited Proculus, biſhop of Marſeilles, to appear before a council at Rome for illegitimate ordinations; and condemned him, as he mentions in ſeveral of his epiſtles. Pope Boniface I. A. C. 419, upon a complaint of the clergy of Valentia againſt Maximus a biſhop, ſummoned the biſhops of all Gallia, and the ſeven provinces, to convene in a council againſt him; and ſaith in his epiſtle, that his predeceſſors had done the like. Pope Leo I. called a general council of all the provinces of Spain to meet in Gallæcia, againſt the Machinees and Priſcillianiſts, as he ſays in his decretal epiſtle to Turribius, a Spaniſh biſhop. And in one of his decretal epiſtles to Nicetas biſhop of Aquileia, he commands him to call a council of the biſhops of that province againſt the Pelagians; which might ratify all the ſynodal decrees, which had been already ratified by the ſee of Rome againſt this hereſy. And in his decretal epiſtle to Anaſtaſius biſhop of Theſſalonica, he ordained that that biſhop ſhould hold two provincial councils every year, and refer the harder cauſes to the ſee of Rome: and if upon any extraordinary occaſion it ſhould be neceſſary to call a council, he ſhould not be troubleſome to the biſhops under him, but content himſelf with two biſhops out of every province, and not detain them above fifteen days. And in the ſame epiſtle he deſcribes the form of church-government, then ſet up, to conſiſt in a ſubordination of all the churches to the ſee of Rome: "*De quâ formâ*," ſaith he, "*epiſcoporum quo-*
"*que eſt orta diſtinctio; & magnâ diſpoſitione proviſum eſt, ne om-*
"*nes ſibi omnia vindicarent; ſed eſſent in ſingulis Provinciis ſinguli*
"*quorum*

"*quorum inter fratres haberetur prima ſententia; & rurſus qui-* CHANGE OF TIMES AND LAWS.
"*dam, in majoribus urbibus conſtituti, ſollicitudinem ſumerent am-*
"*pliorem; per quos ad unam Petri Sedem univerſalis eccleſiæ cura*
"*conflueret, & nihil uſque à ſuo capite diſſideret. Qui ergo ſcit ſe*
"*quibuſdam eſſe præpoſitum, non moleſtè ferat aliquem ſibi eſſe præ-*
"*poſitum; ſed obedientiam, quam exigit, etiam ipſe dependat; et ſi-*
"*cut non vult gravis oneris ſarcinam ferre, ita non audeat aliis*
"*importabile pondus imponere.*" Theſe words ſufficiently ſhew the monarchical form of government, then ſet up in the churches of the Weſtern Empire under the biſhop of Rome, by means of the imperial decree of Gratian, and the appeals and decretal epiſtles grounded thereupon.

XI. The ſame pope Leo, having in a council at Rome paſſed ſentence upon Hilary biſhop of Arles, for what he had done by a provincial council in Gallia, took occaſion from thence to procure the following edict from the Weſtern emperor Valentinian III. for eſtabliſhing more abſolutely the authority of his ſee over all the churches of the Weſtern Empire.

Impp. Theodoſius & Valentinianus AA. Aetio Viro illuſtri, Comiti & Magiſtro uriuſque militiæ & Patricio.

"*Certum eſt, & nobis & imperio noſtro unicum eſſe præſidium in ſupernæ Divinitatis favore; ad quem promerendum præcipuè Chriſtiana fides, & veneranda nobis religio, ſuffragatur. Cùm igitur Sedis Apoſtolicæ Primatum ſancti Petri meritum, qui princeps eſt epiſcopalis coronæ, & Romanæ dignitas civitatis, ſacræ etiam Synodi firmavit auctoritas; ne quid præter auctoritatem Sedis iſtius illicitum præſumptio attemperare nitatur: tunc enim demum eccleſiarum pax ubique ſervabitur, ſi Rectorem ſuum agnoſcat Univerſitas. Hæc cùm hactenus inviolabiliter fuerint cuſtodita, Hilarius Arelatenſis, ſicut venerabilis viri Leonis Romani Papæ fideli relatione comperimus, contumaci auſu illicita quædam præſumenda tentavit; & ideo Tranſalpinas eccleſias abominabilis tumultus invaſit; quod recens maximè teſtatur exemplum. Hilarius enim, qui epiſcopus Arelatenſis vocatur, eccleſiæ Romanæ urbis inconſulto Pontifice, indebitas ſibi ordinationes epiſcoporum*

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"*ſolâ temeritate uſurpans invaſit. Nam alios incompetenter re-" "movit; indecenter alios, invitis & repugnantibus civibus, ordi-" "navit. Qui quidem, quoniam non facilè, ab his qui non elegerant,* "*recipiebantur; manum ſibi contrahebat armatam, & clauſtra* "*murorum in hoſtilem morem vel obſidione cingebat, vel aggreſſione* "*reſerabat, & ad ſedem quietis, pacem prædicaturus, per bella du-* "*cebat. His talibus contra imperii majeſtatem, & contra reve-* "*rentiam Apoſtolicæ Sedis admiſſis, per ordinem religioſi viri Urbis* "*Papæ cognitione diſcuſſis, certa in eum, ex his quos malè ordina-* "*verat, lata ſententia eſt. Erat quidem ipſa ſententia per Gallias* "*etiam ſine Imperiali Sanctione valitura: quid enim Pontificis auc-* "*toritate non liceret? Sed noſtram quoque præceptionem hæc ratio* "*provocavit. Nec ulterius vel Hilario, quem adhuc epiſcopum* "*nuncupare ſola manſueta Præſulis permittit humanitas, nec cui-* "*quam alteri eccleſiaſticis rebus arma miſcere, aut præceptis Ro-* "*mani Antiſtitis liceat obviare: auſibus enim talibus fides & reve-* "*rentia noſtri violatur Imperii. Nec hoc ſolum, quod eſt maximi* "*criminis, ſubmovemus: verùm ne levis ſaltem inter eccleſias turba* "*naſcatur, vel in aliquo minui religionis diſciplina videatur, hoc* "*perenni ſanctione diſcernimus; nequid tam epiſcopis Gallicanis,* "*quàm aliarum Provinciarum, contra conſuetudinem veterem li-* "*ceat, ſine viri venerabilis Papæ Urbis æternæ auctoritate, tentare.* "*Sed illis omnibuſque pro lege ſit, quicquid ſanxit vel ſanxerit Apoſ-* "*tolicæ Sedis auctoritas: ita ut quiſquis epiſcoporum, ad judicium* "*Romani Antiſtitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per Moderatorem* "*ejuſdem Provinciæ adeſſe cogatur; per omnia ſervatis, quæ Divi pa-* "*rentes noſtri Romanæ Eccleſiæ retulerunt, Aeti pater cariſſime* "*Auguſti. Unde illuſtris & præclara magnificentia tua præſentis* "*Edictalis Legis auctoritate faciet, quæ ſunt ſuperius ſtatuta ſervari;* "*decem librarum auri multâ protinus exigendâ ab unoquoque Ju-* "*dice, qui paſſus fuerit præcepta noſtra violari. Divinitas te ſervet* "*per multos annos, parens cariſſime. Dat. viii. Id. Jun. Romæ,* "*Valentiniano A. vi. Conſule, A. C.* 455." By this edict, the emperor Valentinian enjoined an abſolute obedience to the will of the biſhop of Rome, throughout all the churches of his empire; and declares, that for the biſhops to attempt any thing without the pope's authority, is contrary to antient cuſtom; and that the biſhops

biſhops ſummoned to appear before his judicature, muſt be carried thither by the governor of the province; and he aſcribes these privileges of the ſee of Rome to the conceſſions of his dead anceſtors; that is, to the edict of Gratian and Valentinian II. as above: by which reckoning, this dominion of the church of Rome was now of 66 years ſtanding: and if in all this time it had not been ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, this new edict was enough to ſettle it, beyond all queſtion, throughout the Weſtern Empire.

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XII. Hence all the biſhops of the province of Arles, in their letter to pope Leo, A. C. 450, in petitioning the pope for a reſtitution of the privileges of their metropolitan, ſay: "*Per beatum Petrum, Apoſtolorum principem, ſacroſancta eccleſia Romana tenebat ſupra omnes totius mundi eccleſias principatum.*" And Ceretius, Salonius and Veranus, three biſhops of Gallia, ſay, in their epiſtle to the ſame pope: "*Magnâ præterea & ineffabili quâdam nos, peculiares tui, gratulatione ſuccreſcimus, quòd illa ſpecialis doctrinæ veſtræ pagina ita per omnium eccleſiarum conventicula celebratur, ut verè conſonâ omnium ſententiâ declaretur, merito illic principatum Sedis Apoſtolicæ conſtitutum, unde adhuc apoſtolici ſpiritûs oracula referentur.*" And pope Leo himſelf, in his epiſtle to the metropolitan biſhops throughout all Illyricum ([a]): "*Quia per omnes eccleſias cura noſtra diſtenditur; exigente hoc à nobis Domino, qui Apoſtolicæ dignitatis beatiſſimo Apoſtolo Petro primatum, fidei ſui remuneratione commiſit, univerſalem eccleſiam in fundamenti ipſius ſoliditate conſtituens.*"

[a] Epiſt. 25. apud Holſtenium.

XIII. While this eccleſiaſtical dominion was riſing up, the northern barbarous nations invaded the Weſtern Empire; and founded ſeveral kingdoms therein, of different religions from the church of Rome. But theſe kingdoms by degrees embraced the Roman faith, and at the ſame time ſubmitted to the pope's authority. The Franks in Gaul ſubmitted in the end of the fifth century; the Goths in Spain in the end of the ſixth; and the Lombards in Italy were conquered by Charles the Great, A. C. 774. And between the years 775 and 794, the ſames Charles extended the pope's authority over all Germany and Hungary, as far to as the river Teis and the Baltic ſea; and then ſet him above all human

CHAPTER EIGHTH. judicature, and at the ſame time aſſiſted him in ſubduing the city and duchy of Rome. By the converſion of the ten kingdoms to the Roman religion, the pope only enlarged his ſpiritual dominion, and did not yet riſe up as a horn of the beaſt. It was his temporal dominion, which made him one of the horns: and this kingdom he acquired in the latter half of the eighth century, by ſubduing three of the former horns as above. And now being arrived at a temporal dominion, and a power above all human judicature, he reigned "[a] with a look more ſtout "than his fellows,—and times and laws were *henceforward* given "into his hands, for a time times and half a time [b]," or three times and a half; that is, for 1260 ſolar years, reckoning a time for a calendar year of 360 days, and a day for a ſolar year. After which "[c] the judgment is to ſit, and they ſhall take away his "dominion, *not at once, but by degrees*, to conſume, and to de- "ſtroy it unto the end.—[d] And the kingdom and dominion, "and greatneſs of the kingdom under the whole heaven ſhall, "*by degrees*, be given unto the people of the ſaints of the moſt "High, whoſe kingdom is an everlaſting kingdom, and all do- "minions ſhall ſerve and obey him."

a Dan. vii. 20.
b Ver. 25.
c Ver. 26.
d Ver. 27.

CHAP. IX.

Of the kingdoms repreſented in Daniel by the Ram and He-Goat.

THE ſecond and third empires, repreſented by the Bear and Leopard, are again repreſented by the Ram and He-Goat; but with this difference, that the Ram repreſents the kingdoms of the Medes and Perſians from the beginning of the four empires; and the Goat repreſents the kingdom of the Greeks to the end of them. By this means, under the type of the ram and he-goat, the times of all the four empires are again deſcribed: "[a] I "lifted up mine eyes," ſaith Daniel, "and ſaw, and behold "there ſtood before the river [Ulai] a Ram which had two horns; "and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the "other, and the higher came up laſt.—And the ram having "two horns, are the kings of Media and Perſia." Not two perſons, but two kingdoms, the kingdoms of Media and Perſia; and the kingdom of Perſia was the higher horn, and came up laſt. The kingdom of Perſia roſe up, when Cyrus having newly conquered Babylon, revolted from Darius king of the Medes, and beat him at Paſargadæ, and ſet up the Perſians above the Medes. This was the horn which came up laſt. And the horn which came up firſt was the kingdom of the Medes, from the time that Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar overthrew Nineveh, and ſhared the empire of the Aſſyrians between them. The empires of Media and Babylon were contemporary, and roſe up together by the fall of the Aſſyrian empire; and the prophecy of the four beaſts begins with one of them, and that of the ram and he-goat with the other. And as the Ram repreſents the kingdom of Media and Perſia from the beginning of the four empires; ſo the

DANIEL'S RAM AND HE-GOAT.

[a] Chap. viii. 3.

CHAPTER NINTH. the He-Goat repreſents the empire of the Greeks to the end of thoſe monarchies. In the reign of his great horn, and of the four horns which ſucceeded it, he repreſents this empire during the reign of the Leopard: and in the reign of his little horn, which ſtood up in the latter time of the kingdom of the four, and after their fall became mighty, but not by his own power, he repreſents it during the reign of the fourth beaſt.

" II. The rough goat," ſaith Daniel, " is the king of Græcia, " *that is, the kingdom*; and the great horn between his eyes is the " firſt king." Not the firſt monarch, but the firſt kingdom; that which laſted during the reign of Alexander the Great, and his brother Aridæus and two young ſons, Alexander and Hercules. " [a] Now that [*horn*] being broken off, whereas four " [*horns*] ſtood up for it, four kingdoms ſhall ſtand up out of the " nation [*of the Greeks*], but not in his [*the firſt horn's*] power." The four horns are therefore four kingdoms; and by conſequence, the firſt great horn which they ſucceeded, is the firſt great kingdom of the Greeks; that which was founded by Alexander the Great, ann. Nabonaſſ. 414, and laſted till the death of his ſon Hercules, ann. Nabonaſſ. 441. And the four are thoſe of Caſſander, Lyſimachus, Antigonus, and Ptolemy, as above.

[a] Ver. 22.

III. " And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the tranſ" greſſors are come to the full, a king [*or new kingdom*] of fierce " countenance, and underſtanding dark ſentences, ſhall ſtand " up [b]: and his power ſhall be mighty, but not by his own power." This king was the laſt horn of the goat; the little horn which came up out of one of the four horns, and waxed exceeding great. The latter time of their kingdom, was when the Romans began to conquer them; that is, when they conquered Perſeus king of Macedonia, the fundamental kingdom of the Greeks. And at that time the tranſgreſſors came to the full: for then the high-prieſthood was expoſed to ſale; the veſſels of the temple were ſold to pay for the purchaſe; and the high-prieſt, with ſome of the Jews, procured a licence from Antiochus Epiphanes to do after the ordinances of the heathen; and ſet up a ſchool at Jeruſalem for teaching thoſe ordinances. Then Antiochus took Jeruſalem with an armed force; ſlew 4000 Jews; took as many priſoners

[b] Ver. 23.

priſoners and ſold them; ſpoiled the temple; interdicted the worſhip; commanded the law of Moſes to be burnt; and ſet up the worſhip of the heathen gods in all Judea. In the very ſame year, ann. Nabonaſſ. 580, the Romans conquered Macedonia, the chief of the four horns. Hitherto the goat was mighty by its own power; but henceforward began to be under the Romans. Daniel diſtinguiſhes the times, by deſcribing very particularly the actions of the kings of the north and ſouth, thoſe two of the four horns which bordered upon Judea, until the Romans conquered Macedonia; and thenceforward only touching upon the main revolutions, which happened within the compaſs of the nations repreſented by the goat. In this latter period of time the little horn was to ſtand up and grow mighty, but not by his own power.

IV. The three firſt of Daniel's beaſts had their dominions taken away, each of them at the riſe of the next beaſt; but their lives were prolonged, and they are all of them ſtill alive. The third beaſt, or leopard, reigned in his four heads, till the riſe of the fourth beaſt, or empire of the Latins; and his life was prolonged under their power. This Leopard reigning in his four heads, ſignifies the ſame thing with the He-Goat reigning in his four horns: and therefore the He-Goat reigned in his four horns till the riſe of Daniel's fourth beaſt, or empire of the Latins: then its dominion was taken away by the Latins, but its life was prolonged under their power. The Latins are not comprehended among the nations repreſented by the He-Goat in this prophecy: their power over the Greeks is only named in it, to diſtinguiſh the times in which the He-Goat was mighty by his own power, from the times in which he was mighty, but not by his own power. He was mighty by his own power till his dominion was taken away by the Latins; after that, his life was prolonged under their dominion, and this prolonging of his life was in the days of his laſt horn: for in the days of this horn the Goat became mighty, but not by his own power.

V. Now becauſe this horn was a horn of the Goat; we are to look for it, among the nations which compoſed the body of the goat. Among thoſe nations he was to riſe up, and grow mighty: he

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grew mighty “ (a) towards the ſouth, and towards the eaſt, and
a Chap. viii. 9. “ towards the pleaſant land;” and therefore he was to riſe up in the north-weſt parts of thoſe nations, and extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. In the latter time of the kingdom of the four horns, it was to riſe up out of one of them and ſubdue the reſt, but not by its own power. It was to be aſſiſted by a foreign power, a power ſuperior to itſelf; the power which took away the dominion of the third beaſt, the power of the fourth beaſt. And ſuch a little horn was the kingdom of Macedonia, from the time that it became ſubject to the Romans. This kingdom, by the victory of the Romans over Perſeus king of Macedonia, ann. Nabonaſſ. 580, ceaſed to be one of the four horns of the goat, and became a dominion of a new ſort: not a horn of the fourth beaſt, for Macedonia belonged to the body of the third; but a horn of the third beaſt of a new ſort; a horn of the Goat which grew mighty, but not by his own power; a horn which roſe up and grew potent under a foreign power, the power of the Romans.

VI. The Romans, by the legacy of Attalus, the laſt king of Pergamus, ann. Nabonaſſ. 615, inherited that kingdom, including all Aſia Minor on this ſide mount Taurus. Ann. Nabonaſſ. 684 and 685 they conquered Armenia, Syria, and Judea; ann. Nabonaſſ. 718, they ſubdued Egypt. And by theſe conqueſts the little horn “ waxed exceeding great towards the ſouth, and to-
b Chap. viii. 9. 10. “ wards the eaſt, and towards the pleaſant land.—(b) And it “ waxed great even to the hoſt of heaven; and caſt down ſome “ of the hoſt and of the ſtars to the ground, and ſtamped upon “ them,” that is, upon the people and great men of the Jews.
c Ver. 11. “ (c) Yea, he magnified himſelf even to the prince of the hoſt, “ *the* Meſſiah, *the prince of the* Jews,” whom he put to death, ann. Nabonaſſ. 780. “ And by him the daily ſacrifice was taken “ away, and the place of his ſanctuary was caſt down,” viz. in the wars, which the armies of the Eaſtern nations, under the conduct of the Romans, made againſt Judea, when Nero and Veſpa-
d Ver. 12. ſian were emperors, ann. Nabonaſſ. 816, 817, 818. “ (d) And “ an hoſt was given him againſt the daily ſacrifice by reaſon of “ tranſgreſſion, and it caſt down the truth to the ground, and

“ it

" it practiſed and proſpered." This tranſgreſſion is in the next words called " the tranſgreſſion of deſolation;" and in Dan. xi. 31. " the abomination which maketh deſolate;" and in Matth. xxiv. 15. " the abomination of deſolation, ſpoken of by Daniel " the prophet, ſtanding in the holy place." It may relate chiefly to the worſhip of Jupiter Olympius in the temple built by the emperor Hadrian, in the place of the temple of the Jews, and to the revolt of the Jews under Barchochab occaſioned thereby, and to the deſolation of Judea which followed thereupon; all the Jews being thenceforward baniſhed Judea upon pain of death. " ([a]) Then I heard," ſaith Daniel, " one ſaint ſpeak- " ing, and another ſaint ſaid unto him which ſpake, How " long ſhall be the viſion concerning the daily ſacrifice, and the " tranſgreſſion of deſolation, to give both the ſanctuary and the " hoſt to be trodden under feet? And he ſaid unto me, Unto " two thouſand and three hundred days; then ſhall the ſanctua- " ry be cleanſed." Daniel's days are years; and theſe years may perhaps be reckoned either from the deſtruction of the temple by the Romans in the reign of Veſpaſian; or from the pollution of the ſanctuary by the worſhip of Jupiter Olympius; or from the deſolation of Judea made in the end of the Jewiſh war by the baniſhment of all the Jews out of their own country; or from ſome other period which time will diſcover. Henceforward the laſt horn of the Goat continued mighty under the Romans, till the reign of Conſtantine the Great and his ſons: and then by the diviſion of the Roman empire between the Greek and Latin emperors, it ſeparated from the Latins, and became the Greek empire alone, but yet under the dominion of a Roman family; and at preſent it is mighty under the dominion of the Turks.

RAM AND HE-GOAT.

[a] Ver. 13, 14.

VII. This laſt horn is by ſome taken for Antiochus Epiphanes, but not very judiciouſly. A horn of a beaſt is never taken for a ſingle perſon: it always ſignifies a new kingdom, and the kingdom of Antiochus was an old one. Antiochus reigned over one of the four horns, and the little horn was a fifth under its proper kings. This horn was at firſt a little one, and waxed exceeding great; and ſo did not Antiochus. It is deſcribed great above all the former horns; and ſo was not Antiochus. His

CHAPTER NINTH. kingdom, on the contrary, was weak, and tributary to the Romans, and he did not enlarge it. The horn was a "king of "fierce countenance, and deſtroyed wonderfully, and proſpered "and practiſed;" that is, he proſpered in his practices againſt the holy people: but Antiochus was frighted out of Egypt by a mere meſſage of the Romans, and afterwards routed and baffled by the Jews. The horn was mighty by another's power; Antiochus acted by his own. The horn ſtood up againſt the prince of the hoſt of heaven, the prince of princes; and this is the character not of Antiochus, but of Antichriſt. The horn caſt down the ſanctuary to the ground; and ſo did not Antiochus; he left it ſtanding. The ſanctuary and hoſt were trampled under foot 2300 days; and in Daniel's prophecies days are put for years: but the profanation of the temple in the reign of Antiochus did not laſt ſo many natural days. Theſe were to laſt till the time of the end, till the laſt end of the indignation againſt the Jews; and this indignation is not yet at an end. They were to laſt till the ſanctuary which had been caſt down ſhould be cleanſed; and the ſanctuary is not yet cleanſed.

VIII. This prophecy of the Ram and He-Goat is repeated in the laſt prophecy of Daniel. There the angel tells Daniel ([a]), that "he ſtood up to ſtrengthen Darius the Mede, and that there "ſhould ſtand up yet three kings in Perſia [Cyrus, Cambyſes, "and Darius Hyſtaſpis], and the fourth [Xerxes] ſhould be far "richer than they all; and by his wealth through his riches he "ſhould ſtir up all againſt the realm of Grecia." This relates to the Ram, whoſe two horns were the kingdoms of Media and Perſia. Then he goes on to deſcribe the horns of the goat by the "([b]) ſtanding up of a mighty king, which ſhould rule with "great dominion, and do according to his will;" and by the breaking of his kingdom into four ſmaller kingdoms, and not deſcending to his own poſterity. Then he deſcribes the actions of two of thoſe kingdoms, which bordered on Judea, viz. Egypt and Syria, calling them the kings of the South and North, that is, in reſpect of Judea; and he carries on the deſcription till the latter end of the kingdoms of the four, and till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when tranſgreſſors were come to the full.

[a] Dan. xi. 1, 2.

[b] Ver. 3.

In

In the eighth year of Antiochus, the year in which he profaned Daniel's
the temple and ſet up the heathen gods in all Judea, and the Ram and He-Goat.
Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon; the prophetic angel leaves off deſcribing the affairs of the kings of the South and North, and begins to deſcribe thoſe of the Greeks under the dominion of the Romans, in theſe words: " ([a]) And after him [a] Dan. xi. 31.
" Arms [the Romans] ſhall ſtand up, and they ſhall pollute the " ſanctuary of ſtrength." As כמלך ſignifies " after the king" (Dan. xi. 8); ſo here כמנו may ſignify " after him:" and ſo מן־האחת may ſignify " after one of them" [Dan. viii. 9.] Arms are every where in theſe prophecies of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom, and they ſtand up when they conquer and grow powerful. The Romans conquered Illyricum, Nabonaſſ. 580; and thirty-five years after, by the laſt will and teſtament of Attalus, the laſt king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flouriſhing kingdom, that is, all Aſia on this ſide mount Taurus: and ſixty-nine years after, they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province: and thirty-four years after they did the like to Egypt. By all theſe ſteps the Roman arms ſtood up over the Greeks. And after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, " they polluted the ſanctuary of " ſtrength, and took away the daily ſacrifice, and, *in its room* " *ſoon after*, placed the abomination which made *the land* deſo-" late:" for this abomination was placed after the days of Chriſt (Matth. xxiv. 15.) In the 16th year of the emperor Hadrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God in Jeruſalem had ſtood. Thereupon the Jews, under the conduct of Barchochab, roſe up in arms againſt the Romans, and in that war had 50 cities demoliſhed, 985 of their beſt towns deſtroyed, and 580000 men ſlain by the ſword: and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, they were all baniſhed Judea upon pain of death; and that time the land hath remained deſolate of its old inhabitants.

IX. Now that the prophetic angel paſſes in this manner from the four kingdoms of the Greeks to the Romans reigning over the Greeks, is confirmed from hence; that in the next place he deſcribes the affairs of the Chriſtians unto the time of the end, in

[a] Chap. xi. 33, &c. theſe words: " (a) " And they that underſtand among the peo-" ple ſhall inſtruct many; yet they ſhall fall by the ſword and by " flame, by captivity and by ſpoil many days. Now when they " ſhall fall they ſhall be holpen with a little help," viz. in the reign of Conſtantine the Great; " but many ſhall cleave to them " with diſſimulation. And ſome of them of underſtanding " there ſhall fall to try them, and to purge *them from the diſ-" ſemblers*; and to make them white even to the time of the " end." And a little after, the time of the end is ſaid to be " a time, times, and half a time:" which is the duration of the reign of the laſt horn of Daniel's fourth beaſt, and of the Woman and her Beaſt in the Apocalyps.

CHAP. X.

Of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.

CHAPTER TENTH. THE viſion of the image compoſed of four metals was given firſt to Nebuchadnezzar, and then to Daniel, in a dream: and Daniel began then to be celebrated for revealing of ſecrets (Ezek. xxviii. 3.) The viſion of the Four Beaſts, and of the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, was alſo given to Daniel in a dream. That of the Ram and He-Goat appeared to him in the day-time, when he was by the bank of the river Ulay; and was explained to him by the prophetic angel Gabriel.

(α) *Cut upon.* A phraſe in Hebrew, taken from the practiſe of numbering by cutting notches.
(β) Heb. *To ſeal*, i. e. to finiſh or conſummate: a metaphor taken from ſealing what is finiſhed. So the Jews compute, *ad obſignatum Miſna, ad obſignatum Talmud*, that is, *ad abſolutum*.

It concerns the Prince of the Hoſt, and the Prince of Princes: and now in the firſt year of Darius the Mede over Babylon, the ſame prophetic angel appears to Daniel again, and explains to him what is meant by the Son of man, by the Prince of the hoſt, and the Prince of princes. The prophecy of the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, relates to the ſecond coming of Chriſt; that of the Prince of the hoſt, relates to his firſt coming: and this prophecy of the Meſſiah, in explaining them, relates to both comings, and aſſigns the times thereof. DANIEL'S SEVENTY WEEKS.

II. This prophecy, like all the reſt of Daniel's, conſiſts of two parts, an introductory prophecy, and an explanation thereof; the whole I thus tranſlate and interpret.

III. " [a] Seventy weeks are (α) cut out upon thy people, and " upon thy holy city, to finiſh tranſgreſſion, and (β) to make " an end of ſins, to expiate iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting " righteouſneſs, to conſummate the viſion and (γ) the prophet, " and to anoint the moſt Holy.

[a] Chap. xi. 24, 25, 26, 27.

" Know alſo and underſtand, that from the going forth of " the commandment to cauſe to return and to build Jeruſalem, " unto (δ) the Anointed the Prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks.

" Yet threeſcore and two weeks ſhall (ε) it return, and the " ſtreet be built and the wall; but in troubleſome times: and " after the threeſcore and two weeks, the Anointed ſhall be cut " off, and (ε) it ſhall not be his; but the people of a prince to " come ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary: and the end " thereof ſhall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war, " deſolations are determined.

" Yet ſhall he confirm the covenant with many for one week: " and in half a week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and oblation to " ceaſe: and upon a wing of abominations he ſhall make it de- " ſolate, even until the conſummation, and that which is deter- " mined be poured upon the deſolate."

(γ) Heb. *The Prophet*, not the prophecy.

(δ) Heb. *The Meſſiah*, that is, in Greek, the Chriſt; in Engliſh, the Anointed. I uſe the Engliſh word, that the relation of this clauſe to the former may appear.

(ε) Jeruſalem.

" Seventy

IV. "Seventy weeks are cut out upon thy people, and upon thy "holy city, to finiſh tranſgreſſion, &c." Here, by putting a week for ſeven years, as in Gen. xxix. 17, 18. are reckoned 490 years from the time that the diſperſed Jews ſhould be re-incorporated into ([a]) a people and a holy city, until the death and reſurrection of Chriſt; "whereby tranſgreſſion ſhould be finiſhed, and ſins ended, iniquity "be expiated, and everlaſting righteouſneſs brought in, and this "viſion be accompliſhed, and the prophet conſummated;" that Prophet whom the Jews expected, and whereby the moſt Holy ſhould be anointed; he who is therefore in the next words called the Anointed, that is, the Meſſiah, or the Chriſt. For by joining the accompliſhment of the viſion with the expiation of ſins, the 490 years are ended with the death of Chriſt. Now the diſperſed Jews became a people and city when they firſt returned into a polity or body politic; and this was in the ſeventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when Ezra returned with a body of Jews from captivity, and revived the Jewiſh worſhip; and by the king's commiſſion created magiſtrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the king (Ezra vii. 25.) There were but two returns from captivity, Zerubbabel's and Ezra's; in Zerubbabel's they had only commiſſion to build the temple, in Ezra's they became a polity or city by a government of their own. Now the years of this Artaxerxes began about two or three months after the ſummer ſolſtice, and his ſeventh year fell in with the third year of the eightieth olympiad; and the latter part thereof, wherein Ezra went up to Jeruſalem, was in the year of the Julian Period 4257. Count the time from thence to the death of Chriſt, and you will find it juſt 490 years. If you count in Judaic years, commencing in autumn, and date the reckoning from the firſt autumn after Ezra's coming to Jeruſalem. when he put the king's decree in execution; the death of Chriſt will fall on the year of the Julian Period 4747, anno Domini 34; and the weeks will be Judaic weeks, ending with ſabbatical years; and this I take to be the truth: but if you had rather place the death of Chriſt in the year before, as is commonly done, you may take the year of Ezra's journey into the reckoning.

[a] See Iſa. xxiii. 13.

"Know

V. " Know alſo and underſtand, that from the going forth of " the commandment to cauſe to return and to build Jeruſalem, " unto the Anointed the Prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks." The former part of the prophecy related to the firſt coming of Chriſt, being dated to his coming as a prophet; this being dated to his coming to be prince or king, ſeems to relate to his ſecond coming. There, the prophet was conſummate, and the moſt Holy anointed: here, he that was anointed comes to be prince and to reign. For Daniel's prophecies reach to the end of the world; and there is ſcarce a prophecy in the Old Teſtament concerning Chriſt, which doth not in ſomething or other relate to his ſecond coming. If divers of the antients, as (α) Irenæus, (β) Julius Africanus, Hippolytus the Martyr, and Apollinaris biſhop of Laodicea, applied the half week to the times of Antichriſt; why may not we, by the ſame liberty of interpretation, apply the ſeven weeks to the time when Antichriſt ſhall be deſtroyed by the brightneſs of Chriſt's coming? DANIEL'S SEVENTY WEEKS.

VI. The Iſraelites in the days of the antient prophets, when the ten tribes were led into captivity, expected a double return; and that at the firſt the Jews ſhould build a new temple inferior to Solomon's, until the time of that age ſhould be fulfilled; and afterwards they ſhould return from all places of their captivity, and build Jeruſalem and the temple glorioſly (Tobit xiv. 4, 5, 6): and to expreſs the glory and excellence of this city, it is figuratively ſaid to be built of precious ſtones (Tobit xiii. 16, 17, 18. Iſa. liv. 11, 12. Rev. xi.) and called the New Jeruſalem, the Heavenly Jeruſalem, the Holy City, the Lamb's Wife, the City of the Great King, the City into which the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour. Now while ſuch a return from captivity was the expectation of Iſrael, even before the times of Daniel, I know not why Daniel ſhould omit it in his prophecy. This part of the prophecy being therefore not yet fulfilled, I ſhall not attempt a particular interpretation of it, but content myſelf with obſerving, that as the ſeventy and the ſixty-two weeks were Jewiſh weeks, ending with ſabbatical years; ſo the ſeven weeks are the compaſs of a Jubilee, and begin and end with actions proper for a Jubilee, and of the higheſt nature

for

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for which a Jubilee can be kept: and that ſince the commandment to return and to build Jeruſalem, precedes the Meſſiah the Prince 49 years; it may perhaps come forth not from the Jews themſelves, but from ſome other kingdom friendly to them, and precede their return from captivity, and give occaſion to it; and, laſtly, that this rebuilding of Jeruſalem and the waſte places of Judah is predicted in Micah vii. 11. Amos ix. 11, 14. Ezek. xxxvi. 33, 35, 36, 38. Iſa. liv. 3, 11, 12. lv. 12. lxi. 4. lxv. 18, 21, 22. and Tobit xiv. 5. and that the return from captivity and coming of the Meſſiah and his kingdom are deſcribed in Daniel vii. Rev. xix. Acts i. Matth. xxiv. Joel iii. Ezek. xxxvi. xxxvii. Iſa. lx. lxii. lxiii. lxv. and lxvi. and many other places of ſcripture. The manner I know not. Let time be the interpreter.

VII. "Yet threeſcore and two weeks ſhall it return, and the ſtreet "be built and the wall, but in troubleſome times: and after the "threeſcore and two weeks the Meſſiah ſhall be cut off, and it "ſhall not be his; but the people of a prince to come ſhall de-"ſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, &c." Having foretold both comings of Chriſt, and dated the laſt from their returning and building Jeruſalem; to prevent the applying that to the building Jeruſalem by Nehemiah, he diſtinguiſhes this from that, by ſaying that from this period to the Anointed ſhall be, not ſeven weeks, but threeſcore and two weeks, and this not in proſperous but in troubleſome times; and at the end of theſe weeks the Meſſiah ſhall not be the prince of the Jews, but be cut off; and Jeruſalem not be his, but the city and ſanctuary be deſtroyed. Now Nehemiah came to Jeruſalem in the 20th year of this ſame Artaxerxes, while Ezra ſtill continued there (Nehem. xii. 36.) and found the city lying waſte, and the houſes and wall unbuilt, (Nehem. ii. 17. vii. 4.) and finiſhed the wall the 25th day of the month Elul (Nehem. vi. 15.) in the 28th year of the king, that is, in September, in the year of the Julian Period 4278. Count now from this year threeſcore and two weeks of years, that is 434 years, and the reckoning will end in September in the year of the Julian Period 4712, which is the year in which Chriſt was born, according to Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus,

(α) Iren. l. 5. Hær. c. 25.

(β) Apud Hieron. in h. l.

Euſebius,

Euſebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Oroſius, Caſſiodorus, and other antients: for this was the general opinion, till Dionyſius Exiguus invented the vulgar account, in which Chriſt's birth is placed two years later. If with ſome you reckon that Chriſt was born three or four years before the vulgar account; yet his birth will fall in the latter part of the laſt week, which is enough. How after theſe weeks Chriſt was cut off, and the city and ſanctuary deſtroyed by the Romans, is well known. DANIEL's SEVENTY WEEKS.

VI. "Yet ſhall he confirm the covenant with many for one "week." For he kept it, notwithſtanding his death, till the rejection of the Jews, and calling of Cornelius and the Gentiles in the ſeventh year after his paſſion.

VII. "And in half a week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and ob-"lation to ceaſe;" that is, by the war of the Romans upon the Jews: which war, after ſome commotions, began in the 13th year of Nero, A. D. 67, in ſpring, when Veſpaſian with an army invaded them; and ended in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, A. D. 70, in autumn, Sept. 7, when Titus took the city, having burnt the temple 27 days before: ſo that it laſted three years and an half.

VIII. "And upon a wing of abominations he ſhall cauſe deſola-"tion, even until the conſummation, and that which is determined "be poured upon the deſolate." The prophets, in repreſenting kingdoms by beaſts and birds, put their wings, ſtretched out over any country, for their armies ſent out to invade and rule over that country. Hence a wing of abominations is an army of falſe gods: for an abomination is often put in ſcripture for a falſe god; as where Chemoſh is called the abomination of Moab, and Molech the abomination of Ammon. The meaning therefore is, that the people of a prince to come ſhall deſtroy the ſanctuary, and aboliſh the daily worſhip of the true God, and overſpread the land with an army of falſe gods; and by ſetting up their dominion and worſhip, cauſe deſolation to the Jews, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. For Chriſt tells us, that the abomination of deſolation ſpoken of by Daniel was to be ſet up in the times of the Roman Empire (Matth. xxiv. 15.)

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IX. Thus have we in this ſhort prophecy, a prediction of all the main periods relating to the coming of the Meſſiah: the time of his birth; that of his death; that of the rejection of the Jews; the duration of the Jewiſh war, whereby he cauſed the city and ſanctuary to be deſtroyed; and the time of his ſecond coming: and ſo the interpretation here given is more full and complete and adequate to the deſign, than if we ſhould reſtrain it to his firſt coming only, as interpreters uſually do. We avoid alſo the doing violence to the language of Daniel, by taking the ſeven weeks and ſixty-two weeks for one number. Had that been Daniel's meaning, he would have ſaid ſixty and nine weeks, and not ſeven weeks and ſixty-two weeks; a way of numbering uſed by no nation. In our way the years are Jewiſh luni-ſolar years, as they ought to be; and the ſeventy weeks of years are Jewiſh weeks ending with ſabbatical years, which is very remarkable. For they end either with the year of the birth of Chriſt, two years before the vulgar account, or with the year of his death, or with the ſeventh year after it: all which are ſabbatical years. Others either count by lunar years, or by weeks not Judaic: and, which is worſt, they ground their interpretations on erroneous chronology, excepting the opinion of Funccius about the ſeventy weeks, which is the ſame with ours. For they place Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and the building of the temple in the reign of Darius Nothus, and date the weeks of Daniel from thoſe two reigns.

X. The grounds of the chronology here followed, I will now ſet down as briefly as I can.

The Peloponneſian war began in ſpring, ann. 1. olymp. 87; as Diodorus, Euſebius, and all other authors agree. It began two months before Pythodorus ceaſed to be archon (Thucyd. l. 2.) that is, in April, two months before the end of the olympic year. And the years of this war are moſt certainly determined by the 50 years diſtance of its firſt year from the tranſit of Xerxes incluſively; (Thucyd. l. 2.) or 48 years excluſively; (Eratoſth. apud Clem. Alex.) by the 69 years diſtance of its end, or 27th year, from the beginning of Alexander in Greece; by the acting of the olympic games in its 4th and 12th years; (Thucyd. l.

5)

5.) and by three eclipſes of the ſun, and one of the moon, mentioned by Thucydides and Xenophon. Now Thucydides, an unqueſtionable witneſs, tells us, that the news of the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus was brought to Epheſus, and from thence by ſome Athenians to Athens, in the 7th year of this Peloponneſian war, when the winter half year was running; and therefore he died ann. 4. olymp. 88, in the end of ann. J. P. 4289, ſuppoſe a month or two before mid-winter; for ſo long the news would be in coming. Now Artaxerxes Longimanus reigned 40 years, by the conſent of Diodorus, Euſebius, Jerome, Sulpitius; or 41, according to Ptol. in can. Clem. Alexand. l. 1. Strom. Chron. Alexand. Abulpharagius, Nicephorus, including therein the reign of his ſucceſſors Xerxes and Sogdian, as Abulpharagius informs us. After Artaxerxes reigned his ſon Xerxes two months, and Sogdian ſeven months; but their reign is not reckoned apart in ſumming up the years of the kings, but is included in the 40 or 41 years reign of Artaxerxes: omit theſe nine months, and the preciſe reign of Artaxerxes will be thirty-nine years and three months. And therefore ſince his reign ended in the beginning of winter, ann. J. P. 4289, it began between midſummer and autumn, ann. J. P. 4250.

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XI. The ſame thing I gather alſo thus. Cambyſes began his reign in ſpring, ann. J. P. 4185, and reigned eight years, including the five months of Smerdes; and then Darius Hyſtaſpis began in ſpring, ann. J. P. 4193, and reigned thirty-ſix years, by the unanimous conſent of all chronologers. The reigns of theſe two kings are determined by three eclipſes of the moon obſerved at Babylon, and recorded by Ptolemy; ſo that it cannot be diſputed. One was in the ſeventh year of Cambyſes, ann. J. P. 4191, Jul. 16, at 11 at night; another in the 20th year of Darius, ann. J. P. 4212, Nov. 19, at 11^h. 45′. at night; a third in the 31ſt year of Darius, ann. J. P. 4223, Apr. 25, at 11^h. 30 at night. By theſe eclipſes, and the prophecies of Haggai and Zachary compared together, it is manifeſt that his years began after the 24th day of the 11th Jewiſh month, and before the 25th day of April, and by conſequence about March. Xerxes therefore began in ſpring, ann. J. P. 4229: for Darius

died in the fifth year after the battle at Marathon, as Herodotus, lib. 7, and Plutarch mention; and that battle was in October, ann. J. P. 4224, ten years before the battle at Salamis. Xerxes therefore began within leſs than a year after October, ann. J. P. 4228, ſuppoſe in the ſpring following: for he ſpent his firſt five years, and ſomething more, in preparations for his expedition againſt the Greeks; and this expedition was in the time of the olympic games, ann. 1. olymp. 75, *Calliade Athenis Archonte*; 28 years after the Regifuge, and conſulſhip of the firſt conſul Junius Brutus, *anno urbis conditæ* 273, *Fabio & Furio Coſſ.* The paſſage of Xerxes's army over the Helleſpont began in the end of the fourth year of the 74th olympiad, that is, in June, ann. J. P. 4234, and took up one month: and in autumn, after three months more, on the full moon, *die* 16 *Munychionis, plenilunio*, was the battle at Salamis; and a little after that an eclipſe of the ſun, which by the calculation fell on Oct. 2. His ſixth year therefore began a little before June, ſuppoſe in ſpring, ann. J. P. 4234; and his firſt year conſequently in ſpring, ann. J. P. 4229, as above. Now he reigned almoſt twenty-one years, by the conſent of all writers. Add the 7 months of Artabanus, and the ſum will be 21 years and about four or five months; which end between Midſummer and autumn, ann. J. P. 4250. At this time therefore began the reign of his ſucceſſor Artaxerxes, as was to be proved.

XII. The ſame thing is alſo confirmed by Julius Africanus; who informs us out of former writers, that the 20th year of this Artaxerxes was the 115th year from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus in Perſia, and fell in with ann. 4. olymp. 83. It began therefore with the olympic year, ſoon after the ſummer ſolſtice, ann. J. P. 4269. Subduct nineteen years, and his firſt year will begin at the ſame time of the year, ann. J. P. 4250, as above.

XIII. His 7th year therefore began after Midſummer, ann. J. P. 4256; and the journey of Ezra to Jeruſalem, in the ſpring following, fell on the beginning of ann. J. P. 4257, as above.

CHRONOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE FOREGOING INTERPRETATION.

DANIEL's SEVENTY WEEKS.

I.

That the years uſed by DANIEL are Jewiſh luniſolar years.

1. THE antient ſolar years of the eaſtern nations conſiſted of 12 months, and every month of 30 days: and hence came the diviſion of a circle into 360 degrees. This year ſeems to be uſed by Moſes, in his hiſtory of the Flood: and by John, in the Apocalypſe; where a time, times and half a time, 42 months, and 1260 days, are put equipollent. But in reckoning by many of theſe years together an account is to be kept of the odd days, which were added to the end of theſe years. For the Egyptians added five days to the end of this year; and ſo did the Chaldeans long before the times of Daniel, as appears by the æra of Nabonaſſar: and the Perſian Magi uſed the ſame year of 365 days, till the empire of the Arabians. The antient Greeks alſo uſed the ſame ſolar year of 12 equal months, or 360 days; but every other year added an intercalary month, conſiſting of 10 and 11 days alternately.

2. The year of the Jews, even from their coming out of Egypt, was luni-ſolar. It was ſolar; for the harveſt always followed the Paſſover, and the fruits of the land were always gathered before the feaſt of Tabernacles (Levit. xxiii.) But the months were lunar; for the people were commanded by Moſes in the beginning of every month to blow with trumpets, and offer burnt-offerings with their drink-offerings (Num. x. 10. xxviii. 11, 14.) and this ſolemnity was kept on the new moons (Pſal. lxxxi. 3, 4, 5. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.) Theſe months were called by Moſes the firſt, ſecond, third, fourth month, &c. and the firſt month was alſo called Abib, the ſecond Zif, the ſeventh Ethanim, the eighth Bull (Exod. xiii. 4. 1 Kings vi. 37, 38. viii. 2.) But in the Babylonian captivity the Jews uſed the names of the

Chaldean months, and by thoſe names underſtood the months of their own year; ſo that the Jewiſh months then loſt their old names, and are now called by thoſe of the Chaldeans.

3. The Jews began their civil year from the autumnal equinox, and their ſacred year from the vernal: and the firſt year of the firſt month was on the viſible new moon, which was neareſt the equinox.

4. Whether Daniel uſed the Chaldaic or Jewiſh year, is not very material; the difference being but ſix hours in a year, and 4 months in 480 years. But I take his months to be Jewiſh: firſt, becauſe Daniel was a Jew; and the Jews even by the names of the Chaldean months underſtood the months of their own year: ſecondly, becauſe this prophecy is grounded on Jeremiah's concerning the 70 years captivity, and therefore muſt be underſtood of the ſame ſort of years with the ſeventy; and thoſe are Jewiſh, ſince that prophecy was given in Judea before the captivity: and, laſtly, becauſe Daniel reckons by weeks of years, which is a way of reckoning peculiar to the Jewiſh years. For as their days ran by ſevens, and the laſt day of every ſeven was a ſabbath; ſo their years ran by ſevens, and the laſt year of every ſeven was a ſabbatical year, and ſuch ſeven weeks of years made a Jubilee.

II.

That EZRA and NEHEMIAH flouriſhed under ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

1. For clearing up the hiſtory of the Jews, contained in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, I lay down the following conſiderations.

2. Firſt, that the book of Nehemiah, from the fifth verſe of the ſeventh chapter to the ninth verſe of the twelfth chapter, was copied by Nehemiah out of the chronicles of the Jews; and contains the hiſtory of the Jews at their return from captivity under Zerubbabel, in the firſt year of Cyrus. For this will appear

pear by reading the place, and conſidering that the men who ſealed the covenant in the 24th day of the ſeventh month, were the very ſame with the men who returned from captivity with Zerubbabel in the firſt year of Cyrus, as you may perceive by the following compariſon of their names.

Here ſhould follow the compariſon of the names, which is wanting in the MS. but the defect may be ſupplied from the Chronology, chap. VI. § XI.

3. Secondly, I conſider that ſoon after theſe things the temple was finiſhed in the ſixth year of Darius Hyſtaſpis. For it was finiſhed in the high-prieſthood of Jeſhuah; and Jeſhuah was not long-lived beyond the uſual age of men; for he out-lived not the age of his contemporaries. For in the firſt year of Cyrus, the chief-prieſts were Serajah, Jeremiah, Ezra, Amariah, Malluch, Shemaiah, Rehum, Meremoth, Iddo, Ginetho, Abijah, Miamin, Maadiah, Bilgah, Shemaiah, Jojarib, Jedaiah, Sallu, Amock, Hilkiah, Jedaiah; and the eldeſt ſons of them all (Merajah the ſon of Serajah, Hananiah the ſon of Jeremiah, Meſhullam the ſon of Ezra) were chief-prieſts in the days of Jojakim the ſon of Jeſhuah (Nehem. xii.) and therefore the high-prieſthood of Jeſhuah was but of an ordinary length. ******

Much ſeems wanting; but the defect may be ſupplied from Chronology, chap. VI. § X—XVI.

CHAP. XI.

Of the times of the birth and paſſion of Chriſt.

Chapter Eleventh.

THE times of the birth and paſſion of Chriſt, with ſuch like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by the Chriſtians of the firſt age. They who began firſt to celebrate them, placed them in the cardinal periods of the year; as the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, on the 25th of March, which, when Julius Cæſar corrected the calendar, was the vernal equinox; the feaſt of John Baptiſt on the 24th of June, which was the ſummer ſolſtice; the feaſt of St. Michael on Sept. 29, which was the autumnal equinox; and the birth of Chriſt on the winter ſolſtice, Decemb. 25, with the feaſts of St. Stephen, St. John and the Innocents, as near it as they could place them. And becauſe the ſolſtice in time removed from the 25th of December to the 24th, the 23d, the 22d, and ſo on backwards; hence ſome in the following centuries placed the birth of Chriſt on Decemb. 23, and at length on Decemb. 20: and for the ſame reaſon they ſeem to have ſet the feaſt of St. Thomas on Decemb. 21, and that of St. Matthew on Sept. 21. So alſo at the entrance of the ſun into all the ſigns in the Julian calendar, they placed the days of other ſaints; as the converſion of Paul on Jan. 25, when the ſun entered ♒; St. Matthias on Feb. 25, when ☉ entered ♓; St. Mark on Apr. 25, when ☉ entered ♉; Corpus Chriſti on May 26, when ☉ entered ♊; St James on July 25, when ☉ entered ♌; St. Bartholomew on Aug. 24, when ☉ entered ♍; Simon and Jude on Octob. 28, when ☉ entered ♏: and if there were any other remarkable days in the Julian calendar, they placed the ſaints upon them; as St. Barnabas on June 11, where Ovid ſeems to place the feaſt of Veſta and Fortuna, and the goddeſs Matuta; and St. Philip and James

James on the firſt of May, a day dedicated both to the *Bona Dea*, or *Magna Mater*, and to the goddeſs Flora, and ſtill celebrated with her rites. All which ſhews, that theſe days were fixed in the firſt Chriſtian calendar by mathematicians at pleaſure, without any ground in tradition; and that the Chriſtians afterwards took up with what they found in the calendars. NATIVITY AND PASSION.

II. Neither was there any certain tradition about the years of Chriſt. For the Chriſtians who firſt began to enquire into theſe things, as Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Jerome, St. Auſtin, Sulpicius Severus, Proſper, and as many as place the death of Chriſt in the 15th or 16th year of Tiberius, make Chriſt to have preached but one year, or at moſt but two. At length Euſebius diſcovered four ſucceſſive paſſovers in the goſpel of John, and thereupon ſet on foot an opinion that he preached three years and an half; and ſo died in the 19th year of Tiberius. Others afterwards, finding the opinion that he died in the equinox, Mar. 25, more conſonant to the times of the Jewiſh paſſover, in the 17th and 20th years, have placed his death in one of thoſe two years. Neither is there any greater certainty in the opinions about the time of his birth. The firſt Chriſtians placed his baptiſm near the beginning of the 15th year of Tiberius; and thence reckoning thirty years backwards, placed his birth in the 43d Julian year, the 42d of Auguſtus, and 28th of the Actiac victory. This was the opinion which obtained in the firſt ages; till Dionyſius Exiguus, placing the baptiſm of Chriſt in the 16th year of Tiberius, and miſinterpreting the text of Luke iii. 23, as if Jeſus was only beginning to be 30 years old when he was baptized, invented the vulgar account, in which his birth is placed two years later than before. So then as to theſe things, there is nothing in tradition worth conſidering; and therefore laying aſide theſe prejudices, let us ſee whether any thing can be gathered from records of good account.

III. The fifteenth year of Tiberius began Aug. 28, ann. J. P. 4727. So ſoon as the winter was over, and the weather became warm enough, we may reckon that John began to baptize; and that before next winter his fame went abroad, and all the people

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came to his baptiſm, and Jeſus among the reſt. Whence the firſt paſſover after his baptiſm, mentioned John ii. 13, was in the 16th year of Tiberius. After this feaſt Jeſus came into the land of Judea, and ſtaid there baptizing, whilſt John was baptizing in Ænon (John iii. 22, 23.) But when he heard that John was caſt into priſon, he departed into Galilee (Matth. iv. 12.) being afraid, becauſe the Phariſees had heard that he baptized more diſciples than John (John iv. 1.) and in his journey he paſſed through Samaria four months before the harveſt (John iv. 35.) that is, about the time of the winter ſolſtice. For their harveſt was between Eaſter and Whitſunday, and began about a month after the vernal equinox. "Say not ye," ſaith he, "there "are yet four months, and then cometh harveſt? Behold I ſay "unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, for they "are white already to harveſt;" meaning, that the people in the fields were ready for the goſpel, as his next words ſhew (α). John

(α) I obſerve, that Chriſt and his forerunner John in their parabolical diſcourſes were wont to allude to things preſent. The old prophets, when they would deſcribe things emphatically, did not only draw parables from things which offered themſelves, as from the rent of a garment (1 Sam. xv.) from the ſabbatic year (Iſa. xxxvii.) from the veſſels of a potter (Jer. xviii, &c.) but alſo when ſuch fit objects were wanting, they ſupplied them by their own actions, as by rending a garment (1 Kings xi.) by ſhooting (2 Kings xiii.) by making bare their body (Iſa. xx.) by impoſing ſignificant names to their ſons (Iſa. viii. Hoſ. i.) by hiding a girdle in the bank of Euphrates (Jer. xiii.) by breaking a potter's veſſel (Jer. xix.) by putting on fetters and yokes (Jer. xxvii.) by binding a book to a ſtone, and caſting them both into Euphrates (Jer. li.) by beſieging a painted city (Ezek. iv.) by dividing hair into three parts (Ezek. v.) by making a chain (Ezek. vii.) by carrying out houſhold ſtuff like a captive and trembling (Ezek. xii, &c.) By ſuch kind of types the prophets loved to ſpeak. And Chriſt being endued with a nobler prophetic ſpirit than the reſt, excelled alſo in this kind of ſpeaking; yet ſo as not to ſpeak by his own actions; that was leſs grave and decent; but to turn into parables ſuch things as offered themſelves. On occaſion of the harveſt approaching, he admoniſhes his diſciples once and again of the ſpiritual harveſt (John iv. 35. Matth. ix. 37.) Seeing the lilies of the field, he admoniſhes his diſciples about gay clothing (Matth. vi. 28.) In alluſion to the preſent ſeaſon of fruits, he admoniſhes his diſciples about knowing men by their fruits (Matth. vii. 16.) In the time of the paſſover, when trees put forth leaves, he bids his diſciples "learn a parable from "the fig-tree: when its branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that ſummer is "nigh, &c." (Matth. xxiv. 32. Luke xxi. 29.) The ſame day, alluding both to the ſeaſon of the year and to his paſſion, which was to be two days after, he formed a parable of the time of fruits approaching, and the murdering of the heir (Matth. xxi. 33.) At the ſame time alluding both to the money-changers whom he had newly driven out of the temple, and to his paſſion at hand; he made a parable of a nobleman going into a far country to receive a kingdom and return, and delivering his goods to his ſervants, and at his return condemning the ſlothful ſervant becauſe he put not his money to the exchangers (Matth. xxv. 14. Luke xix. 12.) Being near the temple where ſheep were kept in folds to be ſold for the ſacrifices, he ſpake many things parabolically of ſheep, of the ſhepherd, and of the door of the ſheep-fold; and diſcovers that he alluded to the ſheep-folds which were to be hired in the market-place, by ſpeaking of

John therefore was impriſoned about November, in the 17th year of Tiberius; and Chriſt thereupon went from Judea to Cana of Galilee in December, and was received there of the Galileans, who had ſeen all he did at Jeruſalem at the paſſover: and when a nobleman of Capernaum heard he was returned into Galilee, and went to him, and deſired him to come and cure his ſon; he went not thither yet, but only ſaid, "Go thy way, "thy ſon liveth; and the nobleman returned and found it ſo, "and believed, he and his houſe," (John i7.) This is the beginning of his miracles in Galilee; and thus far John is full and diſtinct in relating the actions of his firſt year, omitted by the other evangeliſts. The reſt of his hiſtory is from this time related more fully by the other evangeliſts than by John; for what they relate he omits.

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IV. From this time therefore Jeſus taught in the ſynagogues of Galilee on the ſabbath-days, being glorified of all: and coming to his own city Nazareth, and preaching in their ſynagogue,

of ſuch folds as a thief could not enter by the door, nor the ſhepherd himſelf open, but a porter opened to the ſhepherd (John x. 1, 3.) Being in the mount of Olives (Matth. xxxvi. 30. John xiv. 31.) a place ſo fertile that it could not want vines, he ſpake many things myſtically of the huſbandman, and of the vine and its branches (John xv.) Meeting a blind man, he admoniſhed of ſpiritual blindneſs (John ix. 39.) At the ſight of little children, he deſcribed once and again the innocence of the elect (Matth. xviii. 2. xix. 13.) Knowing that Lazarus was dead and ſhould be raiſed again, he diſcourſed of the reſurrection and life eternal (John xi. 25, 26.) Hearing of the ſlaughter of ſome whom Pilate had ſlain, he admoniſhed of eternal life (Luke xiii. 1.) To his fiſhermen he ſpake of fiſhers of men (Matth. iv. 10.) and compoſed another parable about fiſhes (Matth. xiii. 47.) Being by the temple, he ſpake of the temple of his body (John ii. 19.) At ſupper he ſpake a parable about the myſtical ſupper to come in the kingdom of heaven (Luke xiv.) On occaſion of temporal food, he admoniſhed his diſciples of ſpiritual food, and of eating his fleſh and drinking his blood myſtically (John vi. 27, 53.) When his diſciples wanted bread, he bad them beware of the leven of the Phariſees (Matth. xvi. 6.) Being deſired to eat, he anſwered that he had other meat (John iv. 31.) In the great day of the feaſt of tabernacles, when the Jews, as their cuſtom was, brought a great quantity of waters from the river Shiloah into the temple, Chriſt ſtood and cried, ſaying, "If any man "thirſt, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth in me, out of his belly ſhall flow "rivers of living water" (John vii. 37.) The next day, in alluſion to the ſervants who, by reaſon of the ſabbatical year, were newly ſet free, he ſaith, "If he continue in my word, the "truth ſhall make you free." Which the Jews underſtanding literally with reſpect to the preſent manumiſſion of ſervants, anſwered, "We be Abraham's ſeed, and were never in bondage "to any man: how ſayeſt thou, ye ſhall be made free?" (John viii.) They aſſert their freedom by a double argument: firſt, becauſe they were the ſeed of Abraham, and therefore newly made free, had they been even in bondage; and then, becauſe they never were in bondage. In the laſt paſſover, when Herod led his army through Judea againſt Aretas king of Arabia, becauſe Aretas was aggreſſor and the ſtronger in military forces, as appeared by the event; Chriſt alluding to that ſtate of things, compoſed the parable of a weaker king leading his army againſt a ſtronger, who made war upon him (Luke xiv. 31). And I doubt not but divers other parables were formed upon other occaſions, the hiſtory of which we have not.

they were offended, and thruſt him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built to caſt him headlong; but he, paſſing through the midſt of them, went his way, and came and dwelt at Capernaum (Luke iv.) And by this time we may reckon the ſecond paſſover was either paſt or at hand.

V. All this time Matthew paſſeth over in few words, and here begins to relate the preaching and miracles of Chriſt. "When "Jeſus," ſaith he, "had heard that John was caſt into priſon, "he departed into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, he came and "dwelt at Capernaum, and from that time began to preach and "ſay, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matth. iv. 12.) Afterwards he called his diſciples Peter, Andrew, James and John; and then "went about all Galilee, teaching in the "ſynagogues,—and healing all manner of ſickneſs:—and his "fame went throughout all Syria; and they brought unto him "all ſick people,—and there followed him great multitudes of "people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Jeruſalem, "and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan" (Matth. iv. 18, 25.) All this was done before the ſermon in the mount: and therefore we may certainly reckon, that the ſecond paſſover was paſt before the preaching of that ſermon. The multitudes, that followed him from Jeruſalem and Judea, ſhew that he had lately been there at the feaſt. The ſermon in the mount was made when great multitudes came to him from all places, and followed him in the open fields; which is an argument of the ſummer-ſeaſon: and in this ſermon he pointed at the lilies of the field then in the flower before the eyes of his auditors. "Conſider," ſaith he, "the lilies of the field, how they grow; "they toil not, neither do they ſpin; and yet Solomon in all his "glory was not arrayed like one of theſe. Wherefore if God "ſo clothe the graſs of the field, which to-day is and to-morrow is caſt into the oven, &c." (Matth. vi. 28.) So therefore the graſs of the field was now in the flower; and by conſequence the month of March with the paſſover was paſt.

VI. Let us ſee therefore how the reſt of the feaſts follow in order in Matthew's goſpel: for he was an eye-witneſs of what he relates,

relates, and ſo tells all things in due order of time, which Mark and Luke do not. NATIVITY AND PASSION.

VII. Some time after the ſermon in the mount, when the time came that he ſhould be received, that is, when the time of a feaſt came, that he ſhould be received by the Jews, he ſet his face to go to Jeruſalem: and as he went with his diſciples in the way, when the Samaritans in his paſſage through Samaria had denied him lodgings, and a certain ſcribe ſaid unto him, "Maſter, I "will follow thee whitherſoever thou goeſt; Jeſus ſaid unto "him, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have "neſts, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head" (Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57.) The ſcribe told Chriſt he would bear him company in his journey; and Chriſt replied that he wanted a lodging. Now this feaſt I take to be the feaſt of tabernacles; becauſe ſoon after I find Chriſt and his apoſtles on the ſea of Tiberias in a ſtorm ſo great, that the ſhip was covered with water and in danger of ſinking, till Chriſt "rebuked the winds and the ſea" (Matth. viii. 23.) For this ſtorm ſhews that winter was now come on.

VIII. After this Chriſt did many miracles, and "went about all "the cities and villages of Galilee, teaching in their ſynagogues, "and preaching the goſpel of the kingdom, and healing every "ſickneſs, and every diſeaſe among the people" (Matth. ix.) and ſent forth the twelve to do the like (Matth. x.) and at length, when he had received a meſſage from John and anſwered it, he ſaid to the multitudes, "From the days of John the Baptiſt un- "til now, the kingdom of heaven ſuffereth violence;" and upbraided the cities Chorazin, Bethſaida, and Capernaum, wherein moſt of his mighty works were done, becauſe they repented not (Matth. xi.) Both which paſſages ſhew, that from the impriſonment of John till now there was a conſiderable length of time paſt. For now the winter was paſt, and the next paſſover was at hand; for immediately after this, Matthew, in chap. xii. ſubjoins, that "Jeſus went on the ſabbath-day through the corn, "and his diſciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears "of corn and to eat,—rubbing them," ſaith Luke, "in their "hands." The corn therefore was not only in the ear, but

ripe;

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ripe; and conſequently the paſſover, in which the firſt-fruits were always offered before the harveſt, was now come or paſt. Luke calls this ſabbath δευτερόπρωτον, the ſecond prime ſabbath, that is, the ſecond of the two great feaſts of the paſſover. As we call Eaſter day high Eaſter, and its octave low Eaſter or Low-ſunday: ſo Luke calls the feaſt on the ſeventh day of the unleavened-bread, the ſecond of the two prime ſabbaths.

IX. In one of the ſabbaths following he went into a ſynagogue, and healed a man with a withered arm (Matth. xii. 9. Luke vi. 6.) And when the Phariſees took counſel to deſtroy him, "he "withdrew himſelf from thence, and great multitudes followed "him; and he healed them all, and charged them that they "ſhould not make him known" (Matth. xii. 14.) Afterwards being in a ſhip, and the multitude ſtanding on the ſhore, he ſpake to them three parables together, taken from the ſeeds-men ſowing the fields (Matth. xiii.) by which we may know that it was now ſeed-time, and by conſequence that the feaſt of tabernacles was paſt. After this he went "into his own country, and "taught them in their ſynagogue, but did not many mighty "works there becauſe of their unbelief." Then the twelve having been abroad a year, returned, and told Jeſus all that they had done: and at the ſame time Herod beheaded John in priſon, and his diſciples came and told Jeſus; and when Jeſus heard it, he took the twelve and departed thence privately by ſhip into a deſart place belonging to Bethſaida: and the people when they knew it, followed him on foot out of the cities, the winter being now paſt; and he healed their ſick, and in the deſert fed them to the number of five thouſand men, beſides women and children, with only five loaves and two fiſhes (Matth. xiv. Luke ix.) at the doing of which miracle the paſſover of the Jews was nigh (John vi. 4.) But Jeſus went not up to this feaſt; but after theſe things walked in Galilee, becauſe the Jews at the paſſover before had taken counſel to deſtroy him, and ſtill ſought to kill him (John vii. 1.) Henceforward therefore he is found firſt in the coaſt of Tyre and Sidon, then by the ſea of Galilee, afterwards in the coaſt of Cæſarea Philippi; and laſtly at Capernaum (Matth. xv. 21, 29. xvi. 13. xvii. 34.)

X. Afterwards when the feaſt of tabernacles was at hand, his brethren upbraided him for walking ſecretly, and urged him to go up to the feaſt. But he went not till they were gone, and then went up privately (John vii. 2.) and when the Jews ſought to ſtone him, eſcaped (John viii. 59.) After this he was at the feaſt of the dedication in winter (John x. 22.) and when they ſought again to take him, he fled beyond Jordan (John x. 39, 40. Matth. xix. 1.) where he ſtayed till the death of Lazarus; and then came to Bethany near Jeruſalem, and raiſed him (John xi. 7, 18.) whereupon the Jews took council from that time to kill him: and "therefore he walked no more openly "among the Jews, but went thence into a country near to the "wilderneſs, into a city called Ephraim; and there continued "with his diſciples" till the laſt paſſover, in which the Jews put him to death (John xi. 53, 54.)

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XI. Thus have we, in the goſpels of Matthew and John compared together, the hiſtory of Chriſt's actions in continual order during five paſſovers. John is more diſtinct in the beginning and end; Matthew in the middle: what either omits, the other ſupplies. The firſt paſſover was between the baptiſm of Chriſt and the impriſonment of John (John ii. 13.) the ſecond within four months after the impriſonment of John, and Chriſt's beginning to preach in Galilee (John iv. 35.) and therefore it was either that feaſt to which Jeſus went up, when the ſcribe deſired to follow him (Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57.) or the feaſt before it. The third was the next feaſt after it, when the corn was eared and ripe (Matth. xii. 1. Luke vi. 1.) The fourth was that which was nigh at hand, when Chriſt wrought the miracle of the five loaves (Matth. xiv. 15. John vi. 4, 5.) and the fifth was that in which Chriſt ſuffered (Matth. xx. 17. John xii. 1.)

XII. Between the firſt and ſecond paſſover, John and Chriſt baptized together, till the impriſonment of John, which was four months before the ſecond. Then Chriſt began to preach, and call his diſciples; and after he had inſtructed them a year, ſent them to preach in the cities of the Jews: at the ſame time John, hearing of the fame of Chriſt, ſent to him to know who he was. At the third, the chief prieſts began to conſult about the death

of

CHAPTER ELEVENTH. of Chriſt. A little before the fourth, the twelve, after they had preached a year in all the cities, returned to Chriſt; and at the ſame time Herod beheaded John in priſon, after he had been in priſon two years and a quarter: and therefore Chriſt fled into the deſart for fear of Herod. The fourth, Chriſt went not up to Jeruſalem for fear of the Jews, who at the paſſover before had conſulted his death, and becauſe his time was not yet come. Thenceforward therefore till the feaſt of tabernacles he walked in Galilee, and that ſecretly for fear of Herod: and after the feaſt of tabernacles he returned no more into Galilee, but ſometimes was at Jeruſalem, and ſometimes retired beyond Jordan, or to the city Ephraim by the wilderneſs, till the paſſover in which he was betrayed, apprehended, and crucified.

XIII. John therefore baptized two ſummers, and Chriſt preached three. The firſt ſummer John preached to make himſelf known, in order to give teſtimony to Chriſt. Then, after Chriſt came to his baptiſm, and was made known to him; he baptized another ſummer, to make Chriſt known by his teſtimony: and Chriſt alſo baptized the ſame ſummer, to make himſelf the more known: and by reaſon of John's teſtimony there came more to Chriſt's baptiſm than to John's. The winter following John was impriſoned; and now his courſe being at an end, Chriſt entered upon his proper office of preaching in the cities. In the beginning of his preaching, he compleated the number of the twelve apoſtles, and inſtructed them all the firſt year in order to ſend them abroad. Before the end of this year, his fame by his preaching and miracles was ſo far ſpread abroad, that the Jews at the paſſover following conſulted how to kill him. In the ſecond year of his preaching, it being no longer ſafe for him to converſe openly in Judea, he ſent the twelve to preach in all their cities: and in the end of the year they returned to him, and told him all they had done. All the laſt year the twelve continued with him to be inſtructed more perfectly, in order to their preaching to all nations after his death. And upon the news of John's death, being afraid of Herod as well as of the Jews, he walked this year more ſecretly than before; frequenting deſarts, and

and ſpending the laſt half of the year in Judea, without the dominions of Herod.

XIV. Thus have we in the goſpels of Matthew and John all things told in due order, from the beginning of John's preaching to the death of Chriſt; and the years diſtinguiſhed from one another by ſuch eſſential characters, that they cannot be miſtaken. The ſecond paſſover is diſtinguiſhed from the firſt, by the interpoſition of John's impriſonment. The third is diſtinguiſhed from the ſecond, by a double character: firſt, by the interpoſition of the feaſt to which Chriſt went up (Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 57.) and ſecondly, by the diſtance of time from the beginning of Chriſt's preaching; for the ſecond was in the beginning of his preaching, and the third ſo long after, that before it came Chriſt ſaid, "from the days of John the Baptiſt until now, &c." and upbraided the cities of Galilee for their not repenting at his preaching, and mighty works done in all that time. The fourth is diſtinguiſhed from the third, by the miſſion of the twelve from Chriſt to preach in the cities of Judea in all the interval. The fifth is diſtinguiſhed from all the former by the twelve's being returned from preaching, and continuing with Chriſt during all the interval, between the fourth and fifth, and by the paſſion and other infallible characters.

XV. Now ſince the firſt ſummer of John's baptizing fell in the fifteenth year of the emperor Tiberius, and by conſequence the firſt of theſe five paſſovers in his ſixteenth year; the laſt of them, in which Jeſus ſuffered, will fall on the twentieth year of the ſame emperor; and by conſequence in the conſulſhip of Fabius and Vitellius, in the 79th Julian year, and year of Chriſt 34, which was the ſabbatical year of the Jews. And that it did ſo, I further confirm by theſe arguments.

XVI. I take it for granted that the paſſion was on Friday the 14th day of the month Niſan; the great feaſt of the paſſover, on Saturday the 15th day of Niſan; and the reſurrection on the day following. Now the 14th day of Niſan always fell on the full moon next after the vernal equinox; and the month began at the new moon before, not at the true conjunction, but at the firſt appearance of the new moon: for the Jews referred all the time

of the ſilent moon, as they phraſed it, that is, of the moon's diſappearing, to the old moon; and becauſe the firſt appearance might uſually be about 18 hours after the true conjunction, they therefore began their month from the ſixth hour at evening, that is, at ſun-ſet, next after the eighteenth hour from the conjunction. And this rule they called יה Jah, deſigning by the letters י and ה the number 18.

XVII. I know that Epiphanius tells us, if ſome interpret his words rightly, that the Jews uſed a vicious cycle, and thereby anticipated the legal new moons by two days. But this ſurely he ſpake not as a witneſs; for he neither underſtood Aſtronomy nor Rabbinical learning; but as arguing from his erroneous hypotheſis about the time of the paſſion. For the Jews did not anticipate, but poſtpone their months: they thought it lawful to begin their months a day later than the firſt appearance of the new moon, becauſe the new moon continued for more days than one; but not a day ſooner, leſt they ſhould celebrate the new moon before there was any. And the Jews ſtill keep a tradition in their books, that the Sanhedrim uſed diligently to define the new moons by ſight: ſending witneſſes into mountainous places, and examining them about the moon's appearing, and tranſlating the new moon from the day they had agreed on to the day before, as often as witneſſes came from diſtant regions, who had ſeen it a day ſooner than it was ſeen at Jeruſalem. Accordingly Joſephus, one of the Jewiſh prieſts who had miniſtered in the temple ([a]), tells us that the paſſover was kept "on the 14th day of "Niſan, *κατὰ σελήνην*, according to the moon, when the ſun was "in Aries." This is connrmed alſo by two inſtances, recorded by him, which totally overthrew the hypotheſis of the Jews uſing a vicious cycle. For that year in which Jeruſalem was taken and deſtroyed, he ſaith, the paſſover was on the 14th day of the month Xanticus, which according to Joſephus is our April; and that five years before, it fell on the 8th day of the ſame month. Which two inſtances agree with the courſe of the moon.

XVIII. Computing therefore the new moons of the firſt month according to the courſe of the moon and the rule Jah, and thence counting

counting 14 days, I find that the 14th day of this month in the year of Chriſti 31, fell on Tueſday, March 27; in the year 32, on Sunday, April 13; in the year 33, on Friday, April 3; in the year 34, on Wedneſday, March 24, or rather, for avoiding the equinox which fell on the ſame day, and for having a fitter time for harveſt, on Thurſday, April 22; alſo in the year 35, on Tueſday, April 12; and in the year 36, on Saturday, March 31. NATIVITY AND PASSION.

XIX. But becauſe the 15th and 21ſt days of Niſan, and a day or two of Pentecoſt, and the 10th, 15th, and 22d of Tiſri, were always ſabbatical days, or days of reſt, and it was inconvenient on two ſabbaths together to be prohibited burying their dead and making ready freſh meat, and in that hot region their meat would be apt in two days to corrupt: to avoid theſe and ſuch like inconveniences, the Jews poſtponed their months a day, as often as the firſt day of the month Tiſri, or, which is all one, the third of the month Niſan, was Sunday, Wedneſday, or Friday: and this rule they called אדו Adu, by the letters א, ד, ו, ſignifying the numbers 1, 4, 6; that is, the 1ſt, 4th, and 6th days of the week; which days we call Sunday, Wedneſday, and Friday. Poſtponing therefore by this rule the months found above; the 14th day of the month Niſan will fall in the year of Chriſt 31, on Wedneſday, March 28; in the year 32, on Monday, Apr. 14; in the year 33, on Friday, Apr. 3; in the year 34, on Friday, Apr. 23; in the year 35, on Wedneſday, Apr. 13; and in the year 36, on Saturday, March 31.

XX. By this computation therefore the year 32 is abſolutely excluded, becauſe the paſſion cannot fall on Friday without making it five days after the full moon, or two days before it; whereas it ought to be upon the day of the full moon, or the next day. For the ſame reaſon the years 31 and 35 are excluded, becauſe in them the paſſion cannot fall on Friday, without making it three days after the full moon, or four days before it: errors ſo erroneous, that they would be very conſpicuous in the heavens to every vulgar eye. The year 36 is contended for by few or none, and both this and the year 35 may be thus excluded.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

XXI. Tiberius in the beginning of his reign made Valerius Gratus preſident of Judea; and after 11 years ſubſtituted Pontius Pilate, who governed 10 years. Then Vitellius, newly made preſident of Syria, deprived him of his honour, ſubſtituted Marcellus, and at length ſent him to Rome: but, by reaſon of delays, Tiberius died before Pilate got thither. In the mean time Vitellius, after he had depoſed Pilate, came to Jeruſalem in the time of the paſſover, to viſit that province as well as others in the beginning of his office; and in the place of Caiaphas, then high-prieſt, created Jonathas the ſon of Ananus, or Annas, as he is called in Scripture. Afterwards, when Vitellius was returned to Antioch, he received letters from Tiberius, to make peace with Artabanus king of the Parthians. At the ſame time the Alans, by the ſolicitation of Tiberius, invaded the kingdom of Artabanus; and his ſubjects alſo, by the procurement of Vitellius, ſoon after rebelled: for Tiberius thought that Artabanus, thus preſſed with difficulties, would more readily accept the conditions of peace. Artabanus therefore ſtraightway gathering a greater army, oppreſſed the rebels; and then meeting Vitellius at Euphrates, made a league with the Romans. After this, Tiberius commanded Vitellius to make war upon Aretas king of Arabia. He therefore leading his army againſt Aretas, went together with Herod to Jeruſalem, to ſacrifice at the public feaſt which was then to be celebrated. Where being received honourably, he ſtayed three days; and in the mean while tranſlated the high-prieſthood from Jonathas to his brother Theophilus: and the fourth day, receiving letters of the death of Tiberius, made the people ſwear allegiance to Caius the new emperor; and recalling his army, ſent them into quarters. All this is related by Joſephus Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6, 7. Now Tiberius reigned 22 years and 7 months, and died March 16, in the beginning of the year of Chriſt 37; and the feaſt of the paſſover fell on April 20 following, that is, 35 days after the death of Tiberius: ſo that there were about 36 or 38 days, for the news of his death to come from Rome to Vitellius at Jeruſalem; which being a convenient time for the meſſage, confirms that the feaſt which Vitellius and Herod now went up to was the paſſover.

For

For had it been the pentecoſt, as is uſually ſuppoſed, Vitellius would have continued three months ignorant of the emperor's death: which is not to be ſuppoſed. However, the things done between this feaſt and the paſſover which Vitellius was at before; namely, the ſtirring up a ſedition in Parthia, the quieting that ſedition, the making a league after that with the Parthians, the ſending news of that league to Rome, the receiving new orders from thence to go againſt the Arabians, and the putting thoſe orders in execution; required much more time than the fifty days between the paſſover and pentecoſt of the ſame year: and therefore the paſſover which Vitellius firſt went up to, was in the year before. Therefore Pilate was depoſed before the paſſover A. C. 36, and by conſequence the paſſion of Chriſt was before that paſſover: for he ſuffered not under Vitellius, nor under Vitellius and Pilate together, but under Pilate alone.

NATIVITY AND PASSION.

XXI. Now it is obſervable that the high-prieſthood was at this time become an annual office, and the paſſover was the time of making a new high-prieſt. For Gratus, the predeceſſor of Pilate, ſaith Joſephus, made Iſmael high-prieſt after Ananus; and a while after, ſuppoſe a year, depoſed him, and ſubſtituted Eleazar, and a year after Simon, and after another year Caiaphas; and then gave way to Pilate. So Vitellius at one paſſover made Jonathas ſucceſſor to Caiaphas; and at the next, Theophilus to Jonathas. Hence Luke tells you, that in the 15th year of Tiberius, Annas and Caiaphas were high-prieſts, that is, Annas till the paſſover, and Caiaphas afterwards. Accordingly John ſpeaks of the high-prieſthood as an annual office: for he tells you again and again, in the laſt year of Chriſt's preaching, that Caiaphas was high-prieſt for that year (John xi. 49, 51. xviii. 13.) And the next year Luke tells you, that Annas was high-prieſt (Acts iv. 6.) So then Theophilus was made high-prieſt in the firſt year of Caius; Jonathas, in the 22d year of Tiberius; and Caiaphas, in the 21ſt year of the ſame emperor: and therefore, allotting a year to each, the paſſion, when Annas ſucceeded Caiaphas, could not be later than the 20th year of Tiberius, A. C. 34.

XXIII. So

XXIII. So then there remain only the years 33 and 34 to be conſidered; and the year 33 I exclude by this argument. In the paſſover two years before the paſſion, when Chriſt went through the corn, and his diſciples plucked the ears, and rubbed them with their hands to eat; this ripeneſs of the corn ſhews that the paſſover then fell late: and ſo did the paſſover, A. C. 32, April 14; but the paſſover A. C. 31, March 28th, fell very early. It was not therefore two years after the year 31, but two years after 32 that Chriſt ſuffered.

So then all the characters of the paſſion agree to the year 34; and that is the only year to which they all agree.

CHAP. XII.

Of the prophecy of the Scripture of Truth.

THE kingdoms repreſented by the ſecond and third beaſts, or the Bear and Leopard, are again deſcribed by Daniel in his laſt prophecy written in the third year of Cyrus over Babylon, the year in which he conquered Perſia. For this prophecy is a commentary upon the viſion of the Ram and He-Goat.

II. "Behold[a]," ſaith he, "there ſhall ſtand up yet three kings "in Perſia [Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius Hyſtaſpes] and the "fourth [Xerxes] ſhall be far richer than they all: and by his "ſtrength and his riches he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm "of Greece. And a mighty king [Alexander the Great] ſhall "ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he ſhall ſtand up, his kingdom "ſhall be broken, and ſhall be divided towards the four winds "of heaven; and not to his poſterity [but after their death], "nor

[a] Ch. xi. 2, 3, 4.

" nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his king- DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.
" dom ſhall be plucked up, even for others beſides thoſe." Alexander the Great having conquered all the Perſian empire, and ſome part of India, died at Babylon a month before the ſummer ſolſtice, in the year of Nabonaſſar 425: and his captains gave the monarchy to his baſtard brother Philip Aridæus, a man diſturbed in his underſtanding; and made Perdiccas adminiſtrator of the kingdom. Perdiccas with their conſent made Meleager commander of the army; Seleucus, maſter of the horſe; Craterus, treaſurer of the kingdom; Antipater, governor of Macedon and Greece; Ptolemy, governor of Egypt; Antigonus, governor of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia Major; Lyſimachus, governor of Thrace; and other captains governors of other provinces; as many as had been ſo before in the days of Alexander the Great. The Babylonians began now to count by a new æra, which they called the æra of Philip; uſing the years of Nabonaſſar, and reckoning the 425th year of Nabonaſſar to be the firſt year of Philip. Roxana, the wife of Alexander, being left big with child, and about three or four months after brought to bed of a ſon, they called him Alexander, ſaluted him king, and joined him with Philip, whom they had before placed in the throne of the kingdom. Philip reigned three years under the adminiſtratorſhip of Perdiccas; two years more under the adminiſtratorſhip of Antipater; and above a year more under that of Polyſperchon; in all ſix years and four months; and then was ſlain with his queen Eurydice in September, by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander the Great. The Greeks being diſguſted at the cruelties of Olympias, revolted to Caſſander the ſon and ſucceſſor of Antipater. Caſſander affecting the dominion of Greece, ſlew Olympias; and ſoon after ſhut up the young king Alexander, with his mother Roxana, in the caſtle of Amphipolis, under the charge of Glaucias, ann. Nabonaſſ. 432. The next year Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, by means of Seleucus, formed a league againſt Antigonus; and after certain wars made peace with him, ann. Nabonaſſ. 438, upon theſe conditions: that Caſſander ſhould command the forces of Europe till Alexander, the ſon of Roxana, came to age; and that Lyſima-

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

chus ſhould govern Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt and Lybia; and Antigonus all Aſia. Seleucus had poſſeſſed himſelf of Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Suſiana, and Media, the year before. About three years after Alexander's death he was made governor of Babylon by Antipater; then was expelled by Antigonus; but now he recovered and enlarged his government over a great part of the Eaſt: which gave occaſion to a new æra, called *Æra Seleucidarum.* Not long after the peace made with Antigonus (Diodorus ſaith the ſame Olympic year) Caſſander, ſeeing that Alexander the ſon of Roxana grew up, and that it was diſcourſed throughout Macedonia, that it was fit he ſhould be ſet at liberty, and take upon him the government of his father's kingdom; commanded Glaucias the governor of the caſtle to kill Roxana, and the young king Alexander her ſon, and conceal their deaths. Then Polyſperchon ſet up Hercules, the ſon of Alexander the Great by Barſiné, to be king; and ſoon after, at the ſolicitation of Caſſander, cauſed him to be ſlain. Soon after that, upon a great victory at ſea got by Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus over Ptolemy, Antigonus took upon himſelf the title of king, and gave the ſame title to his ſon. This was ann. Nabonaſſ. 441. After his example, Seleucus, Caſſander, Lyſimachus, and Ptolemy, took upon themſelves the title and dignity of kings, having abſtained from this honour while there remained any of Alexander's race to inherit the crown. Thus the monarchy of the Greeks for want of an heir was broken into ſeveral kingdoms; four of which, ſeated to the four winds of heaven, were very eminent. For Ptolemy reigned over Egypt, Lybia, and Ethiopia; Antigonus over Syria and the leſſer Aſia; Lyſimachus over Thrace; and Caſſander over Macedon, Greece, and Epirus, as above.

III. Seleucus at this time reigned over the nations which were beyond Euphrates, and belonged to the bodies of the two firſt beaſts; but after ſix years he conquered Antigonus, and thereby became poſſeſſed of one of the four kingdoms. For Caſſander being afraid of the power of Antigonus, combined with Lyſimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, againſt him: and while Lyſi-

machus

machus invaded the parts of Aſia next the Helleſpont, Ptolemy ſubdued Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, with the ſea-coaſts of Aſia.

IV. Seleucus came down with a powerful army into Cappadocia; and joining the confederate forces, fought Antigonus in Phrygia, and ſlew him, and ſeized his kingdom, ann. Nabonaſſ. 447. After which Seleucus built Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, Berrhœa, Edeſſa, and other cities in Syria and Aſia; and in them granted the Jews equal privileges with the Greeks.

V. Yet Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus retained a ſmall part of his father's dominions, and at length loſt Cyprus to Ptolemy; but killing Alexander, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Caſſander king of Macedon, he ſeized his kingdom, ann. Nabonaſſ. 454. And ſome time after, preparing a very great army to recover his father's dominions in Aſia; Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Pyrrhus king of Epire, combined againſt him: and Pyrrhus invading Macedonia, corrupted the army of Demetrius; put him to flight; ſeized his kingdom; and ſhared it with Lyſimachus. After ſeven months, Lyſimachus beating Pyrrhus, took Macedonia from him, and held it five years and a half, uniting the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace. Lyſimachus in his wars with Antigonus and Demetrius, had taken from them Caria, Lydia, and Phrygia; and had a treaſury in Pergamus, a caſtle on the top of a conical hill in Phrygia, by the river Caicus, the cuſtody of which he had committed to one Philetærus; who was at firſt faithful to Lyſimachus, but in the laſt year of his reign revolted. For Lyſimachus, at the inſtigation of his wife Arſinoe, ſlew firſt his own ſon Agathocles, and then thoſe that lamented him: upon which the wife of Agathocles fled with her children and brothers, and ſome others of their friends, and ſollicited Seleucus to make war upon Lyſimachus. And Philetærus alſo, grieving at the death of Agathocles, and being accuſed thereof by Arſinoe, revolted, and ſided with Seleucus. On this occaſion Seleucus and Lyſimachus met and fought in Phrygia; and Lyſimachus being ſlain in the battle, loſt his kingdom to Seleucus, ann. Nabonaſſ. 465. Thus the empire of the Greeks, which at firſt brake into four great kingdoms, became now reduced into two notable ones, henceforward called by Daniel the kings of

CHAPTER TWELFTH. of the South and North. For Ptolemy now reigned over Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Arabia, Phœnicia, Cœloſyria, and Cyprus; and Seleucus, having united three of the four kingdoms, had a dominion ſcarce inferior to that of the Perſian empire, conquered by Alexander the Great. All which is thus repreſented by Daniel ([a]): "And the king of the South [Ptolemy] ſhall become "ſtrong, and one of his princes [Seleucus, one of Alexander's "princes] ſhall become ſtrong above him, and have dominion; "his dominion ſhall be a great dominion."

[a] Chap. xi. 5.

VI. After Seleucus had reigned ſeven months over Macedon, Greece, Thrace, Aſia, Syria, Babylonia, Media, and all the Eaſt as far as India; Ptolemæus Ceraunus, the younger brother of Ptolemæus Philadelphus king of Egypt, ſlew him treacherouſly, and ſeized his dominions in Europe: and Antiochus Soter, the ſon of Seleucus, ſucceeded his father in Aſia, Syria, and moſt of the Eaſt; and after nineteen or twenty years was ſucceeded by his ſon Antiochus Theos; who having a laſting war with Ptolemæus Philadelphus, compoſed the ſame by marrying Berenice the daughter of Philadelphus: but after a reign of fifteen years, his firſt wife Laodice poiſoned him, and ſet her ſon Seleucus Callinicus upon the throne. Callinicus in the beginning of his reign, by the impulſe of his mother Laodice, beſieged Berenice in Daphne near Antioch, and ſlew her with her young ſon and many of her women. Whereupon Ptolemæus Euergetes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Philadelphus, made war upon Callinicus; took from him Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Suſiana, and ſome other regions; and carried back into Egypt 40000 talents of ſilver, and 2500 images of the gods; amongſt which were the gods of Egypt carried away by Cambyſes. Antiochus Hierax at firſt aſſiſted his brother Callinicus, but afterwards contended with him for Aſia. And in the mean time Eumenes, governor of Pergamus, beat Antiochus; and took from them both all Aſia on this ſide the mountain Taurus. This was in the fifth year of Callinicus; who, after an inglorious reign of 20 years, was ſucceeded by his ſon Seleucus Ceraunus; and Euergetes after four years more, ann. Nabonaſſ. 527, was ſucceeded by his ſon Ptolemæus Philopator. All which is thus ſignified by Daniel

niel (a): "And after certain years they [the kings of the South "and North] ſhall make friendſhip: for the king's daugh-"ter of the South [Berenice] ſhall come to the king of the "North to eſtabliſh an agreement, but ſhe ſhall not retain the "power of the arm; and ſhe ſhall not ſtand, nor her ſeed; but "ſhe ſhall be delivered up, and he [Callinicus] that brought "her, and he whom ſhe brought forth, and they that ſtrength-"ened her in [thoſe] times, [or defended her in the ſiege of "Daphne.] But out of a branch of her roots ſhall one ſtand "up in his ſeat [her brother Euergetes] who ſhall come with an "army, and ſhall enter into the fortreſs [or fenced cities] of the "king of the North, and ſhall act againſt them and prevail: "and ſhall carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their "princes and precious veſſels of ſilver and gold; and he ſhall "continue ſome years after the king of the North."

DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

[a] Chap. xi. 6, 7, 8.

VII. Seleucus Ceraunus, inheriting the remains of his father's kingdom, and thinking to recover the reſt, raiſed a great army againſt the governor of Pergamus, now king thereof, but died in the third year of his reign; and his brother and ſucceſſor, Antiochus Magnus, carrying on the war, took from the king of Pergamus almoſt all the leſſer Aſia, and recovered alſo the provinces of Media, Perſia, and Babylonia, from the governors who had revolted: and in the fifth year of his reign invaded Cœloſyria, and with little oppoſition poſſeſſed himſelf of a good part thereof; and the next year returning to invade the reſt of Cœloſyria and Phœnicia, beat the army of Philopator near Berytus; and invaded Paleſtine and the neighbouring parts of Arabia; and the third year returned with an army of 78000: and Ptolemy coming out of Egypt with an army of 75000, fought and routed him at Raphia near Gaza, between Paleſtine and Egypt; and recovered all Phœnicia and Cœloſyria, ann. Nabonaſſ. 532; and being puffed up with this victory, and living in all manner of luxury, the Egyptians revolted, and had wars with him, but were overcome; and in the broils ſixty thouſand Egyptian Jews were ſlain. All which is thus deſcribed by Daniel (b): "But his ſons [Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus Magnus, the ſons of Callinicus] ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall ga-

[b] Chap. xi. 10, &c.

" ther a great army; and he [Antiochus Magnus] ſhall come ef-
" fectually and overflow, and paſs through and return, and
" [again the next year] be ſtirred up [marching even] to his for-
" treſs, [the frontier towns of Egypt;] and the king of the
" South ſhall be moved with choler, and come forth [the third
" year] and fight with him, even with the king of the North;
" and he [the king of the North] ſhall lead forth a great multi-
" tude, but the multitude ſhall be given into his hand. And
" the multitude being taken away, his heart ſhall be lifted up,
" aud he ſhall caſt down many ten thouſands; but he ſhall not
" be ſtrengthened by it: for the king of the North ſhall re-
" turn, &c."

VIII. About twelve years after the battle between Philopator and Antiochus, Philopator died; and left his kingdom to his young ſon Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of five years old: and thereupon Antiochus Magnus confederated with Philip king of Macedon, that they ſhould invade the dominions of Epiphanes which lay next to each of them. And hence aroſe a various war between Antiochus and Epiphanes, each of them ſeizing Phœnicia and Cœloſyria by turns; whereby thoſe countries were much afflicted by both parties, Firſt Antiochus ſeized thoſe countries; then one Scopas being ſent with the army of Egypt, recovered them from Antiochus: and the next year, ann. Nabonaſſ. 550, Antiochus fought and routed Scopas near the fountains of Jordan; beſieged him in Sidon; took the city; and recovered Syria and Phœnicia from Egypt, the Jews coming over to him voluntarily. But about three years after, upon preparing for a war againſt the Romans, he came to Raphia in the borders of Egypt, andmade peace with Epiphanes, and gave him his daughter Cleopatra: and the next autumn he paſſed the Helleſpont to invade the cities of Greece under the Roman protection, and took ſome of them; but was beaten by the Romans the ſummer following, and forced to return back with his army into Aſia. And before the end of the year the fleet of Antiochus was beaten by the fleet of the Romans near Phocæa: and at the ſame time Epiphanes and Cleopatra ſent an embaſſy to Rome to congratulate the Romans on their ſucceſs againſt their father Antiochus, and to exhort them to proſecute the war againſt him into

Aſia.

Aſia. And the Romans beat Antiochus again at ſea near Epheſus, and paſt their army over the Helleſpont, and obtained a great victory over him by land, and took from him all Aſia on this ſide the mountain Taurus, and gave it to the king of Pergamus who aſſiſted them in the war; and impoſed a large tribute upon Antiochus. Thus the king of Pergamus, by the power of the Romans, recovered what Antiochus had taken from him; and Antiochus retiring into the remainder of his kingdom, was ſlain two years after by the Perſians, as he was robbing the temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymais, to raiſe money for the Romans. All which is thus deſcribed by Daniel ([a]). "For the king of the North [Antiochus] "ſhall return, and ſhall ſet forth a multitude greater than the "former; and ſhall certainly come, after certain years, with a "great army and much riches. And in thoſe times there "ſhall many ſtand up againſt the king of the South, [particu-"larly the Macedonians;] alſo the robbers of thy people [the "Samaritans, &c.] ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion; "but they ſhall fall. So the king of the North ſhall come, and "caſt up a mount, and take the moſt fenced cities; and the "arms of the South ſhall not withſtand, neither his choſen peo-"ple, nether ſhall there be any ſtrength to withſtand. But he "that cometh againſt him ſhall do according to his own will, "and none ſhall ſtand before him: and he ſhall ſtand in the "glorious land, which ſhall fail in his hand. He ſhall alſo ſet "his face to go with the ſtrength [or army] of all his kingdom, "and make an agreement with him [at Raphia;] and he ſhall "give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but ſhe ſhall "not ſtand his ſide, nether be for him. And he ſhall turn "his face unto the iſles, and ſhall take many: but a prince for "his own behalf [the Romans] ſhall cauſe the reproach offered "by him to ceaſe; without his own reproach ſhall he cauſe it "to turn upon him. Then he ſhall turn his face towards the "fort of his own land: but he ſhall ſtumble and fall, and not "be found."

DANIEL's SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

[a] Chap. xi. 13—19.

IX. Seleucus Philopator ſucceeded his father Antiochus, ann. Nabonaſſ. 561, and reigned twelve years, but did nothing memorable; being ſluggiſh, and intent upon raiſing money for the

Romans,

Romans, to whom he was tributary. He was ſlain by Heliodorus, whom he had ſent to rob the temple of Jeruſalem. Daniel ([a]) thus deſcribes his reign: "Then ſhall ſtand up in his "ſeat a raiſer of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days he ſhall be deſtroyed, neither in anger nor in "battle."

[a] Chap. xi. 20.

X. A little before the death of Philopator, his ſon Demetrius was ſent hoſtage to Rome, in the place of Antiochus Epiphanes, the brother of Philopator; and Antiochus was at Athens in his way home from Rome, when Philopator died: whereupon Heliodorus, the treaſurer of the kingdom, ſtept into the throne. But Antiochus ſo managed his affairs, that the Romans kept Demetrius at Rome; and their ally, the king of Pergamus, expelled Heliodorus, and placed Antiochus in the throne. And while Demetrius, the right heir, remained an hoſtage at Rome; Antiochus, by the friendſhip of the king of Pergamus, reigned powerfully over Syria and the neighbouring nations. Now Antiochus being made king, carried himſelf much below his dignity; ſtealing privately out of his palace, and rambling up and down the city in diſguiſe with one or two of his companions; converſing and drinking with people of the loweſt rank, and with foreigners and ſtrangers; frequenting the meetings of rakes to feaſt and revel; clothing himſelf like the Roman candidates and officers, and acting their parts like a mimick; and in public feſtivals jeſting and dancing and herding himſelf with ſervants and mimicks and light people, and behaving himſelf with all manner of ridiculous geſtures: which made ſome take him for a madman, and call him Antiochus Επιμανης. In the firſt year of his reign he depoſed Onias the high-prieſt, and ſold the high-prieſthood to Jaſon, the younger brother of Onias: for Jaſon had promiſed the king to give him 440 talents of ſilver for the high-prieſthood, and 150 more for a licence to erect a place of exerciſe for the training up of the youth in the faſhions of the heathen; which licence was granted by the king, and put in execution by Jaſon. Then the king ſending one Apollonius into Egypt to the coronation of Ptolemy Philometor, the young ſon of Philometor and Cleopatra, and knowing Philometor not to be well affected to his affairs in Phœnicia, provided for his own ſafety in

thoſe parts; and for that end came to Joppa and Jeruſalem, where he was honourably received; and from thence he went in like manner with his little army to the cities of Phœnicia, to eſtabliſh himſelf againſt Egypt, by courting the people, and diſtributing extraordinary favours amongſt them. All which is thus repreſented by Daniel ([a]). "And in his [Philometor's] ſeat "ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they [the Syrians who "ſet up Heliodorus] ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom. "Yet he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by "flatteries [made principally to the king of Pergamus;] and the "arms [which in favour of Heliodorus oppoſe him] ſhall be "overflowed with a flood from before him, and be broken; yea "alſo [Onias the high-prieſt] the prince of the covenant. And "after friendſhip made with him, [the king of Egypt, by ſending Apollonius to his coronation] he ſhall work deceitfully "[againſt the king of Egypt,] for he ſhall come up and "become ſtrong [in Phœnicia] with a ſmall people. And he "ſhall enter into the quiet and plentiful cities of the province "[of Phœnicia;] and [to ingratiate himſelf with the Jews of "Phœnicia and Egypt, and with their friends] he ſhall do that "which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers: he "ſhall ſcatter among them the prey and the ſpoil, and the riches "[exacted from other places;] and ſhall forecaſt his devices "againſt the ſtrong holds [of Egypt] even for a time."

([a]) Chap. xi. 21, &c.

XI. Theſe things were done in the firſt year of his reign, ann. Nabonaſſ. 573. And thenceforward he forecaſt his devices againſt the ſtrong holds of Egypt, until the ſixth year. For three years after, that is in the fourth year of his reign, Menelaus bought the high-prieſthood from Jaſon; but not paying the price was ſent for by the king; and the king, before he could hear the cauſe, went into Cilicia to appeaſe a ſedition there, and left Andronicus his deputy at Antioch. And then the brother of Menelaus, to make up the money, conveyed ſeveral veſſels out of the temple, ſelling ſome of them at Tyre, and ſending others to Andronicus. And when Menelaus was reproved for this by Onias, he cauſed Onias to be ſlain by Andronicus: for which fact the king, at his return from Cilicia, cauſed Andronicus

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

nicus to be put to death. And then he prepared his ſecond expedition againſt Egypt; which he performed in the ſixth year of his reign, ann. Nabonaſſ. 578: for upon the death of Cleopatra, the governors of her ſon, the young king of Egypt, claimed Phœnicia and Cœloſyria from Antiochus as her dowry; and to recover thoſe countries raiſed a great army. Antiochus conſidering that his father ([a]) had not quitted the poſſeſſion of thoſe countries, denied that they were her dowry; and with another great army met and fought the Egyptians on the borders of Egypt, between Peluſium and the mountain Caſius. And when he had beaten, and might have deſtroyed the army of the Egyptians, rode up and down, commanding his ſoldiers not to kill them, but to take them alive: by which humanity he gained Peluſium, and ſoon after all Egypt; entering it with a vaſt multitude of foot and chariots, and elephants and horſemen, and a great navy. And ſeizing the cities of Egypt as a friend, he marched to Memphis; laid the whole blame of the war upon Eulæus the king's governor; entered into outward friendſhip with the young king, and took upon him to order the affairs of the kingdom. In the mean time a report being ſpread in Phœnicia that Antiochus was dead; Jaſon, to recover the high-prieſthood, aſſaulted Jeruſalem with above a thouſand men, and took the city. Whereupon Antiochus thinking that Judea had revolted, came out of Egypt in a furious manner; took the city; ſlew forty thouſand of the people; took as many priſoners, and ſold them to raiſe money; went into the temple; ſpoiled it of its treaſures, ornaments, utenſils, and veſſels of gold and ſilver, amounting to 1800 talents; and carried all away to Antioch. This was done in the year of Nabonaſſar 578, and is thus deſcribed by Daniel ([b]). "And he ſhall ſtir up his power, and his courage "againſt the king of the South with a great army; and the "king of the South ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great "and mighty army; but he ſhall not ſtand: for they [Antiochus and his friends] ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him, [as "is repreſented above;] yea, they that feed of the portion of his "meat, ſhall [betray and] deſtroy him, and his army ſhall be "overthrown, and many ſhall fall down ſlain. And [upon the

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[a] 2 Maccab. iii. 5, 8, and iv. 4.

[b] Chap. xi. 25, &c.

" king's hearts ſhall be to do miſchief; and they [being now made friends] ſhall ſpeak lies at one table [againſt the Jews and againſt the holy covenant]; but it ſhall not proſper: for yet the end [in which the ſetting up of the abomination of deſolation is to proſper] ſhall be at the time appointed. Then ſhall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart ſhall be againſt the holy covenant; and he ſhall act [againſt it by ſpoiling the temple] and return into his own land."

DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

XII. The Egyptians of Alexandria ſeeing Philometor firſt educated in luxury by the eunuch Eulæus, and now in the hands of Antiochus, gave the kingdom to Euergetes, the younger brother of Philometor. Whereupon Antiochus, pretending to reſtore Philometor, made war upon Euergetes; beat him at ſea, and beſieged him and his ſiſter Cleopatra in Alexandria: and the beſieged princes ſent to Rome to implore the aſſiſtance of the ſenate. Antiochus, finding himſelf unable to take the city that year, returned into Syria; leaving Philometor at Memphis, to govern Egypt in his abſence. But Philometor made friendſhip with his brother that winter; and Antiochus, as he was returning the next ſpring, ann. Nabonaſſ. 580, to beſiege both the brothers in Alexandria, was met in the way by the Roman ambaſſadors, Popilius Læna, C. Decimius, and C. Hoſtilius; and he offered them his hand to kiſs: but Popilius delivering to him the tables wherein the meſſage of the ſenate was written, bad him read thoſe firſt. When he had read them, he replied he would conſider with his friends what was fit to be done. But Popilius, drawing a circle about the king, bad him anſwer before he went out of the circle. At which blunt and unuſual imperiouſneſs the king being aſtoniſhed, made anſwer, that he would do what the Romans demanded. Then Popilius gave the king his hand to kiſs, and the king returned out of Egypt; and the ſame year, ann. Nabonaſſ. 580, his captains by his order ſpoiled and ſlaughtered the Jews; profaned the temple; ſet up the worſhip of the heathen gods in all Judea; and began to perſecute and make war upon thoſe who would not worſhip them. Which actions are thus deſcribed by Daniel (*). " At the time appointed he ſhall come [again] towards the South, " but the latter ſhall not be as the former. For the ſhips of

* Chap. xi. 29, 30.

CHAPTER TWELFTH. " Chittim ſhall come [with an embaſſy from Rome] againſt him. " Therefore he ſhall be grieved, and return, and have indigna- " tion againſt the holy covenant. So ſhall he do; he ſhall even " return, and have intelligence with them that forſake the holy " covenant."

XIII. In the ſame year that Antiochus, by the command of the Romans, retired out of Egypt, and ſet up the worſhip of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third Beaſt. This is thus expreſſed by Daniel. " And after him Arms [the Romans] " ſhall ſtand up." As ממלך ſignifies *after the king* (Dan. xi. 8.) ſo כמנו may ſignify *after him*. Arms are every where in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom: and they ſtand up, when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel deſcribed the actions of the kings of the North and South; but upon the conqueſt of Macedon by the Romans, he left off deſcribing the actions of the Greeks, and began to deſcribe thoſe of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum, and Epire, in the year of Nabonaſſar 580. And thirty-five years after, by the laſt will and teſtament of Attalus, the laſt king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flouriſhing kingdom; that is, all Aſia on this ſide the mountain Taurus; and 69 years after they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province; and 34 years after they did the like to Egypt: and by all theſe ſteps the Roman arms ſtood up over the Greeks; and after 95 years more, by making war upon the Jews, " they polluted the ſanctuary of ſtrength, and took away " the daily ſacrifice, and then placed the abomination of deſo- " lation." For this abomination was placed after the days of Chriſt (Matth. xxiv. 15.) In the 16th year of the emperor Adrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, where the temple of God in Jeruſalem had ſtood. For thereupon the Jews, under the conduct of Barchochab, roſe up in arms againſt the Romans, and in the war had 50 cities demoliſhed, and 985 of their beſt towns deſtroyed, and

and 580000 men ſlain by the ſword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were baniſhed Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained deſolate of its old inhabitants. DANIEL'S SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

XIV. In the beginning of the Jewiſh war in Nero's reign, the apoſtles fled out of Judea with their flocks; ſome beyond Jordan to Pella and other places; ſome into Egypt, Syria, Meſopotamia, Aſia Minor, and elſewhere. Peter and John came into Aſia; and Peter went thence, by Corinth, to Rome; but John, ſtaying in Aſia, was baniſhed by the Romans into Patmos, as the head of a party of the Jews, whoſe nation was in war with the Romans. By this diſperſion of the Chriſtian Jews, the Chriſtian religion, which was already propagated weſtward as far as Rome, ſpread faſt into all the Roman empire, and ſuffered many perſecutions under it till the days of Conſtantine the Great and his ſons. And this is thus deſcribed by Daniel (a). "And ſuch as do wickedly againſt the covenant, ſhall he [who places the abomination] cauſe to diſſemble [and worſhip the heathen gods]; but the people among them who do know their God, ſhall be ſtrong and act. And they that underſtand among the people, ſhall inſtruct many: yet they ſhall fall by the ſword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by ſpoil many days. Now when they ſhall fall, they ſhall be holpen with a little help [viz. in the reign of Conſtantine the Great]; and [at that time by reaſon of their proſperity] many ſhall [come over to them from among the heathen, and] cleave to them with diſſimulation. But of thoſe of underſtanding there ſhall [ſtill] fall to try [God's people] by them, and to purge [them from the diſſemblers], and to make them white to the time of the end: becauſe it is yet for a time appointed."

(a) Chap. xi. 32, &c.

XV. Hitherto the Roman empire continued entire; and under this dominion, the little horn of the He-Goat continued mighty, but not by his own power. But now, by the building of Conſtantinople, and endowing it with a ſenate and other like privileges with Rome; and by the diviſion of the Roman empire into the two empires of the Greeks and Latins, headed by thoſe two cities; a new ſcene of things commences, in which a king, the empire of the Greeks, doth according to his will, and, by

CHAPTER TWELFTH. ſetting his own laws above the laws of God, "exalts and magnifies himſelf above every god, and ſpeaks marvellous things againſt the God of gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation be accompliſhed.—Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the [lawful] deſire of women in matrimony, nor any God, but ſhall magnify himſelf above all. And in his ſeat he ſhall honour Mahuzzims [ſtrong guardians, the ſouls of the dead]; even with a God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour them [in their temples] with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones and valuable things [a]." All which relates to the overſpreading of the Greek empire with Monks and nuns, who placed holineſs in abſtinence from marriage; and to the invocation of ſaints and veneration of their reliques, and ſuch like ſuperſtitions, which theſe men introduced in the fourth and fifth centuries. "And at the time of the end the king of the South [or empire of the Saracens] ſhall puſh at him; and the king of the North [or empire of the Turks] ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horſemen, and with many ſhips; and he ſhall enter into the countries [of the Greeks], and ſhall overflow and paſs over. He ſhall enter alſo into the glorious land, and many countries ſhall be overthrown; but theſe ſhall eſcape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon: [viz. to whom his caravans pay tribute.] He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand alſo upon the countries, and the land of Egypt ſhall not eſcape; but he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians ſhall be at his ſteps [b]." All theſe nations compoſe the empire of the Turks; and therefore this empire is here to be underſtood by the king of the North. They compoſe alſo the body of the He-Goat; and therefore the goat ſtill reigns in his laſt horn, but not by his own power.

[a] Chap. xi. 36, &c.

[b] Chap. xi. 40, &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the king who did according to his will, and magnified himſelf above every god, and honoured Mahuzzims, and regarded not the deſire of women.

IN the firſt ages of the Chriſtian religion, the Chriſtians of every city were governed by a council of preſbyters; and the preſident of the council was the biſhop of the city. The biſhop and preſbyters of one city meddled not with the affairs of another city, except by admonitory letters or meſſages. Nor did the biſhops of ſeveral cities meet together in council, before the time of the emperor Commodus: for they could not meet together without the leave of the Roman governors of the provinces. But in the reign of that emperor they began to meet in provincial councils, by the leave of the governors; firſt in Aſia, in oppoſition to the Cataphrygian hereſy, and ſoon after in other places and upon other occaſions. And the biſhop of the chief city, or metropolis of the Roman province, was uſually made preſident of the council; and hence came the authority of metropolitan biſhops above that of other biſhops within the ſame province. Hence alſo it was, that the biſhop of Rome, in Cyprian's days, called himſelf the biſhop of biſhops. And as ſoon as the empire became Chriſtian, the Roman emperors began to call general councils out of all the provinces of the empire; and by preſcribing to them what points they ſhould conſider, and influencing them by their intereſt and power, they ſet up what party they pleaſed. Hereby the Greek empire, upon the diviſion of the Roman empire into the Greek and Latin empires, became the king who, in matters of religion, did according to his will; and, in legiſlature, exalted and magnified himſelf above every god. And at length, by the ſeventh general council, eſtabliſhed DANIEL'S WILFULL KING.

the

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH. the worſhip of the images and ſouls of dead men, here called Mahuzzims.

II. The ſame king placed holineſs in abſtinence from marriage. Euſebius ([a]) in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory tells us, that Muſanus wrote a tract againſt thoſe who fell away to the hereſy of the *Encratitæ*, which was then newly riſen, and introduced a pernicious error; and that Tatian, the diſciple of Juſtin, was the author thereof; and that Irenæus, in his firſt book againſt hereſies, teaches this; writing of Tatian and his hereſy in theſe words: "*A Saturnino & Marcione profecti qui vocantur* Continentes, *docuerunt non contrahendum eſſe matrimonium; reprobantes ſcilicet primitivum illud opificium Dei, & tacitè accuſantes Deum, qui maſculum & fœminam condidit ad procreationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abſtinentiam ab eſu eorum, quæ animalia appellant; ingratos ſe exhibentes erga eum, qui univerſa creavit, Deum. Negant etiam primi hominis ſalutem. Atque hoc nuper apud illos excogitatum eſt, Tatiano quodam omnium primo hujus impietatis auctore: qui Juſtini auditor, quamdiu cum illo verſatus eſt, nihil ejuſmodi protulit. Poſt martyrium autem illius, ab eccleſiâ ſe abrumpens, doctoris arrogantiâ elatus ac tumidus, tanquam præſtantior cæteris, novam quandam formam doctrinæ conflavit; Æonas inviſibiles commentus, perinde ac Valentinus: aſſerens quoque cum Saturnino & Marcione, matrimonium nihil aliud eſſe quàm corruptionem ac ſtuprum: nova præterea argumenta ad ſubvertendam Adami ſalutem excogitans. Hæc Irenæus de Hæreſi, quæ tunc, viguit Encratitarum.*" Thus far Euſebius. But although the followers of Tatian were at firſt condemned as Hereticks, by the name of *Encratitæ*, or *Continentes*; yet their principles could not be quite exploded: for Montanus refined upon them, and made only ſecond marriages unlawful: he introduced frequent faſtings, and annual faſting days, and Lent, and feeding upon dried meats. The *Apoſtolici*, about the middle of the third century, condemned marriage, and were a branch of the diſciples of Tatian. The *Hierocitæ* in Egypt, in the latter end of the third century, alſo condemned marriage. Paul the Eremite fled into the wilderneſs from the perſecution of Decius, and lived there a ſolitary

[a] Lib. 4. c. 27, 28.

tary life till the reign of Conſtantine the Great, but made no diſciples. Antony did the like in the perſecution of Diocleſian, or a little before, and made diſciples; and many others ſoon followed his example.

DANIEL's WILFULL KING.

III. Hitherto the principles of the *Encratitæ* had been rejected by the churches; but now being refined by the Monks, and impoſed not upon all men, but only upon thoſe who would voluntarily undertake a monaſtic life, they began to be admired; and to overflow firſt the Greek church, and then the Latin alſo, like a torrent. Euſebius ([a]) tells us, that Conſtantine the Great had thoſe men in the higheſt veneration, who dedicated themſelves wholly to the divine philoſophy; and that he almoſt venerated the moſt holy company of virgins perpetually devoted to God; being certain that the God, to whom he had conſecrated himſelf, did dwell in their minds. In his time and that of his ſons, this profeſſion of a ſingle life was propagated in Egypt by Antony, and in Syria by Hilarion; and ſpread ſo faſt, that ſoon after the time of Julian the apoſtate, a third part of the Egyptians were got into the deſarts of Egypt. They lived firſt ſingly in cells, then aſſociated into *cœnobia*, or convents; and at length came into towns, and filled the churches with biſhops, preſbyters, and deacons. Athanaſius, in his younger days, poured water upon the hands of his maſter Antony; and finding the monks faithful to him, made many of them biſhops and preſbyters in Egypt: and theſe biſhops erected new monaſteries, out of which they choſe preſbyters of their own cities, and ſent biſhops to other cities. The like was done in Syria, the ſuperſtition being quickly propagated thither out of Egypt by Hilarion, a diſciple of Antony. Spiridion and Epiphanius, of Cyprus; James, of Niſibis; Cyril, of Jeruſalem; Euſtathius, of Sebaſtia in Armenia; Euſebius, of Emiſa; Titus, of Boſtra; Baſilius, of Ancyra; Acacius, of Cæſarea in Paleſtine; Elpidius, of Laodicea; Melitius and Flavian, of Antioch; Theodorus, of Tyre; Protogenes, of Carrhæ; Acacius, of Berrhœa; Theodotus, of Hierapolis; Euſebius, of Chalcedon; Amphilochius, of Iconium; Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyſſen, and John Chryſoſtom, of Conſtantinople, were both biſhops and monks in the fourth century.

[a] In vita Conſtantini, lib. 4. c. 28.

Euſtathius,

Euſtathius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyſſen, Baſil, &c. had monaſteries of clergymen in their cities, out of which biſhops were ſent to other cities; who in like manner erected monaſteries there, till the churches were ſupplied with biſhops out of theſe monaſteries. Whence Jerome ([a]), in a letter written about the year 385, ſaith of the clergy: "*Quaſi & ipſi aliud ſint quàm* "*Monachi; & non quicquid in Monachos dicitur, redundet in Cleri-* "*cos, qui patres ſunt Monachorum. Detrimentum pecoris paſtoris* "*ignominia eſt.*" And in his book againſt Vigilantius: "*Quid* "*facient Orientis Eccleſiæ? Quæ aut virgines Clericos accipiunt,* "*aut Continentes; aut ſi uxores habuerint, mariti eſſe deſiſtunt.*" Not long after even the emperors commanded the churches to chuſe clergymen out of the monaſteries by this law.

[a] Epiſt. 10.

"*Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA. Cæſario PF. P.*

"*Siquos forte epiſcopi deeſſe ſibi clericos arbitrantur, ex Mona-* "*chorum numero rectius ordinabunt: non obnoxios publicis priva-* "*tiſque rationibus cum invidiâ teneant, ſed habeant jam probatos.* "*Dat. vii. Kal. Aug. Honorio A. iv. & Eutychiano Coſſ. A. C.* "398 ([b])." The Greek empire being now in the hands of theſe *Encratitæ*, and having them in great admiration; Daniel makes it a characteriſtick of the king, who doth according to his will, that he ſhould not regard the deſire of women.

[b] L. 32. de Epiſcopis.

IV. Thus the ſect of the *Encratitæ*, ſet on foot by the Gnoſticks, and propagated by Tatian and Montanus near the end of the ſecond century; which was condemned by the churches of that and the third century, and refined upon by their followers; overſpread the Eaſtern churches in the fourth century, and before the end of it began to overſpread the Weſtern. Henceforward the Chriſtian churches having a form of godlineſs, but denying the power thereof, came into the hands of the *Encratitæ*: and the heathens, who in the fourth century came over in great numbers to the Chriſtians, embraced more readily this ſort of Chriſtianity, as having a greater affinity with their old ſuperſtitions, than that of the ſincere Chriſtians; who by the lamps of the ſeven churches of Aſia, and not by the lamps of the monaſteries,

teries, had illuminated the church catholic during the three firſt centuries. DANIEL'S WILFULL KING.

V. The Cataphrygians brought in alſo ſeveral other ſuperſtitions, ſuch as were the doctrine of ghoſts, and of their puniſhment in purgatory, with prayers and oblations for mitigating that puniſhment; as Tertullian teaches in his books *De Animâ* and *De Monogamiâ*. They uſed alſo the ſign of the croſs as a charm. So Tertullian in his book *De Coronâ Militis*: "*Ad omnem progreſſum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad veſtitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad menſas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad ſedilia, quæcunque nos converſatio exercet, frontem crucis ſignaculo terimus.*" All theſe ſuperſtitions the apoſtle refers to, where he ſaith: "Now the Spirit ſpeaketh expreſsly, that "in the latter times ſome ſhall depart from the faith, giving "heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrines of ghoſts, [the devils "worſhiped by the heathens], ſpeaking lies in hypocriſy, [about "their apparitions, and the miracles done by them, and their "reliques, and the ſign of the croſs,] having conſciences ſeared "with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and teaching to abſtain from meats, &c." (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.) From the Cataphrygians theſe principles and practices were propagated down to poſterity. For the myſtery of iniquity began to work, in the apoſtles days, in the Gnoſticks; and continued to work very ſtrongly in their offspring, the Tatianiſts and Cataphrygians; and was to work "till the man of ſin ſhould be revealed; whoſe coming "is after the working of Satan, with all power and ſigns, and "lying wonders, and all deceivableneſs of unrighteouſneſs;" coloured over with a form of Chriſtian godlineſs, but without the power thereof (2 Theſſ. ii. 7—10.)

VI. For though ſome ſtop was put to the Cataphrygian Chriſtianity, by provincial councils, till the fourth century; yet the Roman emperors then turning Chriſtians, and great multitudes of heathens coming over to the Chriſtian religion in outward profeſſion, and finding the Cataphrygian Chriſtianity more ſuitable to their old principles, of placing religion in outward forms and ceremonies, holy-days, and doctrines of ghoſts, than that of the ſincere Chriſtians: they readily ſided with the Cataphrygian Chriſ-

tians, and ſet up that Chriſtianity before the end of the fourth century. And by this means thoſe of underſtanding, after they had been perſecuted by the heathen emperors in the three firſt centuries, and were "holpen with a little help," by the converſion of Conſtantine the Great and his ſons to the Chriſtian religion, fell under new perſecutions, to "purge them" from the diſſemblers, and "to make them white, even to the time "of the end."

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Mahuzzims, honoured by the king who doth according to his will.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

IN Scripture we are told of ſome truſting in God, and others truſting in idols, and that God is our refuge, our ſtrength, our defence. And in this ſenſe God is the rock of his people; and falſe gods are called the rock of thoſe that truſt in them (Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37.) And in the ſame ſenſe the gods of the king, who ſhall do according to his will, are called Mahuzzims; munitions, fortreſſes, protectors, defenders. "In his eſtate," ſaith Daniel ([a]), "ſhall he honour Mahuzzims [Guardians]; "even with a God whom his fathers knew not, ſhall he honour "them with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and "things of value. Thus ſhall he do in the moſt ſtrong holds [or "temples];—and he ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and "divide the land [among them] for a poſſeſſion." Now this came to paſs by degrees in the following manner.

[a] Chap. xi. 38, 39.

II. Gregory Nyſſen ([a]) tells us, that after the perſecution of the emperor Decius, Gregory, biſhop of Neocæſarea in Pontus, "inſtituted among all people, as an addition or corollary of devotion towards God, that feſtival days and aſſemblies ſhould be "celebrated to them who had contended for the faith," that is, to the Martyrs. And he adds this reaſon for the inſtitution: "When he obſerved," ſaith Nyſſen, "that the ſimple and unſkilful multitude, by reaſon of corporeal delights, remained "in the error of idols; that the principal thing might be corrected among them, namely, that inſtead of their vain worſhip they might turn their eyes upon God; he permitted, that "at the memories of the holy martyrs they might make merry "and delight themſelves, and be diſſolved into joy." The heathens were delighted with the feſtivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with thoſe delights; and therefore Gregory, to facilitate their converſion, inſtituted annual feſtivals to the Saints and Martyrs. Hence it came to paſs, that for exploding the feſtivals of the heathens, the principal feſtivals of the Chriſtians ſucceeded in their room: as the keeping of Chriſtmas with ivy and feaſting, and playing and ſports, in the room of the *Bacchanalia* and *Saturnalia*; the celebrating of May-day with flowers, in the room of the *Floralia*; and the keeping of feſtivals to the Virgin Mary, John the Baptiſt, and divers of the apoſtles, in the room of the ſolemnities at the entrance of the ſun into the ſigns of the Zodiac in the old Julian calendar. In the ſame perſecution of Decius, Cyprian ordered the paſſions of the martyrs in Africa to be regiſtered, in order to celebrate their memories annually with oblations and ſatrifices. And Felix biſhop of Rome, a little after, as Platina relates, "*Martyrum gloriæ* "*conſulens, conſtitutit ut quotannis ſacrificia eorum nomine cele*"*brarentur*:" "conſulting the glory of the martyrs, ordained "that ſacrifices ſhould be celebrated annually in their name." By the pleaſures of theſe feſtivals the Chriſtians increaſed much in number, and decreaſed as much in virtue; until they were purged and made white by the perſecution of Diocleſian. And this was the firſt ſtep made in the Chriſtian religion towards the veneration of the martyrs: and though it did not yet amount to an

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[a] Orat. de vita Greg. Theumaturg. T. 3. p. 574.

unlawful worſhip, yet it diſpoſed the Chriſtians towards ſuch a further veneration of the dead, as in a ſhort time ended in the invocation of ſaints.

III. The next ſtep was the affecting to pray at the ſepulchres of the martyrs: which practice began in Diocleſian's perſecution. The council of Eliberis in Spain, celebrated in the third or fourth year of Diocleſian's perſecution, A. C. 305, hath theſe canons. Can. 34. "*Cereos per diem placuit in Cœmeterio non incendi: inquietandi enim ſpiritus ſanctorum non ſunt. Qui hæc non obſervarint, arceantur ab eccleſiæ communione.*" Can. 35. "*Placuit probiberi ne fœminæ in Cœmeterio pervigilent, eo quòd ſæpe ſub obtentu orationis latenter ſcelera committant.*" Preſently after that perſecution, ſuppoſe about the year 314, the council of Laodicea in Phrygia, which then met for reſtoring the lapſed diſcipline of the church, has the following canons. "Can. 9. Thoſe of the church are not allowed to go into the Cœmeteries, or Martyries as they are called, of Hereticks, for the ſake of prayer or recovery of health: but ſuch as go, if they be of the faithful, ſhall be excommunicated for a time." Can. 34. "A Chriſtian muſt not leave the martyrs of Chriſt, and go to falſe martyrs," that is, to the martyrs of the Hereticks; "for theſe are alien from God: and therefore let thoſe be anathema who go to them." Can. 51. "The birth-days of the martyrs ſhall not be celebrated in Lent; but their commemoration ſhall be made on the Sabbath-days and Lord's days." The council of Paphlagonia, celebrated in the year 324, made this canon: "If any man be arrogant, abominates the congregations of the martyrs, or the liturgies performed therein, or the memories of the martyrs, let him be anathema." By all which it is manifeſt that the Chriſtians, in the time of Diocleſian's perſecutions, uſed to pray in the Cœmeteries, or burying-places of the dead; for avoiding the danger of the perſecution, and for want of churches, which were all thrown down: and after the perſecution was over, continued that practice in honour of the martyrs, till new churches could be built: and by uſe affected it as advantageous to devotion, and for recovering the health of thoſe that were ſick: and that in theſe burying-places

places they commemorated the martyrs yearly upon days dedi- MAHUZZIM. cated to them; and accounted all theſe practices pious and religious; and anathematized thoſe men as arrogant, who oppoſed them, or prayed in the Martyries of the Hereticks. They alſo lighted torches to the martyrs in the day-time, as the heathens did to their gods; which cuſtom, before the end of the fourth century, prevailed much in the Weſt. And they ſprinkled the worſhipers of the martyrs with holy-water, as the heathens did the worſhipers of their gods; and went in proceſſion to ſee Jeruſalem and other holy places, as if the places conferred ſanctity on the viſiters. And from the cuſtom of praying in the Cœmeteries and Martyries, came the cuſtom of tranſlating the bodies of the ſaints and martyrs into ſuch churches as were new built; the emperor Conſtantius beginning this practice about the year 359, by cauſing the bodies of Andrew the apoſtle, Luke and Timothy, to be tranſlated into a new church at Conſtantinople: and before this act of Conſtantius, the Egyptians kept the bodies of their martyrs and ſaints unburied upon beds in their private houſes, and told ſtories of their ſouls appearing after death and aſcending up to heaven, as Athanaſius relates in the life of Antony. All which gave occaſion to the emperor Julian, as Cyril relates, to accuſe the Chriſtians in this manner: "Your adding to that "antient dead man, [viz. Jeſus,] many new dead men, who can "ſufficiently abominate? You have filled all places with ſepul"chres and monuments; although you are no where bidden to "proſtrate yourſelves to ſepulchres, and to reſpect them offici"ouſly." And a little after: "Since Jeſus ſaid that ſepulchres "are full of filthineſs, how do you invoke God upon them?" And in another place he ſaith, that if Chriſtians had adhered to the precepts of the Hebrews, "they would have worſhiped one "God inſtead of many, and not a man; or rather not many un"happy men: and that they adhered to the wood of the croſs, "making its images on their foreheads, and before their "houſes."

IV. After the ſepulchres of ſaints and martyrs were thus converted into places of worſhip like the heathen temples, and the churches into ſepulchres, and a certain ſort of ſanctity was placed

in

in the dead bodies of the ſaints and martyrs buried in them, and annual feſtivals were kept to them, with ſacrifices offered to God in their name; the next ſtep towards the invocation of ſaints, was the attributing to the bodies, bones and other reliques of the ſaints, a power of working miracles, by means of the ſeparate ſouls; who were ſuppoſed to know what we do or ſay, and to be able to do us good or hurt, and to work thoſe miracles. This is the very notion the heathens had of the ſeparate ſouls of their antient kings and heroes; whom they worſhiped under the names of Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Venus, Bacchus, Ceres, Oſiris, Iſis, Apollo, Diana, and the reſt of their gods. For theſe gods being male and female, huſband and wife, ſon and daughter, brother and ſiſter, are thereby diſcovered to be antient men and women. Now as the firſt ſtep towards the invocation of ſaints was ſet on foot by the perſecution of Decius, and the ſecond by the perſecution of Diocleſian; ſo this third ſeems to have been owing to the proceedings of Conſtantius and Julian the apoſtate. When Julian began to reſtore the worſhip of the heathen gods, and to vilify the ſaints and martyrs; the Chriſtians of Syria and Egypt ſeem to have made a great noiſe about the miracles done by the reliques of the Chriſtian ſaints and martyrs, in oppoſition to the powers attributed by Julian and the heathens to their idols. For Sozomen and Ruffinus tells us, that when he opened the heathen temples, and conſulted the oracle of Apollo Daphnæus in the ſuburbs of Antioch, and preſſed by many ſacrifices for an anſwer; the oracle at length told him, that the bones of the martyr Babylas, which were buried there, hindered him from ſpeaking. By which anſwer you may underſtand, that ſome Chriſtian was got into the place, where the heathen prieſts uſed to ſpeak through a pipe in delivering their oracles: and before this Hilary, in his book againſt Conſtantius, written in the laſt year of that emperor, makes the following mention of what was then doing in the Eaſt where he was: "*Sine martyrio perſequeris. Plus credulitati veſtræ Nero, Deci, Maximiane, debemus. Diabolum enim per vos vicimus. Sanctus ubique beatorum martyrum ſanguis exceptus eſt, dum in his Dæmones mugiunt, dum ægritudines depelluntur, dum miraculorum opera cernuntur,*

"*elevari*

"*elevari ſine laqueis corpora, & diſpenſis pede fœminis veſtes non* MAHUZZIM.
"*defluere in faciem, uri ſine ignibus ſpiritus, confiteri ſine interro-*
"*gantis incremento fidei.*" And Gregory Nazianzen, in his firſt oration againſt the emperor Julian then reigning, writes thus: "*Martyras non extimuiſti, quibus præclari honores & feſta conſti-*
"*tuta, à quibus Dæmones propellantur, & morbi curantur; quo-*
"*rum ſunt apparitiones & prædictiones; quorum vel ſola corpora*
"*idem poſſunt, quod animæ ſanctæ, ſive manibus contrectentur, ſive*
"*honorentur: quorum vel ſolæ ſanguinis guttæ, atque exigua paſ-*
"*ſionis ſigna,* [i. e. *ſigna crucis*] *idem poſſunt, quod corpora. Hæc non*
"*colis, ſed contemnis & aſpernaris.*" Theſe things made the heathens, in the reign of the ſame emperor, demoliſh the ſepulchre of John the Baptiſt in Phœnicia, and burn his bones; and ſome Chriſtians mixing themſelves with the heathens, gathered up ſome of his remains, which were ſent to Athanaſius, who hid them in the wall of a church; foreſeeing by a prophetic ſpirit, as Ruffinus tells us, that they might be profitable to future generations.

V. The cry of theſe miracles being once ſet on foot, continued for many years, and encreaſed and grew more general. For Chryſoſtom, in his ſecond oration on St. Babylas, twenty years after the ſilencing of the oracle of Apollo Daphnæus as above, viz. A. C. 382, ſaith of the miracles done by the ſaints and their reliques ([a]): "*Nulla eſt noſtri hujus Orbis ſeu regio, ſeu gens, ſeu*
"*urbs, ubi nova & inopinata miracula hæc non decantentur;*
"*quæ quidem ſi figmenta fuiſſent, prorſus in tantam hominum ad-*
"*mirationem non veniſſent.*" And a little after: "*Abunde ora-*
"*tioni noſtræ fidem faciunt, quæ quotidiana à martyribus miracula*
"*eduntur, magnâ affatim ad illa hominum multitudine affluente.*"
And in his 66th homily, deſcribing how the devils were tormented and caſt out by the bones of the martyrs, he adds: "*Ob eam cauſam multi plerumque Reges peregre profecti ſunt, ut*
"*hoc ſpectaculo fruerentur. Siquidem ſanctorum martyrum tem-*
"*pla futuri judicii veſtigia & ſigna exhibent; dum nimirum Dæ-*
"*mones flagris cæduntur, hominesque torquentur, & liberantur.*
"*Vide quæ ſanctorum vitâ functorum vis ſit?*" And Jerom, in his epitaph on Paula, thus mentions the ſame things ([b]). "*Paula*
"*vidit Samariam: ibi ſiti ſunt Eliſæus & Abdias prophetæ, &*
"*Joannes*

[a] Vide Hom. 47. in S. Julian.

[b] Epiſt. 27. ad Euſtochium.

" *Joannes Baptiſta, ubi multis intremuit conſternata miraculis.* " *Nam cernebat variis dæmones rugire cruciatibus, & ante ſepulchra ſanctorum ululare homines more luporum; vocibus latrare* " *canum, fremere leonum, ſibilare ſerpentum, mugire taurorum;* " *alios rotare caput, & poſt tergum terram vertice tangere, ſuſpenſiſque pede fæminis veſtes non defluere in faciem.*" This was about the year 384: and Chryſoſtom, in his oration on the Egyptian martyrs, ſeems to make Egypt the ringleader in theſe matters, ſaying ([a]): " *Benedictus Deus, quandoquidem ex Ægypto* " *prodeunt martyres, ex Ægypto illâ cum Deo pugnante ac inſaniſſimâ, & unde impia ora, unde linguæ blaſphemæ; ex Ægypto* " *martyres habentur; non in Ægypto tantùm, nec in finitimâ vicinâque regione, ſed* UBIQUE TERRARUM. *Et quemadmodum in* " *annonæ ſummâ ubertate, cùm viderunt urbium incolæ majorem* " *quàm uſus habitatorum poſtulat eſſe proventum, ad peregrinas* " *etiam urbes tranſmittunt: cum ut ſuam comitatem & liberalitatem oſtendant, tum ut, præter horum abundantiam, cum facilitate res, quibus indigent, rurſus ab illis ſibi comparent: ſic &* " *Ægyptii, quod attinet ad religionis athletas, fecerunt. Cùm apud* " *ſe multam eorum, Dei benignitate, copiam cernerent; nequaquam* " *ingens Dei munus ſuâ civitate concluſerunt, ſed in* OMNES TERRÆ PARTES *bonorum theſauros effuderunt: cum ut ſuum in fratres* " *amorem oſtenderent, tum ut communem omnium dominum honore afficerent, ac civitati ſuæ gloriam apud omnes compararent,* " *totiuſque terrarum* ORBIS *eſſe* METROPOLIN *declararent.—Sanctorum enim illorum corpora quovis adamantino & inexpugnabili* " *muro tutius nobis urbem communiunt; & tanquam excelſi quidam ſcopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui ſub ſenſus cadunt, & oculis cernuntur, hoſtium impetus propulſant tantùm, ſed* " *etiam inviſibilium dæmonum inſidias, omneſque diaboli fraudes* " *ſubvertunt ac diſſipant.—Neque vero tantùm adverſus hominum* " *inſidias, aut adverſus fallacias dæmonum, utilis nobis eſt hæc poſſeſſio; ſed ſi nobis communis dominus ob peccatorum multitudinem* " *iraſcatur, his objectis corporibus continuò poterimus eum propitium reddere civitati.*" This oration was written at Antioch, while Alexandria was yet the metropolis of the Eaſt, that is, before the year 381, in which Conſtantinople became the metropolis:

[a] Edit. Frontonis Ducæi, Tom. I.

tropolis: and it was a work of ſome years for the Egyptians to MAHUZZIM. have diſtributed the miracle-working reliques of their martyrs over all the world, as they had done before that war. Egypt abounded moſt with the reliques of ſaints and martyrs, the Egyptians keeping them embalmed upon beds in their private houſes; and Alexandria was eminent above all other cities for diſperſing them; ſo as on that account to acquire glory with all men, and manifeſt herſelf to be the Metropolis of the world. Antioch followed the example of Egypt, in diſperſing the reliques of the forty martyrs: and the examples of Egypt and Syria were ſoon followed by the reſt of the world.

VI. The reliques of the forty martyrs at Antioch were diſtributed among the churches before the year 373; for Athanaſius, who died in that year, wrote an oration upon them. This oration is not yet publiſhed; but Gerard Voſſius ſaw it in MS. in the library of cardinal Aſcanius in Italy, as he ſays in his commentary upon the oration of Ephraem Syrus on the ſame forty martyrs. And ſince the monks of Alexandria ſent the reliques of the martyrs of Egypt into all parts of the earth, and thereby acquired glory to their city, and declared her in theſe matters the metropolis of the whole world, as we have obſerved out of Chryſoſtom; it may be concluded, that before Alexandria received the forty martyrs from Antioch, ſhe began to ſend out the reliques of her own martyrs into all parts, ſetting the firſt example to other cities. This practice therefore began in Egypt ſome years before the death of Athanaſius. It began when the miracle-working bones of John the Baptiſt were carried into Egypt, and hid in the wall of a church, "that they might be profitable "to future generations." It was reſtrained during the reign of Julian the apoſtate: and then it ſpread from Egypt into all the empire; Alexandria being the metropolis of the whole world, according to Chryſoſtom, for propagating this ſort of devotion, and Antioch and other cities ſoon following her example.

VII. In propagating theſe ſuperſtitions, the ringleaders were the Monks, and Antony was at the head of them: for in the end of the life of Antony, Athanaſius relates that theſe were his dying words to his diſciples, who then attended him. "Do you

Chapter Fourteenth.

" take care," ſaid Antony, " to adhere to Chriſt in the firſt place, " and then to the ſaints; that after death they may receive you " as friends and acquaintance into the everlaſting tabernacles. " Think upon theſe things, perceive theſe things; and if you " have any regard to me, remember me as a father." This being delivered in charge to the monks by Antony at his death, A. C. 356, could not but inflame their whole body with devotion towards the ſaints, as the ready way to be received by them into the eternal tabernacles after death. Hence came that noiſe about the miracles done by the reliques of the ſaints, in the time of Conſtantius: hence came the diſperſion of the miracle-working reliques into all the empire; Alexandria ſetting the example, and being renowned for it above all other cities. Hence it came to paſs in the days of Julian, A. C. 362, that Athanaſius, by a prophetic ſpirit, as Ruffinus tells us, hid the bones of John the Baptiſt from the heathens, not in the ground to be forgotten, but in the hollow wall of a church before proper witneſſes, that they might be " profitable to future generations." Hence alſo came the invocation of the ſaints, for doing ſuch miracles, and for aſſiſting men in their devotions, and mediating with God. For Athanaſius, even from his youth, looked upon the dead ſaints and martyrs as mediators of our prayers: for in his epiſtle to Marcellinus, written in the days of Conſtantine the Great, he ſaith that the words of the Pſalms are not to be tranſpoſed, or any wiſe changed, but to be recited and ſung without any artifice, as they are written; " that the holy men who delivered " them, knowing them to be their own words, may pray with " us; or rather, that the Holy Ghoſt, who ſpake in the holy " men, ſeeing his own words with which he inſpired them, may " join with them in aſſiſting us."

VIII. And whilſt Egypt abounded with monks above any other country, the veneration of the ſaints began ſooner, and ſpread faſter there than in other places. Palladius going into Egypt in the year 388 to viſit the monaſteries, and the ſepulchres of Apollonius and other martyrs of Thebais, who had ſuffered under Maximinus, ſaith of them: " *Iis omnibus Chriſtiani fecerunt ædem* " *unam, ubi nunc multæ virtutes peraguntur. Tanta autem fuit*

" *viri*

"*viri gratia, ut de iis quæ eſſet precatus, ſtatim exaudiretur, eum* "*ſic bonorante ſervatore: quem etiam nos in martyrio precati vi-* "*dimus, cum iis qui cum ipſo fuerunt martyrio affecti; & Deum* "*adorantes, eorum corpora ſalutavimus.*" And Eunapius, a heathen, yet a competent witneſs of what was done in his own times, relating how the ſoldiers delivered the temples of Egypt into the hands of the monks, which was done in the year 389, rails thus in an impious manner at the martyrs, as ſucceeding in the room of the old gods of Egypt. "*Illi ipſi [milites] Mona-* "*chos Canobi quoque collocarunt; ut pro Diis, qui animo cernuntur,* "*ſervos, & quidem flagitioſos, divinis bonoribus percolerent; bomi-* "*num mentibus ad cultum ceremoniaſque obligatis. Ii namque* "*condita & ſalita eorum capita, qui ob ſcelerum multitudinem à* "*judicibus extremo judicio fuerant affecti, pro Divis oſtentabant;* "*iis genua ſubmittebant; eos in Deorum numerum receptabant, ad* "*illorum ſepulchra pulvere ſordibuſque conſpurcati. Martyres igi-* "*tur vocabantur, & miniſtri quidem & legati arbitrique precum* "*apud Deos; cùm fuerint ſervitia infida, & flagris peſſimè ſubacta,* "*quæ cicatrices ſcelerum, ac nequitiæ veſtigia, corporibus circumfe-* "*runt; ejuſmodi tamen Deos fert tellus.*" By theſe inſtances we may underſtand the invocation of ſaints was now of ſome ſtanding in Egypt, and that it was already generally received and practiſed there by the common people.

IX. Thus Baſil a monk, who was made biſhop of Cæſarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, in his oration on the martyr Mamas, ſaith: "Be ye mindful of the martyr, as ma- "ny of you as have enjoyed him in your dreams; as many as "in this place have been aſſiſted by him in prayer; as many of "you as upon invoking him by name have had him preſent in "your works; as many as he has reduced into the way from "wandering; as many as he has reſtored to health; as many as "have had their dead children reſtored by him to life; as many "as have had their lives prolonged by him." And a little after, he thus expreſſes the univerſality of this ſuperſtition in the regions of Cappadocia and Bithynia: "At the memory of the mar- "tyr," ſaith he, "the whole region is moved; at his feſtival "the whole city is tranſported with joy. Nor do the kindred

Chapter Fourteenth.

"of the rich turn aſide to the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, but "all go to the place of devotion." And, in the end of the homily, he prays, that "God would preſerve the church, thus "fortified with the great towers of the martyrs." And in his oration on the forty martyrs: "Theſe are they," ſaith he, "who "obtaining our country, like certain towers, afford us ſafety "againſt our enemies. Neither are they ſhut up in one place "only; but being diſtributed are ſent into many regions, and "adorn many countries.—You have often endeavoured, you "have often laboured to find one who might pray for you: here "are forty, emitting one voice of prayer.—He that is in afflic-"tion flies to theſe; he that rejoices, has recourſe to theſe: the "firſt, that he may be freed from evil; the laſt, that he may "continue in happineſs. Here a woman, praying for her chil-"dren, is heard; ſhe obtains a ſafe return for her huſband from "abroad, and health for him in his ſickneſs.—O ye common "keepers of mankind, the beſt companions of our cares, ſuf-"fragans and coadjutors of our prayers, moſt powerful embaſ-"ſadors to God, &c." By all which it is manifeſt, that before the year 378, the orations and ſermons upon the ſaints went much beyond the bounds of mere oratorical flouriſhes, and that the common people in the Eaſt were already generally corrupted by the monks with ſaint-worſhip.

X. Gregory Nazianzen, a monk, in his ſixth oration, written A. C. 373, when he was newly made biſhop of Saſima, ſaith: "Let us purify ourſelves to the martyrs, or rather to the God of "the martyrs." And a little after he calls the martyrs "media-"tors of obtaining an aſcenſion or divinity." The ſame year, in the end of his oration upon Athanaſius, then newly dead, he thus invokes him: "Do thou look down upon us propitiouſly, "and govern this people, a perfect adorer of the perfect Tri-"nity, which in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, is contem-"plated and adored. If there ſhall be peace, preſerve me, "and feed my flock with me; but if war, bring me home, "place me with yourſelf, and with ſuch as you are; although it "be great which I deſire." And in the end of the funeral oration upon Baſil, written A. C. 378, he thus invokes Baſil: "But

"thou, O divine and ſacred head, look down upon us from "heaven; and by thy prayers either take away that thorn of the "fleſh, which is given us by God for exerciſe; or obtain, that we "may bear it with courage, and direct all our life to that which "is moſt conducible. And when we depart this life, receive us "there in your tabernacles; that living together, and beholding "the holy and bleſſed Trinity more purely and perfectly, where- "of we have now but an imperfect view, we may there come to "the end of our deſires, and receive this reward of the wars "which we have waged or ſuffered." And in his oration upon Cyprian, not the biſhop of Carthage, but a Greek, he invokes him after the ſame manner; and tells us alſo, how a pious virgin, named Juſtina, was protected by invoking the Virgin Mary; and how miracles were done by the aſhes of Cyprian.

XI. Gregory Nyſſen, another eminent monk and biſhop, in the life of Ephraem Syrus, tells how a certain man, returning from a far country, was in great danger, by reaſon that all the ways were intercepted by the armies of barbarous nations; but upon invoking Ephraem by name, and ſaying, "Holy Ephraem aſſiſt me," he eſcaped the danger, neglected the fear of death, and beyond his hope got ſafe home. And in the end of this oration Gregory calls upon Ephraem after the following manner: "But thou [O "Ephraem] aſſiſting now at the divine altar, and ſacrificing to "the Prince of life, and to the moſt holy Trinity, together with "the angels, remember us all; and obtain for us pardon of our "ſins, that we may enjoy the eternal happineſs of the king- "dom of heaven." The ſame Gregory, in his oration on the martyr Theodorus, written A. C. 381, thus deſcribes the power of that martyr, and the practice of the people. "This mar- "tyr," ſaith he, "the laſt year quieted the barbarous tempeſt, "and put a ſtop to the horrid war of the fierce and cruel Scy- "thians.—If any one is permitted to carry away the duſt, with "which the tomb is covered wherein the body of the martyr "reſts; the duſt is accepted as a gift, and gathered to be laid up "as a thing of great price. For to touch the reliques them- "ſelves, if any ſuch proſperous fortune ſhall at any time hap- "pen, how great a favour that is, and not to be obtained with-

" out the moſt earneſt prayers; they know well, who have obtained it. For as a living and florid body, they who behold it embrace it; applying to it the eyes, mouth, ears, and all the organs of ſenſe: and then with affection pouring tears upon the martyr, as if he was whole and appeared to them, they offer prayers with ſupplication, that he would intercede for them as an advocate; praying to him as an officer attending upon God, and invoking him as receiving gifts, whenever he will." And at length Gregory concludes the oration with this prayer: " O Theodorus, we want many bleſſings; intercede and deprecate for your country before the common King and Lord: for the country of the martyr is the place of his paſſion; and they are his citizens, brethren and kindred, who have him, and defend, adorn and honour him. We fear afflictions; we expect dangers: the wicked Scythians are not far off, ready to make war againſt us. As a ſoldier, fight for us; as a martyr, uſe liberty of ſpeech for thy fellow-ſervants. Pray for peace; that theſe public meetings may not ceaſe; that the furious and wicked barbarian may not rage againſt the temples and altars; that the profane and impious may not trample upon the holy things. For we acknowledge it a benefit received from thee, that we are preſerved ſafe and entire; and we pray for freedom from danger in time to come: and if there ſhall be need of greater interceſſion and deprecation, call together a choir of thy brethren the martyrs, and in conjunction with them all intercede for us. Let the prayers of many juſt ones atone for the ſins of the multitudes and the people; exhort Peter, excite Paul, and alſo John the Divine and beloved diſciple, that they may be ſolicitous for the churches which they have erected, for which they have been in chains, for which they have undergone dangers and deaths; that the worſhip of idols may not lift up its head againſt us; that hereſies may not ſpring up like thorns in the vineyard; that tares grown up may not choak the wheat; that no rock, void of the fatneſs of true dew, may be againſt us, and render the fruitful power of the word void of a root; but by the power of the prayers of yourſelf and your companions, O admirable man and eminent

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"among the martyrs, the commonwealth of Chriſtians may be- MAHUZZIM.
"come a field of corn." The ſame Gregory Nyſſen, in his ſermon upon the death of Meletius biſhop of Antioch, preached at Conſtantinople the ſame year, A. C. 381, before the biſhops of all the Eaſt aſſembled in the ſecond general council, ſpake thus of Meletius. "The Bridegroom," ſaith he, "is not taken "from us: he ſtands in the midſt of us, though we do not ſee "him: he is a Prieſt in the moſt inward places, and face to "face intercedes before God for us and the ſins of the people." This was no oratorical flouriſh, but Gregory's real opinion; as may be underſtood by what we have cited out of him concerning Ephraem and Theodorus: and as Gregory preached this before the council of Conſtantinople, you may thence know, ſaith Baronius ([a]), that he profeſſed what the whole council, and therewith the whole church of thoſe parts believed, namely, that the ſaints in heaven offer prayers for us before God.

[a] Ad an. 381. & 41.

XII. Ephraem Syrus, another eminent monk, who was contemporary with Baſil, and died the ſame year with him; in the end of his encomium or oration upon Baſil then newly dead, invokes him after this manner: "Deprecate for me, a very "miſerable man; and recall me by thy interceſſions, O Father "[Baſil]; thou courageous, for me a weak one; thou diligent, for me a negligent one; thou chearful, for me a "ſlothful one; thou wiſe, for me a fooliſh one. Thou "who haſt treaſured up a treaſure of all virtues, reduce me "who am empty of every good work." In the beginning of his encomium upon the forty martyrs, written at the ſame time, he thus invokes them: "Help me therefore, O ye ſaints, "with your interceſſion; and O ye beloved, with your holy "prayers; that Chriſt by his grace may direct my tongue to "ſpeak, &c." And afterwards mentioning the mother of one of theſe forty martyrs, he concludes the oration with this prayer: "I entreat thee, O holy, faithful, and bleſſed woman, pray for "me to the ſaints, ſaying, Intercede ye triumphers of Chriſt, "for the leaſt and the miſerable Ephraem, that he may find "mercy, and by the grace of Chriſt may be ſaved." And again, in his ſecond ſermon or oration on the praiſes of the holy martyrs

tyrs of Chriſt, he thus addreſſes them: "We entreat you, moſt "holy martyrs, to deprecate the Lord for us miſerable ſinners, beſet with the ſqualor of negligence, that he would "infuſe his divine grace into us." And afterwards, near the end of the ſame diſcourſe: "Now ye moſt holy men and glorious martyrs of God, help me a miſerable ſinner with your "prayers, that in that dreadful hour I may obtain mercy, when "the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be made manifeſt. I am to-day "become to you, O ye moſt holy martyrs of Chriſt, as it were an "unprofitable and unſkilful cup-bearer: for I have delivered to "the ſons and brothers of your faith, a cup of the excellent wine "of your warfare: and with the excellent table of your victory, repleniſhed with all ſorts of dainties, I have endeavoured, with the whole affection and deſire of my mind, to recreate your fathers and brothers, kindred and relations, who "daily frequent the table. For behold they ſing, and with exultation and jubilee glorify God; who has crowned your virtues, "by ſetting on your moſt ſacred heads incorruptible and celeſtial crowns; and with exceſſive joy they ſtand about the ſacred "reliques of your martyrdom, wiſhing for a bleſſing, and deſiring to carry away the holy medicines both for the body and "mind. As good diſciples and faithful miniſters of our benign Lord and Saviour, beſtow therefore a bleſſing on them "all. And I alſo, though weak and feeble, having received "ſtrength by your merits and interceſſions, have with the whole "devotion of my mind, ſung a hymn of your praiſe and glory "before your holy reliques. Wherefore, I beſeech you, ſtand before the throne of the divine Majeſty for me Ephraem, a vile "and miſerable ſinner; that by your prayers I may deſerve to "obtain ſalvation, and with you enjoy eternal felicity by the "grace and benignity and mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus "Chriſt; to whom with the Father and Holy Ghoſt be praiſe, "honour, virtue, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen."

XIII. By what has been cited out of Baſil, the two Gregories, and Ephræm, we may underſtand that ſaint-worſhip was eſtabliſhed among the monks and their admirers in Egypt, Phœnicia, Syria

and Cappadocia, before the year 378, this being the year in which Baſil and Ephraem died. Chryſoſtom was not much later; he preached at Antioch almoſt all the time of Theodoſius the Great, and in his ſermons are many exhortations to this ſort of ſuperſtition; as may be ſeen in the end of his orations on St. Julia, on St. Pelagia, on the martyr Ignatius, on the Egyptian martyrs, on Fate and Providence, on the martyrs in general, on St. Berenice and St. Proſdoce, on Juventinus and Maximus, on the name of Cœmetery, &c. So in his ſermon on SS. Berenice and Proſdoce; "Perhaps," ſaith he, "you are "inflamed with no ſmall love towards theſe martyrs; therefore "with this ardour let us fall down before their reliques, let us "embrace their coffins. For the coffins of the martyrs have "great virtue, even as the bones of the martyrs have great "power. Nor let us only on the day of this feſtival, but alſo "on other days apply to them, invoke them, and beſeech them "to be our patrons: for they have great power and efficacy, "not only whilſt alive, but alſo after death; and much more "after death than before. For now they bear the marks or "brands of Chriſt; and when they ſhew theſe marks, they can "obtain all things of the King. Seeing therefore they abound "with ſuch efficacy, and have ſo much friendſhip with him; "we alſo, when, by continual attendance and perpetual viſitation of them we have inſinuated ourſelves into their fa"miliarity, may by their aſſiſtance obtain the mercy of God."

XIV. Conſtantinople was free from theſe ſuperſtitions till Gregory Nazianzen came thither A. C. 379; but in a few years was inflamed with it. Ruffinus ([a]) tells us, that when the emperor Theodoſius was ſetting out againſt the tyrant Eugenius, which was in the year 394, he went about with the prieſts and people to all the places of prayer; lay proſtrate in hair-cloth before the ſhrines of the martyrs and apoſtles, and "prayed for aſſiſtance by the interceſſion of the ſaints." Sozomen ([b]) adds, that when the emperor was marched ſeven miles from Conſtantinople againſt Eugenius, he went into a church which he had built to John the Baptiſt, "and invoked the Bap"tiſt

Marginal note: Maruzzius

[a] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 24.

[b] L. 4. c. 24.

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"tiſt for his aſſiſtance." Chryſoſtom ([a]) ſays: "He that is "clothed in purple, approaches to embrace theſe ſepulchres; "and laying aſide his dignity, ſtands ſupplicating the ſaints to "intercede for him with God: and he who goes crowned with "a diadem, offers his prayers to the tent-maker and the fiſher-"man as his protectors." And in another place ([b]): "The ci-"ties run together to the ſepulchres of the martyrs, and the "people are inflamed with the love of them."

[a] Hom. 66. ad populum, circa finem, & Hom. 8, 27, in Matth. Hom. 42, 43. in Gen. Hom. 1. in 1 Theſſ.

[b] Expoſit. in Pſal. 114. ſub finem.

XV. This practice of ſending reliques from place to place for working miracles, and thereby inflaming the devotion of the nations towards the dead ſaints and their reliques, and ſetting up the religion of invoking their ſouls, laſted only till the middle of the reign of the emperor Theodoſius the Great; for he then prohibited it by the following edict: "*Humatum corpus,* "*nemo ad alterum locum transferat; nemo Martyrem diſtrahat,* "*nemo mercetur: habeant verò in poteſtate, ſi quolibet in loco* "*ſanctorum eſt aliquis conditus, pro ejus veneratione, quod Mar-*"*tyrium vocandum ſit, addant quod voluerint fabricarum. Dat.* "*iv. Kal. Mart. Conſtantinopoli, Honorio nob. puero & Euodio* "*Coſſ. A. C.* 386." After this they filled the fields and highways with altars erected to martyrs, which they pretended to diſcover by dreams and revelations: and this occaſioned the making the fourteenth canon of the fifth council of Carthage, A. C. 398. "*Placuit, ut altaria, quæ paſſim per agros aut* "*vias, tanquam memoriæ Martyrum conſtituuntur, in quibus* "*nullum corpus aut reliquiæ Martyrum conditæ probantur, ab* "*Epiſcopis, qui illis locis præſunt, ſi fieri poteſt, evertantur. Si* "*autem hoc propter tumultus populares non ſinitur, plebes tamen* "*admoneantur, ne illa loca frequentent; ut qui rectè ſapiunt,* "*nullâ ibi ſuperſtitione devincti teneantur. Et omnino nulla me-*"*moria Martyrum probabiliter acceptetur, niſi aut ibi corpus aut* "*aliquæ certæ reliquiæ ſint, aut ibi origo alicujus habitationis,* "*vel poſſeſſionis, vel paſſionis fideliſſimâ origine traditur. Nam* "*quæ per ſomnia, & per inanes quaſi revelationes quorumlibet* "*hominum, ubique conſtituuntur altaria, omnimodè reprobentur.*" Theſe altars were for invoking the ſaints or martyrs buried or pretended

pretended to be buried under them. Firſt they filled the churches in all places with the reliques or pretended reliques of the martyrs, for invoking them in the churches; and then they filled the fields and high-ways with altars, for invoking them every where: and this new religion was ſet up by the monks in all the Greek empire before the expedition of the emperor Theodoſius againſt Eugenius, and I think before the abovementioned edict of this emperor, A. C. 386. MAHUZZIM.

XVI. The ſame religion of worſhiping Mahuzzims quickly ſpread into the Weſtern Empire alſo: but Daniel in this prophecy deſcribes chiefly the things done among the nations comprehended in the body of his third beaſt.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

PART II.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN.

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

APOCALYPSE OF ST. JOHN.

CHAP. I.

Introduction, concerning the time when the Apocalypſe was written.

IRENÆUS has ſet on foot an opinion, that the Apocalypſe was writ in the time of Domitian; but he alſo poſtpones the writing of ſome others of the ſacred books, and was to place the Apocalypſe after them. Perhaps his maſter Polycarp might ſay, he had it from St. John in the end of Domitian's reign; and John might at that time have put out a new edition of it, and Irenæus might from thence form a notion of its being written at that time. Euſebius, in his Chronicle and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, follows Irenæus; but afterwards ([a]) in his Evangelical Demonſtrations, he conjoins the baniſhment of John into Patmos, with the deaths of Peter and Paul: and ſo do ([b]) Tertullian and Pſeudo-Prochorus, and the firſt author, whoever he was, of that very antient fable, that John was put by Nero into a veſſel of hot oil, and coming out without

[a] Dem. Evang. l. 3.

[b] Vid. Pamelium in notis ad Tertull. de Præſcriptionibus, n. 215. & Hieron. l. 1. contra Jovinianum, c. 14. edit. Eraſmi.

CHAPTER FIRST. without hurt, was baniſhed by him into Patmos. Though this be but a fiction, yet it was founded on a tradition of the firſt churches, that John was baniſhed into Patmos in the days of Nero. Epiphanius repreſents the Goſpel of John as written in Domitian's reign, and the Apocalypſe even before Nero's. ([a]) Arethas, in the beginning of his commentary, mentions out of Euſebius the opinion of Irenæus, but follows it not: for afterwards he affirms that the Apocalypſe was writ before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and that former commentators had expounded the ſixth ſeal of that deſtruction.

[a] Areth. c. 18, 19.

II. With the opinion of the firſt commentators agrees the tradition of the churches of Syria, preſerved to this day in the title of the Syriac verſion of the Apocalypſe; which title is this: "The Revelation which was made to John the Evangeliſt by "God in the Iſland Patmos, into which he was baniſhed by Nero "the Cæſar." The ſame is confirmed by a ſtory told by ([b]) Euſebius out of Clemens Alexandrinus, and other antient authors, concerning a youth whom John, ſome time after his return from Patmos, committed to the care of the biſhop of a certain city. The biſhop educated, inſtructed, and at length baptized him; but then remitted of his care. The young man thereupon got into ill company; and began by degrees firſt to revel and grow vicious, then to abuſe and ſpoil thoſe he met in the night; and at laſt grew ſo deſperate, that his companions, turning a band of highwaymen, made him their captain: and, ſaith Chryſoſtom ([c]), he continued their captain a long time. At length John returning to that city, and hearing what was done, rode to the thief; and, when he out of reverence to his old maſter fled, John rode after him, recalled him, and reſtored him to the church. This is a ſtory of many years; and requires, that John ſhould have returned from Patmos rather at the death of Nero, than at that of Domitian; becauſe between the death of Domitian and that of John there were but two years and an half; and John in his old age was ([d]) ſo infirm as to be carried to church, dying above 90 years old, and therefore could not be then ſuppoſed able to ride after the thief.

[b] Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 23.

[c] Chryſoſt. ad Theodorum lapſum.

[d] Hieron. in Epiſt. ad Gal. l. 3. c. 6.

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This opinion is further confirmed by the alluſions in the Apocalypſe to the temple and altar, and holy city, as then ſtanding; and to the Gentiles, who were ſoon after to tread under foot the holy city and outward court. It is confirmed alſo by the ſtyle of the Apocalypſe, which is fuller of Hebraiſms than his goſpel. For thence it may be gathered, that it was writ when John was newly come out of Judea, where he had been uſed to the Syriac tongue; and that he did not write his goſpel, till by long converſe with the Aſiatick Greeks he had left off moſt of the Hebraiſms. It is confirmed alſo by the many falſe Apocalypſes; as thoſe of Peter, Paul, Thomas, Stephen, Elias, and Cerinthus, written in imitation of the true one. For as the many falſe goſpels, falſe acts, and falſe epiſtles were occaſioned by true ones; and the writing many falſe Apocalypſes, and aſcribing them to apoſtles and prophets, argues that there was a true apoſtolic one in great requeſt with the firſt Chriſtians: ſo this true one may well be ſuppoſed to have been written early; that there may be room in the apoſtolic age for the writing of ſo many falſe ones afterwards, and fathering them upon Peter, Paul, Thomas, and others, who were dead before John. Caius, who was contemporary with Tertullian ([a]), tells us that Cerinthus wrote his revelations as a great apoſtle, and pretended the viſions were ſhewn him by angels, aſſerting a *millennium* of carnal pleaſures at Jeruſalem after the reſurrection; ſo that his Apocalypſe was plainly written in imitation of John's: and yet he lived ſo early, that ([b]) he reſiſted the apoſtles at Jeruſalem in or before the firſt year of Claudius, that is, 26 years before the death of Nero, and ([c]) died before John.

Age of the Apocalypſe.

[a] Apud Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 28. Edit. Valeſii.

[b] Epiphan. Hæreſ. 28.

[c] Hieron. adv. Lucif.

III. Theſe reaſons may ſuffice for determining the time; and yet there is one more, which to conſidering men may ſeem a good reaſon, to others not. I will propound it, and leave it to every man's judgment. The Apocalypſe ſeems to be alluded to in the epiſtles of Peter and that to the Hebrews, and therefore to have been written before them. Such alluſions in the epiſtles to the Hebrews, I take to be the diſcourſes concerning the high-prieſt in the heavenly tabernacle, who is both prieſt and

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king, as was Melchiſedec; and thoſe concerning the word of God, with the two-edged ſword; the σαββατισμὸς, or millennial reſt; the earth whoſe end is to be burned, ſuppoſe by the lake of fire; the judgment and fiery indignation which ſhall devour the adverſaries; the heavenly city which hath foundations whoſe builder and maker is God; the cloud of witneſſes, Mount Sion, heavenly Jeruſalem, general aſſembly, ſpirits of juſt men made perfect, viz. by the reſurrection, and the ſhaking of heaven and earth, and removing them, that the new heaven, new earth, and new kingdom which cannot be ſhaken, may remain. In the firſt of Peter ([a]) occur theſe: "The revelation of Jeſus "Chriſt," twice or thrice repeated; "([b]) the blood of Chriſt as "a Lamb foreordained before the foundation of the world;" "([c]) the ſpiritual building in heaven (1 Pet. ii. 5.) an inherit-"ance incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, "reſerved in heaven for us, who are kept unto the ſalvation, "ready to be revealed in the laſt time" (1 Pet. i. 4, 5.) ([d]) the royal prieſthood, ([e]) the holy prieſthood, ([f]) the judgment beginning at the houſe of God, and ([g]) the church at Babylon. Theſe are indeed obſcurer alluſions; but the ſecond epiſtle, from the 19th verſe of the firſt chapter to the end, ſeems to be a continued commentary upon the Apocalypſe. There, in writing to the churches in Aſia, to whom John was commanded to ſend this prophecy, he tells them, they "have a more ſure word of "prophecy, to be heeded by them, as a light that ſhineth in a "dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in their "hearts," that is, until they begin to underſtand it: for "no "prophecy," ſaith he, "of the ſcripture is of any private in-"terpretation; the prophecy came not in old time by the will "of man, but holy men of God ſpake, as they were moved by "the Holy Ghoſt." Daniel ([h]) himſelf profeſſes that he underſtood not his own Prophecies; and therefore the churches were not to expect the interpretation from their prophet John, but to ſtudy the prophecies themſelves. This is the ſubſtance of what Peter ſays in the firſt chapter; and then in the ſecond he proceeds to deſcribe, out of this ſure word of prophecy, how there ſhould ariſe in the church falſe prophets, or falſe teachers, expreſſed

[a] 1 Pet. i. 7, 13 iv. 13. & v. 1.
[b] Apoc. xiii. 8.
[c] Apoc. xxi.
[d] Apoc. i. 6. & v. 10.
[e] Apoc. xx. 6.
[f] Apoc. xx. 4, 12.
[g] Apoc. xvii.
[h] Dan. viii. 15, 16, 27. & xii. 8, 9.

preſſed collectively in the Apocalypſe by the name of the falſe prophet; who ſhould bring in damnable hereſies, even denying the Lord that bought them, which is the character of Antichriſt. And many, ſaith he, ſhall follow their luſts (a); [they that dwell on the earth (b) ſhall be deceived by the falſe prophet, and be made drunk with the wine of the Whore's fornication,] by reaſon of whom the way of truth ſhall be blaſphemed; [for (c) the beaſt is full of blaſphemy]: and through covetouſneſs ſhall they with feigned words make merchandize of you; [for theſe are the merchants of the earth, who trade with the great Whore, and their merchandize (d) is all things of price, with the bodies and ſouls of men]: whoſe judgment—lingereth not, and their damnation (e) ſlumbereth not, but ſhall ſurely come upon them at the laſt day ſuddenly, as the flood upon the old world, and fire and brimſtone upon Sodom and Gomorrha, when the juſt ſhall be delivered (f) like Lot; for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed [in the lake of fire]; but chiefly them that walk after the fleſh in the luſt of uncleanneſs, [(g) being made drunk with the wine of the Whore's fornication]; who deſpiſe dominion, and are not afraid to deſpiſe glories; [for the beaſt opened his mouth againſt God (h) to blaſpheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.] Theſe, as natural brute beaſts, [the ten-horned beaſt and two-horned beaſt, or falſe prophet], made to be taken and deſtroyed [in the lake of fire], blaſpheme the things they underſtand not:—they take pleaſure to riot in the day time—ſporting themſelves with their own deceivings, while they feaſt (i) with Chriſtians, having eyes full of an (k) adultereſs: [for the kingdoms of the beaſt live deliciouſly with the great Whore, and the nations are made drunk with the wine of her fornication.] They are gone aſtray, following the way of Balaam, the ſon of Beor, who loved the wages of unrighteouſneſs, [the falſe prophet (l)] who taught Balak to caſt a ſtumbling-block before the children of Iſrael. Theſe are [not fountains of living water, but] wells without water; [not ſuch clouds of ſaints as the two witneſſes aſcend in, but] clouds that are carried

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a ἀσέλγειαις, in many of the beſt MSS.

b Apoc. xiii. 7, 12.

c Apoc. xiii. 1, 5, 6.

d Apoc. xviii. 12, 13.

e Apoc. xix. 20.

f Apoc. xxi. 3, 4.

g Apoc. ix. 21. & xvii. 2.

h Apoc. xiii. 6.

i Apoc. xviii. 3, 7, 9.

k μοιχαλίδος.

l Apoc. ii. 14.

with a tempeſt, &c. Thus does the author of this epiſtle ſpend all the ſecond chapter in deſcribing the qualities of the Apocalyptic beaſts and falſe prophet: and then in the third he goes on to deſcribe their deſtruction more fully, and the future kingdom. He ſaith, that becauſe the coming of Chriſt ſhould be long deferred, they ſhould ſcoff; ſaying, where is the promiſe of his coming? Then he deſcribes the ſudden coming of the day of the Lord upon them, as a thief in the night, which is the Apocalyptic phraſe; and the milennium, or thouſand years, which are with God but as a day; the paſſing away of the old heavens and earth, by a conflagration in the lake of fire, and our looking for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs.

IV. Seeing therefore Peter and John were apoſtles of the circumciſion, it ſeems to me that they ſtaid with their churches in Judea and Syria till the Romans made war upon their nation; that is, till the twelfth year of Nero: that they then followed the main body of their flying churches into Aſia, and that Peter went thence by Corinth to Rome; that the Roman empire looked upon thoſe churches as enemies, becauſe Jews by birth; and therefore, to prevent inſurrections, ſecured their leaders, and baniſhed John into Patmos. It ſeems alſo probable to me, that the Apocalypſe was there compoſed; and that ſoon after, the epiſtle to the Hebrews and thoſe of Peter were written to theſe churches, with reference to this prophecy as a thing they were particularly concerned in. For it appears by theſe epiſtles, that they were written in times of general affliction and tribulation under the heathens; and by conſequence when the empire made war upon the Jews: for till then the heathens were at peace with the Chriſtian Jews, as well as with the reſt. The epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſince it mentions Timothy as related to thoſe Hebrews, muſt be written to them after their flight into Aſia, where Timothy was biſhop; and by conſequence after the war began, the Hebrews in Judea being ſtrangers to Timothy. Peter ſeems alſo to call Rome Babylon, as well with reſpect to the war made upon Judea, and the approaching captivity, like that under old Babylon; as with reſpect to that name in the Apocalypſe: and in

writing

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writing to the ſtrangers ſcattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia and Bithynia, he ſeems to intimate that they were the ſtrangers newly ſcattered by the Roman wars; for thoſe were the only ſtrangers there belonging to his care.

V. And this account of things agrees beſt with hiſtory duly rectified. For Juſtin ([a]) and Irenæus ([b]) ſay, that Simon Magus came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and exerciſed juggling tricks there. Pſeudo-Clemens adds, that he endeavoured there to fly, but broke his neck through the prayers of Peter. Whence Euſebius ([c]), or rather his interpolator Jerom, has recorded, that Peter came to Rome in the ſecond year of Claudius: but Cyril ([d]) biſhop of Jeruſalem, Philaſtrius, Sulpitius, Proſper, Maximus Taurinenſis, and Hegeſippus junior, place this victory of Peter in the time of Nero. Indeed the antienter tradition was, that Peter came to Rome in the days of this emperor; as may be ſeen in Lactantius ([e]). Chryſoſtom ([f]) tells us, that the apoſtles continued long in Judea; and that then, being driven out by the Jews, they went to the Gentiles. This diſperſion was in the firſt year of the Jewiſh war; when the Jews, as Joſephus tells us, began to be tumultuous and violent in all places. For all agree, that the apoſtles were diſperſed into ſeveral regions at once; and Origen ([g]) has ſet down the time; telling us, that in the beginning of the Judaic war, the apoſtles and diſciples of our Lord were ſcattered into all nations; Thomas into Parthia; Andrew into Scythia; John into Aſia; and Peter firſt into Aſia, where he preached to the diſperſion, and thence into Italy. Dionyſius Corinthius ([h]) ſaith, that Peter went from Aſia by Corinth to Rome; and all antiquity agree that Peter and Paul were martyred there in the end of Nero's reign. Mark went with Timothy to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11. Coloſſ. iv. 10.) Sylvanus was Paul's aſſiſtant; and by the companions of Peter, mentioned in his firſt epiſtle, we may know that he wrote from Rome; and antiquity generally agree, that in this epiſtle he underſtood Rome by Babylon. His ſecond epiſtle was writ to the ſame diſperſed ſtrangers with the firſt (2 Pet. iii. 1.) and therein he ſaith, that Paul had writ of the ſame things to them, and alſo in his other epiſtles (ver. 15, 16.) Now as there is no epiſtle of Paul

[a] Apol. ad Antonin. Pium.

[b] Hæreſ. l. 1, c. 20. Vide etiam Tertullianum, Apol. c. 13.

[c] Euſeb. Chron.

[d] Cyril. Catech. 6. Philaſtr. de hæreſ. cap. 30. Sulp. Hiſt. l. 2. Proſper de promiſſ. dimid. temp. cap. 13. Maximus ſerm. 5. in Natal. Apoſt. Hegeſip. l. 2. c. 2.

[e] Lactant. de mortib. Perſec. c. 2.

[f] Hom. 70. in Mart. c. 22.

[g] Apud Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 25.

[h] Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 25.

CHAPTER FIRST. to theſe ſtrangers beſides that to the Hebrews, ſo in this epiſtle (chap. x. 11, 12.) we find at large all thoſe things which Peter had been ſpeaking of, and refers to; particularly the paſſing away of the old heavens and earth, and eſtabliſhing an inheritance immoveable, with an exhortation to grace, becauſe God, to the wicked, "is a conſuming fire" (Heb. xii. 25, 26, 28, 29.)

VI. Having determined the time of writing the Apocalypſe, I need not ſay much about the truth of it; ſince it was in ſuch requeſt with the firſt ages, that many endeavoured to imitate it, by feigning Apocalypſes under the apoſtles names; and the apoſtles themſelves, as I have juſt now ſhewed, ſtudied it, and uſed its phraſes; by which means the ſtyle of the epiſtle to the Hebrews became more myſtical, than that of Paul's other epiſtles; and the ſtyle of John's goſpel more figurative and majeſtical, than that of the other goſpels. I do not find that Chriſt was called the Word of God, in any book of the New Teſtament written before the Apocalypſe; and therefore am of opinion, the language was taken from this prophecy, as were alſo many other phraſes in this goſpel, ſuch as thoſe of Chriſt's being "the "Light, which enlightens the world; the Lamb of God, which "taketh away the ſins of the world; the Bridegroom; he that "teſtifieth; he that came down from heaven; the Son of God, "&c." Juſtin Martyr, who within thirty years after John's death became a Chriſtian, writes expreſsly, that "a certain man "among the Chriſtians, whoſe name was John, one of the "twelve apoſtles of Chriſt, in the revelation which was ſhewed "him, propheſied, that thoſe who believed in Chriſt ſhould live "a thouſand years at Jeruſalem." And a few lines before he ſaith; "But I, and as many as are Chriſtians, in all things "right in their opinions, believe both that there ſhall be a re-"ſurrection of the fleſh, and a thouſand years life at Jeruſalem "built, adorned and enlarged." Which is as much as to ſay, that all true Chriſtians in that early age received this prophecy: for in all ages, as many as believed the thouſand years, received the Apocalypſe as the foundation of their opinion: and I do not know one inſtance to the contrary. Papias biſhop of Hierapolis,

polis, a man of the apoſtolic age, and one of John's own diſciples, did not only teach the doctrine of the thouſand years, but alſo ([a]) aſſerted the Apocalypſe as written by divine inſpiration. Melito, who flouriſhed next after Juſtin ([b]), wrote a commentary upon this prophecy; and he, being biſhop of Sardis, one of the ſeven churches, could neither be ignorant of their tradition about it, nor impoſe upon them. Irenæus, who was contemporary with Melito, wrote much upon it; and ſaid, that "the number 666 was in all the antient and approved copies; "and that he had it alſo confirmed to him, by thoſe who had "ſeen John face to face;" meaning, no doubt, his maſter Polycarp for one. At the ſame time Theophilus ([c]) biſhop of Antioch aſſerted it, and ſo did Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, ſoon after; and their contemporary Hippolytus the Martyr, Metropolitan of the Arabians ([d]), wrote a commentary upon it. All theſe were antient men, flouriſhing within a hundred and twenty years after John's death, and of greateſt note in the churches of thoſe times. Soon after did Victorinus Pictavienſis write another commentary upon it; and he lived in the reign of Diocleſian. This may ſurely ſuffice to ſhew, how the Apocalypſe was received and ſtudied in the firſt ages: and I do not indeed find any other book of the New Teſtament ſo ſtrongly atteſted, or commented upon ſo early as this. The prophecy ſaid: "Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words "of this prophecy, and keep the things which are written "therein." This animated the firſt Chriſtians to ſtudy it ſo much, till the difficulty made them remit, and comment more upon the other books of the New Teſtament. This was the ſtate of the Apocalypſe, till the thouſand years being miſunderſtood, brought a prejudice againſt it: and Dionyſius of Alexandria, by noting how it abounded with barbariſms, that is with Hebraiſms, promoted the prejudice ſo as to cauſe many Greeks in the fourth century to doubt of the book. But whilſt the Latins, and a great part of the Greeks, always retained the book, and the reſt doubted only out of prejudice; it makes nothing againſt its authority.

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[a] Arethas in Proœm. comment. in Apoc.

[b] Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 4. cap. 26. Hieron.

[c] Euſeb. Hiſt. l. 4. c. 24.

[d] Hieron.

VII. This

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VII. This prophecy is called the revelation, with reſpect to the ſcripture of truth, which Daniel ([a]) was commanded to ſhut up and ſeal, till the time of the end. Daniel ſealed it until the time of the end; and until that time comes, the Lamb is opening the ſeals: and afterwards the two witneſſes prophecy out of it a long time in ſack-cloth, before they aſcend up to heaven in a cloud. All which is as much as to ſay, that theſe prophecies of Daniel and John ſhould not be underſtood till the time of the end: but then ſome ſhould propheſy out of them in an afflicted and mournful ſtate for a long time, and that but darkly, ſo as to convert but few. But in the very end, the prophecy ſhould be ſo far interpreted as to convince many. "Then," ſaith Daniel, "many ſhall run to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be encreaſed." For the goſpel muſt be preached in all nations before the great tribulation, and end of the world. The palm-bearing multitude, which come out of this great tribulation, cannot be innumerable out of all nations, unleſs they be made ſo by the preaching of the goſpel before it comes. There muſt be a ſtone cut out of a mountain without hands, before it can fall upon the toes of the image, and become a great mountain and fill the earth. An angel muſt fly through the midſt of heaven, with the everlaſting goſpel, to preach to all nations; before Babylon falls, and the Son of Man reaps his harveſt. The two prophets muſt aſcend up to heaven in a cloud, before the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of Chriſt. It is therefore a part of this prophecy, that it ſhould not be underſtood before the laſt age of the world; and therefore it makes for the credit of the prophecy, that it is not yet underſtood. But if the laſt age, the age of opening theſe things, be now approaching, as by the great ſucceſſes of late interpreters it ſeems to be, we have more encouragement than ever to look into theſe things. If the general preaching of the goſpel be approaching, it is to us and our poſterity that thoſe words mainly belong ([b]): "In the time of the end the wiſe ſhall underſtand, but none of the wicked ſhall underſtand.—([c]) Bleſſed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep thoſe things which are written therein."

[a] Dan. x. 21. xii. 4, 9.

[b] Dan. xii. 4, 10.

[c] Apoc. i. 3.

The

VIII. The folly of interpreters hath been, to foretell times and things by this prophecy, as if God deſigned to make them prophets. By this raſhneſs they have not only expoſed themſelves, but brought the prophecy alſo into contempt. The deſign of God was much otherwiſe. He gave this, and the prophecies of the Old Teſtament, not to gratify mens' curioſities by enabling them to foreknow things; but that, after they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and his own Providence, not the interpreters, be then manifeſted thereby to the world. For the event of things, predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by Providence. For as the few and obſcure prophecies concerning Chriſt's firſt coming were for ſetting up the Chriſtian religion, which all nations have ſince corrupted; ſo the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Chriſt's ſecond coming, are not only for predicting, but alſo for effecting a recovery and re-eſtabliſhment of the long-loſt truth, and ſetting up a kingdom wherein dwells righteouſneſs. The event will prove the Apocalypſe; and this prophecy, thus proved and underſtood, will open the old prophets, and all together will make known the true religion, and eſtabliſh it. For he that will underſtand the old prophets, muſt begin with this; but the time is not yet come for underſtanding them perfectly, becauſe the main revolution predicted in them is not yet come to paſs. "In the days "of the voice of the ſeventh angel, when he ſhall begin to "ſound, the myſtery of God ſhall be finiſhed, as he hath de-"clared to his ſervants the prophets: and then the kingdoms of "this world ſhall become the kingdoms of our Lord and his "Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever" (Apoc. x. 7. xi. 15.) There is already ſo much of the prophecy filled, that as many as will take pains in this ſtudy, may ſee ſufficient inſtances of God's providence: but then the ſignal revolutions predicted by all the holy prophets, will at once both turn mens' eyes upon conſidering the predictions, and plainly interpret them. Till then we muſt content ourſelves with interpreting what hath been already fulfilled.

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IX. Amongſt the interpreters of the laſt age there is ſcarce one of note who hath not made ſome diſcovery worth knowing; and thence, it ſeems, one may gather that God is about opening theſe myſteries. The ſucceſs of others put me upon conſidering it; and if I have done any thing which may be uſeful to following writers, I have my deſign.

CHAP. II.

Of the relation which the Apocalypſe of John hath to the book of the Law of Moſes, and to the worſhip of God in the temple.

THE Apocalypſe of John is written in the ſame ſtyle and language with the prophecies of Daniel, and hath the ſame relation to them which they have to one another, ſo that all of them together make but one complete prophecy; and in like manner it conſiſts of two parts, an introductory prophecy, and an interpretation thereof.

II. The prophecy is diſtinguiſhed into ſeven ſucceſſive parts, by the opening of the ſeven ſeals of the book which Daniel was commanded to ſeal up: and hence it is called the Apocalypſe, or Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt. The time of the ſeventh ſeal is ſub-divided into eight ſucceſſive parts by the ſilence in heaven for half an hour, and the ſounding of ſeven trumpets ſucceſſively: and the ſeventh trumpet ſounds to the battle of the great day of God Almighty, whereby the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Chriſt; and thoſe are deſtroyed, that deſtroyed the earth.

III. The

III. The interpretation begins with the words, "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was ſeen in his temple the ark of his teſtament:" and it continues to the end of the prophecy. The temple is the ſcene of the viſions, and the viſions in the temple relate to the feaſt of the ſeventh month: for the feaſts of the Jews were typical of things to come. The paſſover related to the firſt coming of Chriſt, and the feaſts of the ſeventh month to his ſecond coming: his firſt coming being therefore over before this prophecy was given, the feaſts of the ſeventh month are here only alluded unto. SCENE OF THE VISIONS.

IV. On the firſt day of that month, in the morning, the high-prieſt dreſſed the lamps: and this is alluded unto in the firſt viſion; where the Son of Man, in the habit of the high-prieſt, appears in or over-againſt the midſt of the ſeven candleſticks, with ſeven ſtars in his right hand, which are the ſeven lamps, appearing like a rod of ſeven ſtars, as it were, in his right-hand, while he dreſſes them: and this dreſſing is performed by the ſending ſeven epiſtles to the angels of the ſeven churches, repreſented by the ſeven candleſticks. Theſe epiſtles contain admonitions againſt the approaching apoſtacy, and therefore relate to the times when the apoſtacy began to work ſtrongly, and before it prevailed. It began to work in the apoſtles days, and was to continue working till the man of ſin ſhould be revealed. It began to work in the diſciples of Simeon, Menander, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, and ſuch ſorts of men as had imbibed the metaphyſical philoſophy of the Gentiles and Cabaliſtical Jews, and were thence called Gnoſticks. John calls them Antichriſts, ſaying, that in his days there were many Antichriſts. But theſe being condemned by the apoſtles, and their immediate diſciples, put the churches in no danger during the opening of the firſt four ſeals. The viſions at the opening of theſe ſeals relate only to the civil affairs of the heathen Roman empire. So long the apoſtolic traditions prevailed, and preſerved the church in its purity: and therefore the affairs of the church do not begin to be conſidered in this prophecy before the opening of the fifth ſeal. She began then to decline, and to want admonitions; and therefore is

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admoniſhed by theſe epiſtles, till the apoſtacy prevailed and took place, which was at the opening of the ſeventh ſeal. The admonitions therefore in theſe ſeven epiſtles relate to the ſtate of the church in the times of the fifth and ſixth ſeals. At the opening of the fifth ſeal, the church is purged from hypocrites by a great perſecution. At the opening of the ſixth, that which letted is taken out of the way, namely, the heathen Roman empire. At the opening of the ſeventh, the man of ſin is revealed. And to theſe times the ſeven epiſtles relate.

V. The ſeven angels, to whom theſe epiſtles were written, anſwer to the ſeven Amarc-holim, who were prieſts and chief officers of the temple, and had jointly the keys of the gates of the temple, with thoſe of the treaſuries, and the direction, appointment, and overſight of all things in the temple.

VI. After the lamps were dreſſed, John ſaw the door of the temple opened; and by the voice as it were of a trumpet, was called up to the eaſtern gate of the great court, to ſee the viſions: "and behold a throne was ſet," viz. the mercy-ſeat upon the ark of the teſtament, which the Jews reſpected as the throne of God between the cherubims (Exod. xxv. 2. Pſal. xcix. 1.) "And he that ſat on it was to look upon like Jaſper and "Sardine ſtone," that is, of an olive colour, the people of Judea being of that colour. And, the ſun being then in the eaſt, "a "rainbow was about the throne;" the emblem of glory. "And "round about the throne were four and twenty ſeats;" anſwering to the chambers of the four and twenty princes of the prieſts, twelve on the ſouth ſide, and twelve on the north ſide of the prieſt's court. "And upon the ſeats were four and twenty elders "ſitting, clothed in white rayment, with crowns on their heads;" repreſenting the princes of the four and twenty courſes of the prieſts clothed in linen. "And out of the throne proceeded light-"enings, and thunderings, and voices," viz. the flaſhes of the fire upon the altar at the morning-ſacrifice, and the thundering voices of thoſe that ſounded the trumpets, and ſung at the eaſtern gate of the prieſts court; for theſe being between John and the throne appeared to him as proceeding from the throne. "And "there were ſeven lamps of fire burning [in the temple] before "the

"the throne, which are the ſeven ſpirits of God," or angels of the ſeven churches, repreſented in the beginning of this prophecy by ſeven ſtars. "And before the throne was a ſea of glaſs clear "as cryſtal;" the brazen ſea between the porch of the temple and the altar, filled with clear water. "And in the midſt of "the throne, and round about the throne, were four beaſts full "of eyes before and behind:" that is, one beaſt before the throne and one behind it, appearing to John as in the midſt of the throne, and one on either ſide in the circle about it, to repreſent by the multitude of their eyes the people ſtanding in the four ſides of the peoples' court. "And the firſt beaſt was "like a lion, and the ſecond was like a calf, and the third had "the face of a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle." The people of Iſrael in the wilderneſs encamped round about the tabernacle, and on the eaſt ſide were three tribes under the ſtandard of Judah, on the weſt were three tribes under the ſtandard of Ephraim, on the ſouth were three tribes under the ſtandard of Reuben, and on the north were three tribes under the ſtandard of Dan (Numb. ii.) And the ſtandard of Judah, was a Lion; that of Ephraim, an Ox; that of Reuben, a Man; and that of Dan, an Eagle; as the Jews affirm. Whence were framed the hieroglyphicks of Cherubims and Seraphims, to repreſent the people of Iſrael. A Cherubim had one body with four faces; the faces of a lion, an ox, a man, and an eagle, looking to the four winds of heaven, without turning about, as in Ezekiel's viſion, chap. i. And four Seraphims had the ſame four faces with four bodies, one face to every body. The four beaſts are therefore four Seraphims ſtanding in the four ſides of the people's court; the firſt in the eaſtern ſide with the head of a lion, the ſecond in the weſtern ſide with the head of an ox, the third in the ſouthern ſide with the head of a man, the fourth in the northern ſide with the head of an eagle: and all four ſignify together the twelve tribes of Iſrael, out of whom the hundred forty and four thouſand were ſealed (Apoc. vii. 4.) "And the four beaſts had each of them ſix wings," two to a tribe, in all twenty and four wings; anſwering to the twenty and four ſtations of the people. "And they were full of eyes

SCENE OF THE VISIONS.

CHAPTER SECOND. "within," or under their wings. "And they reſt not day and "night," or at the morning and evening ſacrifices, "ſaying, ho-"ly, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and "is to come." Theſe animals are therefore the Seraphims, which appeared to Iſaiah (a) in a viſion like this of the Apocalypſe. For there alſo the Lord ſat upon a throne in the temple; and the Seraphims each with ſix wings cried, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hoſts. "And when thoſe animals give glory and "honour and thanks to him that ſitteth upon the throne, who "liveth for ever and ever, the four and twenty elders [go into the "temple] and there fall down before him that ſitteth on the "throne, and worſhip him that liveth for ever and ever, and "caſt their crowns before the throne, ſaying, Thou art worthy, "O Lord, to receive glory and honour and power: for thou "haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they are and were "created." At the morning and evening ſacrifices, ſo ſoon as the ſacrifice was laid upon the altar, and the drink-offering began to be poured out, the trumpets ſounded, and the Levites ſang by courſe three times; and every time when the trumpets ſounded, the people fell down and worſhiped. Three times therefore did the people worſhip; to expreſs which number, the beaſts cry, holy, holy, holy: and the ſong being ended, the people prayed ſtanding, till the ſolemnity was finiſhed. In the mean time the prieſts went into the temple, and there fell down before him that ſat upon the throne, add worſhiped.

a Chap. vi.

VII. "And John ſaw, in the right hand of him that ſat upon the "throne, a book written within and on the backſide, ſealed with "ſeven ſeals," viz. the book which Daniel was commanded to ſeal up, and which is here repreſented by the prophetic book of the law laid up on the right ſide of the ark, as it were in the right hand of him that ſat on the throne: for the feſtivals and ceremonies of the law preſcribed to the people in this book, adumbrated thoſe things which were predicted in the book of Daniel; and the writing within and on the backſide of this book, relates to the ſynchronal prophecies. "(b) And none was "found worthy to open the book but the Lamb of God. And "lo, in the midſt of the throne and of the four beaſts, and in

" the midſt of the elders," that is, at the foot of the altar, Scene of the Visions.
" ſtood a lamb as it had been ſlain," the morning ſacrifice; " having ſeven horns," which are the ſeven churches, " and ſeven eyes, which are the ſeven ſpirits of God ſent forth into " all the earth. And he came, and took the book out of the " hand of him that ſat upon the throne: and when he had " taken the book, the four beaſts and four and twenty elders " fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, " and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of ſaints. " And they ſung a new ſong, ſaying, Thou art worthy to take " the book, and to open the ſeals thereof: for thou waſt ſlain, " and haſt redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kin" dred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and haſt made us, " unto our God, kings and prieſts, and we ſhall reign on the " earth." The beaſts and elders therefore repreſent the primitive Chriſtians of all nations; and the worſhip of theſe Chriſtians in their churches is here repreſented, under the form of worſhiping God and the Lamb in the temple: God for his benefaction in creating all things, and the Lamb for his benefaction in redeeming us with his blood: God as ſitting upon the throne and living for ever, and the Lamb as exalted above all by the merits of his death. "And I heard," ſaith John, " the " voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beaſts " and the elders: and the number of them was ten thouſand " times ten thouſand, and thouſands of thouſands; ſaying with " a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain to receive " power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and " glory, and bleſſing. And every creature which is in heaven, " and on the earth, and under the earth, and ſuch as are in the " ſea, and all that are in them, heard I, ſaying, Bleſſing, ho" nour, glory, and power, be unto him that ſitteth upon the " throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. And the four " beaſts ſaid, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down " and worſhiped him that liveth for ever and ever." This was the worſhip of the primitive Chriſtians.

VIII. It was the cuſtom for the high-prieſt, ſeven days before the faſt of the ſeventh month, to continue conſtantly in the temple,

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ple, and ſtudy the book of the law, that he might be perfect in it againſt the day of expiation; wherein the ſervice, which was various and intricate, was wholly to be performed by himſelf; part of which ſervice was reading the law to the people: and to promote his ſtudying it, there were certain prieſts appointed by the Sanhedrim to be with him thoſe ſeven days in one of his chambers in the temple, and there to diſcourſe with him about the law, and read it to him, and put him in mind of reading and ſtudying it himſelf. And this his opening and reading the law thoſe ſeven days, is alluded unto in the Lamb's opening the ſeals. Conceive that thoſe ſeven days begin in the evening before each day) for the Jews began their day in the evening) and that the ſolemnity of the faſt begins in the morning of the ſeventh day.

IX. The ſeventh ſeal was therefore opened on the day of expiation, and then "there was ſilence in heaven for half an hour. "And an angel [the high-prieſt] ſtood at the altar, having a "golden cenſer; and there was given him much incenſe, that "he ſhould offer it with the prayers of all ſaints, upon the "golden altar which was before the throne." The cuſtom was on other days, for one of the prieſts to take fire from the great altar in a ſilver cenſer; but on this day, for the high-prieſt to take fire from the great altar in a golden cenſer: and when he was come down from the great altar, he took incenſe from one of the prieſts who brought it to him, and went with it to the golden altar: and while he offered the incenſe, the people prayed without in ſilence, which is the ſilence in heaven for half an hour. When the high-prieſt had laid the incenſe on the altar, he carried a cenſer of it burning in his hand, into the moſt holy place before the ark. "And the ſmoke of the incenſe, with the "prayers of the ſaints, aſcended up before God out of the an"gel's hand." On other days there was a certain meaſure of incenſe for the golden altar: on this day there was a greater quantity for both the altar and the moſt holy place, and therefore it is called much incenſe. After this "the angel took the cen"ſer, and filled it with fire from the great altar, and caſt it into "the earth; that is, by the hands of the prieſts who belong to "his

his myſtical body, he caſt it to the earth without the temple, for burning the goat which was the Lord's lot. "And [at this "and other concomitant ſacrifices, until the evening-ſacrifice "was ended] there were voices, and thunderings, and lighten-"ings, and an earthquake;" that is, the voice of the high-prieſt reading the law to the people, and other voices and thunderings from the trumpets and temple-muſick at the ſacrifices, and lightenings from the fire of the altar.

SCENE OF THE VISIONS.

X. The ſolemnity of the day of expiation being finiſhed, the ſeven angels ſound their trumpets at the great ſacrifices of the ſeven days of the feaſt of tabernacles; and at the ſame ſacrifices, the ſeven thunders utter their voices; which are the muſick of the temple, and ſinging of the Levites, intermixed with the ſoundings of the trumpets: and the ſeven angels pour out their vials of wrath, which are the drink-offerings of thoſe ſacrifices.

XI. When ſix of the ſeals were opened, John ſaid: "And af-"ter theſe things ([a])," that is, after the viſions of the ſixth ſeal, "I ſaw four angels ſtanding on the four corners of the earth, "holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind ſhould not "blow on the earth, nor on the ſea, nor on any tree. And I "ſaw another angel aſcending from the Eaſt, having the ſeal of "the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four an-"gels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the ſea, ſay-"ing, Hurt not the earth, nor the ſea, nor the trees, till we "have ſealed the ſervants of our God in their foreheads." This ſealing alludes to a tradition of the Jews, that upon the day of expiation all the people of Iſrael are ſealed up in the books of life and death. For the Jews in their Talmud ([b]) tell us, that in the beginning of every new year, or firſt day of the month Tiſri, the ſeventh month of the ſacred year, three books are opened in judgment; the book of life, in which the names of thoſe are written who are perfectly juſt; the book of death, in which the names of thoſe are written who are atheiſts, or very wicked; and a third book, of thoſe whoſe judgment is ſuſpended till the day of expiation, and whoſe names are not written in the book of life or death before that day. The firſt ten

[a] Apoc. vii.

[b] Buxtorf in Synagogâ Judaicâ, c. 18, 21.

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days of this month they call the penitential days; and all theſe days they faſt and pray very much, and are very devout, that on the tenth day their ſins may be remitted, and their names may be written in the book of life; which day is therefore called the day of expiation. And upon this tenth day, in returning home from the ſynagogues, they ſay to one another, "God the Crea-"tor ſeal you to a good year." For they conceive that the books are now ſealed up, and that the ſentence of God remains unchanged henceforward to the end of the year. The ſame thing is ſignified by the two goats, upon whoſe foreheads the high-prieſt yearly, on the day of expiation, lays the two lots inſcribed, "For God, and For Azazel;" God's lot ſignifying the people who are ſealed with the name of God in their foreheads; and the lot Azazel, which was ſent into the wilderneſs, repreſenting thoſe who receive the mark and name of the beaſt, and go into the wilderneſs with the great Whore.

XII. The ſervants of God being therefore ſealed in the day of expiation, conceive that this ſealing is ſynchronal to the viſions which appear upon opening the ſeventh ſeal; and that when the Lamb had opened ſix of the ſeals, and ſeen the viſions relating to the inſide of the ſixth, he looked on the backſide of the ſeventh leaf, and then ſaw "the four angels holding the "four winds of heaven, and another angel aſcending from the "Eaſt with the ſeal of God." Conceive alſo, that the angels which held the four winds were the firſt four of the ſeven angels, who upon opening the ſeventh ſeal were ſeen ſtanding before God; and that upon their holding the winds, there was ſilence in heaven for half an hour; and that while the ſervants of God were ſealing, the angel with the golden cenſer offered their prayers with incenſe upon the golden altar, and read the law: and that ſo ſoon as they were ſealed, the winds hurt the earth at the ſounding of the firſt trumpet, and the ſea at the ſounding of the ſecond; theſe winds ſignifying the wars, to which the firſt four trumpets ſounded. For as the firſt four ſeals are diſtinguiſhed from the three laſt, by the appearance of four horſe-men towards the four winds of heaven; ſo the wars of the firſt four trumpets are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the

three

three laſt, by repreſenting theſe by four winds, and the others by three great woes. SCENE OF THE VISIONS.

XIII. In one of Ezekiel's viſions, when the Babylonian captivity was at hand, "ſix men appeared with ſlaughter-weapons; and "a ſeventh ([a]), who appeared among them clothed in white "linen and a writer's ink-horn by his ſide, is commanded to go "through the midſt of Jeruſalem, and ſet a mark upon the "foreheads of the men that ſigh and cry for all the abomina-"tions done in the midſt thereof." And then the ſix men, like the angels of the firſt ſix trumpets, are commanded to ſlay thoſe men who are not marked. Conceive therefore that the hundred forty and four thouſand are ſealed, to preſerve them from the plagues of the firſt ſix trumpets; and that at length, by the preaching of the everlaſting goſpel, they grow into a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people and tongues: and at the ſounding of the ſeventh trumpet come out of the great tribulation with palms in their hands: the kingdoms of this world, by the war to which that trumpet ſounds, becoming the kingdoms of God and his Chriſt. For the ſolemnity of the great Hoſannah was kept by the Jews upon the ſeventh or laſt day of the feaſt of tabernacles; the Jews upon that day carrying palms in their hands, and crying Hoſannah.

XIV. After ſix of the angels, anſwering to the ſix men with ſlaughter-weapons, had ſounded their trumpets; the Lamb, in the form of a mighty angel, came down from heaven clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the ſun, and his feet as pillars of fire, the ſhape in which Chriſt appeared in the beginning of this prophecy; and he had in his hand a little book open, the book which he had newly opened; for he received but one book from him that ſitteth upon the throne, and he alone was worthy to open and look on this book. "And he ſet his right foot upon the ſea, "and his left foot on the earth, and cried with a loud voice, as "when a lion roared." It was the cuſtom for the high-prieſt on the day of expiation, to ſtand in an elevated place in the people's court, at the eaſtern gate of the prieſts court, and read the law

to the people, while the heifer and the goat, which was the Lord's lot, were burning without the temple. We may therefore ſuppoſe him ſtanding in ſuch a manner, that his right foot may appear to John as it were ſtanding on the ſea of glaſs, and his left foot on the ground of the houſe; and that he cried with a loud voice, in reading the law on the day of expiation. "And "when he had cried, ſeven thunders uttered their voices." Thunders are the voice of a cloud, and a cloud ſignifies a multitude; and this multitude may be the Levites, who ſang with thundering voices, and played with muſical inſtruments at the great ſacrifices, on the ſeven days of the feaſt of tabernacles: at which times the trumpets alſo ſounded. For the trumpets ſounded, and the Levites ſang alternately, three times at every ſacrifice. The prophecy therefore of the ſeven thunders is nothing elſe than a repetition of the prophecy of the ſeven trumpets in another form. "And the angel which I ſaw ſtand upon the ſea and up- "on the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, and ſware by him "that liveth for ever and ever, that after the ſeven thunders "there ſhould be time no longer; but in the days of the voice "of the ſeventh angel, when he ſhall begin to ſound, the myſ- "tery of God ſhould be finiſhed, as he hath declared to his ſer- "vants the prophets." The voices of the thunders therefore laſt to the end of this world, and ſo do thoſe of the trumpets.

XV. "And the voice which I heard from heaven," ſaith John, "ſpoke unto me again and ſaid, Go and take the little book, &c. "And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it "up; and it was in my mouth ſweet as honey, and as ſoon as I "had eaten it, my belly was bitter. And he ſaid unto me, "Thou muſt propheſy again before many people's, and nations, "and tongues, and kings." This is an introduction to a new prophecy, to a repetition of the prophecy of the whole book; and alludes to Ezekiel's eating a roll or book ſpread open before him, and written within and without, full of lamentations and mourning and woe, but ſweet in his mouth. Eating and drinking ſignify acquiring and poſſeſſing; and eating the book is becoming inſpired with the prophecy contained in it. It implies being inſpired, in a vigorous and extraordinary manner, with the prophecy

prophecy of the whole book, and therefore ſignifies a lively repetition of the whole prophecy by way of interpretation, and begins not till the firſt prophecy, that of the ſeals and trumpets, is ended. It was ſweet in John's mouth; and therefore begins not with the bitter prophecy of the Babylonian captivity, and the Gentiles being in the outward court of the temple, and treading the holy city under foot, and the propheſying of the two witneſſes in ſackcloth, and their ſmiting the earth with all plagues, and being killed by the beaſt: but ſo ſoon as the prophecy of the trumpets is ended, it begins with the ſweet prophecy of the glorious Woman in heaven, and the victory of Michael over the dragon; and after that, it is bitter in John's belly, by a large deſcription of the times of the great apoſtacy. SCENE OF THE VISIONS.

XV. "And the angel ſtood upon the earth and ſea, ſaying, "Riſe and meaſure the temple of God and the altar, and them "that worſhip therein;" that is, their courts with the buildings thereon, viz. the ſquare court of the temple called the ſeparate place, and the ſquare court of the altar called the prieſts court, and the court of them that worſhip in the temple called the new court: "But the [great] court which is without the temple leave "out, and meaſure it not, for it is given to the Gentiles, and "the holy city ſhall they tread under foot forty and two months." This meaſuring hath reference to Ezekiel's meaſuring the temple of Solomon. There the whole temple, including the outward court, was meaſured, to ſignify that it ſhould be rebuilt in the latter days: here the courts of the temple and altar, and they who worſhip therein, are only meaſured, to ſignify the building of a ſecond temple, for thoſe that are ſealed out of all the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and worſhip in the inward court of ſincerity and truth: but John is commanded to leave out the outward court, or outward form of religion and church-government, becauſe it is given to the Babylonian Gentiles. For the glorious woman in heaven, the remnant of whoſe ſeed kept the commandments of God, and had the teſtimony of Jeſus, continued the ſame woman in outward form after her flight into the wilderneſs, whereby ſhe quitted her former ſincerity and piety, and became the great whore. She loſt her chaſtity, but kept her

her outward form and ſhape. And while the Gentiles tread the holy city under foot, and worſhip in the outward court, the two witneſſes, repreſented perhaps by the two feet of the angel ſtanding on the ſea and earth, propheſied againſt them, and "had power," like Elijah and Moſes, "to conſume their enemies "with fire proceeding out of their mouth, and to ſhut heaven, "that it rain not in the days of their prophecy, and to turn the "waters into blood, and to ſmite the earth with all plagues as "often as they will;" that is, with the plagues of the trumpets and vials of wrath; and at length they are ſlain, riſe again from the dead, and aſcend up to heaven in a cloud; and then the ſeventh trumpet ſounds to the day of judgment.

XVII. The prophecy being finiſhed, John is inſpired anew by the eaten book, and begins the interpretation thereof with theſe words: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and "there was ſeen in his temple the ark of the teſtament." By the ark, we may know that this was the firſt temple; for the ſecond temple had no ark. "And there were lightenings, and "voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail." Theſe anſwer to the wars in the Roman empire, during the reign of the four horſemen, who appeared upon opening the firſt four ſeals. "And there appeared a great wonder in hea-"ven, a woman clothed with the ſun." In the prophecy, the affairs of the church begin to be conſidered at the opening of the fifth ſeal; and in the interpretation, they begin at the ſame time with the viſion of the church in the form of a woman in heaven: there ſhe is perſecuted, and here ſhe is pained in travail. The interpretation proceeds down firſt to the ſealing of the ſervants of God, and marking the reſt with the mark of the beaſt; and then to the day of judgment, repreſented by a harveſt and vintage. Then it returns back to the times of opening the ſeventh ſeal, and interprets the prophecy of the ſeven trumpets by the pouring out of ſeven vials of wrath. The angels who pour them out, come out of the temple of the tabernacle; that is, out of the ſecond temple, for the tabernacle had no outward court. Then it returns back again to the times of meaſuring the temple and altar, and of the Gentiles worſhiping

in the outward court, and of the beaſt killing the witneſſes in the ſtreets of the great city; and interprets theſe things by the viſion of a woman ſitting on the beaſt, drunken with the blood of the ſaints; and proceeds in the interpretation downwards to the fall of the great city and the day of judgment.

XVIII. The whole prophecy of the book, repreſented by the book of the law, is therefore repeated, and interpreted in the viſions which follow thoſe of ſounding the ſeventh trumpet, and begin with that of the temple of God opened in heaven. Only the things, which the ſeven thunders uttered, were not written down, and therefore not interpreted.

CHAP. III.

Of the relation which the prophecy of John hath to thoſe of Daniel; and of the ſubject of the prophecy.

THE whole ſcene of ſacred prophecy is compoſed of three principal parts: the regions beyond Euphrates, repreſented by the two firſt beaſts of Daniel; the empire of the Greeks on this ſide of Euphrates, repreſented by the Leopard and by the He-Goat; and the empire of the Latins on this ſide of Greece, repreſented by the beaſt with ten horns. And to theſe three parts, the phraſes of the third part of the earth, ſea, rivers, trees, ſhips, ſtars, ſun, and moon, relate. I place the body of the fourth beaſt on this ſide of Greece, becauſe the three firſt of the four beaſts had their lives prolonged after their dominion was taken away, and therefore belong not to the body of the fourth. He only ſtamped them with his feet.

II. By

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II. By the earth, the Jews underſtood the great continent of all Aſia and Africa, to which they had acceſs by land: and by the iſles of the ſea, they underſtood the places to which they ſailed by ſea, particularly all Europe: and hence in this prophecy the earth and ſea are put for the nations of the Greek and Latin empires.

III. The third and fourth beaſts of Daniel are the ſame with the Dragon and ten-horned Beaſt of John, but with this difference: John puts the dragon for the whole Roman empire, while it continued entire; becauſe it was entire when that prophecy was given: and the beaſt he conſiders not, till the empire became divided: and then he puts the dragon for the empire of the Greeks, and the beaſt for the empire of the Latins. Hence it is, that the dragon and beaſt have common heads and common horns: but the dragon hath crowns only upon his heads, and the beaſt only upon his horns; becauſe the beaſt and his horns reigned not before they were divided from the dragon: and when the dragon gave the beaſt his throne, the ten horns received power as kings, the ſame hour with the beaſt. The heads are ſeven ſucceſſive kings. Four of them were the four horſemen, which appeared at the opening of the firſt four ſeals. In the latter end of the ſixth head, or ſeal, conſidered as preſent in the viſions, it is ſaid, five of the ſeven kings are fallen, and one is, and another is not yet come; and the beaſt that was and is not, being wounded to death with a ſword, he is the eighth, and of the ſeven: he was therefore a collateral part of the ſeventh. The horns are the ſeven with thoſe of Daniel's fourth beaſt, deſcribed above.

IV. The four horſemen which appear at the opening of the firſt four ſeals, have been well explained by Mr. Mede; excepting that I had rather continue the third to the end of the reign of the three Gordians and Philip the Arabian, thoſe being kings from the South; and begin the fourth with the reign of Decius, and continue it till the reign of Diocleſian. For the fourth horſeman "ſat upon a pale horſe, and his name was death; "and hell followed with him; and power was given them to "kill unto the fourth part of the earth, with the ſword, and

"with famine, and with the plague, and with the beaſts of the "earth," or armies of invaders and rebels: and ſuch were the times during all this interval. Hitherto the Roman empire continued in an undivided monarchical form, except rebellions; and ſuch it is repreſented by the four horſemen. But Diocleſian divided it between himſelf and Maximianus, A. C. 285; and it continued in that divided ſtate till the victory of Conſtantine the Great over Licinius, A. C. 323, which put an end to the heathen perſecutions ſet on foot by Diocleſian and Maximianus, and deſcribed at the opening of the fifth ſeal. But this diviſion of the empire was imperfect, the whole being ſtill under one and the ſame ſenate. The ſame victory of Conſtantine over Licinius, a heathen perſecutor, began the fall of the heathen empire, deſcribed at the opening of the ſixth ſeal: and the viſions of this ſeal continue till after the reign of Julian the apoſtate, he being a heathen emperor, and reigning over the whole Roman empire.

APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.

V. The affairs of the church begin to be conſidered at the opening of the fifth ſeal, as was ſaid above. Then ſhe is repreſented by a "woman in [the temple of] heaven, clothed with "the ſun [of righteouſneſs] and the moon [of Jewiſh ceremonies] "under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve ſtars ([a])," relating to the twelve apoſtles and to the twelve tribes of Iſrael. When ſhe fled from the temple into the wilderneſs, ſhe left in the temple a "remnant of her ſeed, who kept the command-"ments of God, and had the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt ([b]);" and therefore before her flight ſhe repreſented the true primitive church of God, though afterwards ſhe degenerated like Aholah and Aholibah. In Diocleſian's perſecution "ſhe cried, travelling "in birth, and pained to be delivered ([c])." And in the end of that perſecution, by the victory of Conſtantine over Maxentius, A. C. 312, "ſhe brought forth a man-child, ſuch a child as was to "rule all nations with a rod of iron, [a Chriſtian empire.] And "her child, [by the victory of Conſtantine over Licinius, A. C. "323] was caught up unto God and to his throne. And the wo-"man [by the diviſion of the Roman empire into the Greek and "Latin empires] fled [from the firſt temple] into the wilderneſs ([d]),"

[a] Apoc. xii. 1.
[b] Apoc. xii. 17.
[c] Apoc. xii. 2.
[d] Apoc. xii. 5. 6.

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or ſpiritually barren empire of the Latins, where ſhe is found afterwards ſitting upon the beaſt ([a]) and upon the ſeven mountains ([b]); and is called the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth ([c]); that is, over the ten kings who give their kingdom to her beaſt.

[a] Apoc. xvii. 3.
[b] ——— 9.
[c] ——— 18.

VI. But before her flight there was war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, the Chriſtian and the heathen religions; and the dragon, "that old ſerpent, called the Devil and Satan, "who deceiveth the whole world, was caſt out to the earth, and "his angels were caſt out with him. And John heard a voice "in heaven, ſaying, Now is come ſalvation and ſtrength, and "the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Chriſt: for "the accuſer of our brethren is caſt down.—And they over-"came him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of "their teſtimony. And they loved not their lives unto the "death. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in "them. Woe be to the inhabitants of the earth and ſea [or "people of the Greek and Latin empires] for the devil is come "down amongſt you, having great wrath, becauſe he knoweth "that he hath but a ſhort time ([d])."

[d] Apoc. xii. 7—12.

VII. And when the dragon ſaw that he was caſt down from the Roman throne, and the man-child caught up thither, "he perſe-"cuted the woman which brought forth the man-child;" and to her, by the diviſion of the Roman empire between the cities of Rome and Conſtantinople, A. C. 330, "were given two wings of a "great eagle," the ſymbol of the Roman empire, "that ſhe might "flee [from the firſt temple] into the wilderneſs of Arabia, to her "place [at Babylon myſtically ſo called]." ([e]) And the ſerpent [by the diviſion of the ſame empire between the ſons of Conſtantine the Great, A. C. 337,] "caſt out of his mouth water as a flood [the "Weſtern empire] after the woman; that he might cauſe her to "be carried away by the flood. And the earth [or Greek em-"pire] helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and ſwallowed "up the flood ([f]), [by the victory of Conſtantius over Magnen-"tius, A. C. 353,] and thus the beaſt was wounded to death with "a ſword. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, [in the "reign of Julian the apoſtate, A. C. 361,] and [by a new diviſion "of

“ of the empire between Valentinian and Valens, A. C. 364,] went Apoca-
“ from her [into the Eaſtern empire] to make war with the remnant lypse compared
“ of her ſeed,” ([a]) which ſhe left behind her when ſhe fled: and with Daniel.
thus the beaſt revived. By the next diviſion of the empire, which
was between Gratian and Theodoſius, A. C. 379, “ the beaſt with
“ ten horns roſe out of the ſea ([b]), and the beaſt with two horns out
“ of the earth ([c]):” and by the laſt diviſion thereof, which was
between the ſons of Theodoſius, A. C. 395, “ the dragon gave the
“ beaſt his power and throne, and great authority.” ([d]) And the ten
horns “ received power as kings, the ſame hour with the beaſt ([e]).”

[a] Apoc. xii. 17.
[b] Apoc. xiii. 1.
[c] Apoc. xiii. 11.
[d] Apoc. xiii. 2.
[e] Apoc. xvii. 12.

VIII. At length the woman arrived at her place of temporal as well as ſpiritual dominion upon the back of the beaſt, where ſhe is nouriſhed a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the ſerpent; not in his kingdom, but at a diſtance from him. She is nouriſhed by the merchants of the earth, three times or years and an half, or 42 months, or 1260 days: and in theſe prophecies days are put for years. During all this time the beaſt acted, and ſhe ſat upon him; that is, reigned over him, and over the ten kings who gave their power and ſtrength, that is, their kingdom to the beaſt; and ſhe was drunken with the blood of the ſaints. By all theſe circumſtances ſhe is the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth beaſt, who reigned with a look more ſtout than his fellows, and was of a different kind from the reſt, and had eyes and a mouth like the woman; and made war with the ſaints, and prevailed againſt them, and wore them out, and thought to change times and laws, and had them given into his hand, until a time, and times, and half a time. The characters of the woman, and little horn of the beaſt, agree perfectly. In reſpect to her temporal dominion, ſhe was a horn of the beaſt; in reſpect of her ſpiritual dominion, ſhe rode upon him in the form of a woman, and was his church, and committed fornication with the ten kings.

IX. The ſecond beaſt, which roſe up out of the earth, was the church of the Greek empire: for it had two horns like thoſe of the Lamb, and therefore was a church; and it ſpake as the dragon, and therefore was of his religion; and it roſe up out of the earth, and by conſequence in his kingdom. It is called alſo

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the falſe prophet that wrought miracles before the firſt beaſt, by which he deceived them that received his mark, and worſhiped his image ([a]). When the dragon went from the woman to make war with the remnant of her ſeed; this beaſt, ariſing out of the earth, aſſiſted in that war, and cauſed the earth and them which dwell thereon to worſhip the authority of the firſt beaſt, whoſe mortal wound was healed, and to make an image to him; that is, to aſſemble a body of men like him in point of religion. And he had power to give life and authority to the image, ſo that it could both ſpeak, and by dictating, cauſe that all religious bodies of men, who could not worſhip the authority of the image, ſhould be myſtically killed. "And he cauſeth all men "to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead, "and that no man might buy or ſell ſave he that had the mark, "or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name ([b]);" all the reſt being excommunicated by the beaſt with two horns. And his mark is ✠✠✠, and his name ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ, and the number of his name 666 ([c]).

[a] Apoc. xix. 20.

[b] Apoc. xiii. 16, 17.

[c] —— 18.

X. Thus the beaſt, after he was wounded to death with a ſword and revived, was deified; as the heathens uſed to deify their kings after death; and had an image erected to him; and his worſhipers were initiated in this new religion, by receiving the mark or name of this new god, or the number of his name. By killing all that will not worſhip him and his image, the firſt temple, illuminated by the lamps of the ſeven churches, is demoliſhed, and a new temple built for them who will not worſhip him; and the outward court of this new temple, or outward form of a church, is given to the Gentiles, who worſhip the beaſt and his image: while they who will not worſhip him, are ſealed with the name of God in their foreheads, and retire into the inward court of this new temple. Theſe are the 144000 ſealed out of all the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and called the two Witneſſes, as being derived from the two wings of the woman while ſhe was flying into the wilderneſs, and repreſented by two of the ſeven candleſticks. Theſe appear to John in the inward court of the ſecond temple, ſtanding on Mount Sion with the Lamb, and as it were on the ſea of glaſs. Theſe are the ſaints

of

of the moſt High, and the hoſt of heaven, and the holy people ſpoken of by Daniel, as worn out and trampled under foot, and deſtroyed in the latter times by the little horns of his fourth Beaſt and He-Goat.

APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.

XI. And while the Gentiles tread the holy city under foot, God gives power to his two Witneſſes, and they prophecy a thouſand two hundred and threeſcore days clothed in ſackcloth. They are called the two olive-trees, with relation to the two olive-trees, which in Zechary's viſion (chap. iv.) ſtand on either ſide of the golden candleſtick to ſupply the lamps with oil: and olive-trees, according to the apoſtle Paul, repreſent churches (Rom. xi.) They ſupply the lamps with oil, by maintaining teachers. They are alſo called two candleſticks; and candleſticks in this prophecy ſignify churches, the ſeven churches of Aſia being repreſented by ſeven candleſticks. Five of theſe churches were found faulty, and threatened if they did not repent; the other two were without fault; and ſo their candleſticks were fit to be placed in the ſecond temple. Theſe were the churches in Smyrna and Philadelphia. They were in a ſtate of tribulation and perſecution, and the only two of the ſeven in ſuch a ſtate: and ſo their candleſticks were fit to repreſent the churches in affliction in the times of the ſecond temple, and the only two of the ſeven that were fit. The two Witneſſes are not new churches: they are the poſterity of the primitive church, the poſterity of the two wings of the woman, and ſo are fitly repreſented by two of the primitive candleſticks. We may conceive therefore, that when the firſt temple was deſtroyed, and a new one built for them who worſhip in the inward court, two of the ſeven candleſticks were placed in this new temple.

XII. The affairs of the church are not conſidered during the opening of the firſt four ſeals. They begin to be conſidered at the opening of the fifth ſeal, as was ſaid above; and are further conſidered at the opening of the ſixth ſeal; and the ſeventh ſeal contains the times of the great apoſtacy. And therefore I refer the epiſtles to the ſeven churches unto the times of the fifth and ſixth ſeals: for they relate to the church when ſhe be-

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gan to decline, and contain admonitions againſt the great apoſtacy then approaching.

XIII. When Euſebius had brought down his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory to the reign of Diocleſian, he thus deſcribes the ſtate of the church: " *Qualem quantamque gloriam ſimul ac libertatem doctrina veræ erga ſupremum Deum pietatis à Chriſto primùm hominibus annunciata, apud omnes Græcos pariter & barbaros ante perſecutionem noſtrâ memoriâ excitatam, conſecuta ſit, nos certè pro merito explicare non poſſumus. Argumento eſſe poſſit Imperatorum benignitas erga noſtros: quibus regendas etiam provincias committebant, omni ſacrificandi metu eos liberantes ob ſingularem, qua in religionem noſtram affecti erant, benevolentiam.*" And a little after: " *Jam vero quis innumerabilem hominum quotidie ad fidem Chriſti confugientium turbam, quis numerum eccleſiarum in ſingulis urbibus, quis illuſtres populorum concurſus in ædibus ſacris, cumulatè poſſit deſcribere? Quo factum eſt, ut priſcis ædificiis jam non contenti, in ſingulis urbibus ſpatioſas ab ipſis fundamentis exſtruerent eccleſias. Atque hæc progreſſu temporis increſcentia, & quotidie in majus & melius proficiſcentia, nec livor ullus atterere, nec malignitas dæmonis faſcinare, nec hominum inſidiæ probibere unquam potuerunt, quamdiu omnipotentis Dei dextra populum ſuum, utpote tali dignum præſidio, texit atque cuſtodiit. Sed cùm ex nimiâ libertate in negligentiam ac deſidiam prolapſi eſſemus; cùm alter alteri invidere, atque obtrectare cæpiſſet; cùm inter nos quaſi bella inteſtina gereremus, verbis, tanquam armis quibuſdam haſtiſque, nos mutuò vulnerantes; cùm antiſtites adverſus antiſtites, populi in populos colliſi, jurgia ac tumultus agitarent; denique cùm fraus & ſimulatio ad ſummum malitiæ culmen adoleviſſet: tum divina ultio, levi brachio ut ſolet, integro adhuc eccleſiæ ſtatu, & fidelium turbis liberè convenientibus, ſenſim ac moderatè in nos cæpit animadvertere; orſâ primum perſecutione ab iis qui militabant. Cùm verò, ſenſu omni deſtituti, de placando Dei numine ne cogitaremus quidem; quin potius, inſtar impiorum quorundam, res humanas nullâ providentiâ gubernari rati, alia quotidie crimina aliis adjiceremus: cùm paſtores noſtri, ſpretâ religionis regulâ, mutuis inter ſe contentionibus decertarent, nihil aliud quàm jurgia, minas, æmula-*

"*tionem, odia, ac mutuas inimicitias amplificare ſtudentes; prin-* APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.
"*cipatum quaſi tyrannidem quandam contentiſſimè ſibi vindicantes:*
"*tunc demum juxta dictum Hieremiæ, obſcuravit Dominus in irâ*
"*ſuâ filiam Sion, & dejecit de cælo gloriam Iſrael,—per Eccleſiarum ſcilicet ſubverſionem, &c.*" This was the ſtate of the church juſt before the ſubverſion of the churches in the beginning of Diocleſian's perſecution: and to this ſtate of the church agrees the firſt of the ſeven epiſtles to the angel of the ſeven churches, that to the church in Epheſus. "([a]) I have ſomething againſt thee," ſaith Chriſt to the angel of that church, "becauſe thou haſt left thy firſt love. Remember therefore "from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt "works; or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove "thy candleſtick out of its place, except thou repent. But this "thou haſt, that thou hateſt the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which "I alſo hate." The Nicolaitans are the *Continentes* above deſcribed, who placed religion in abſtinence from marriage, abandoning their wives if they had any. Theſe are here called Nicolaitans from Nicolas, one of the ſeven deacons of the primitive church of Jeruſalem; who having a beautiful wife, and being taxed with uxorious neſs, abandoned her, and permitted her to marry whom ſhe pleaſed, ſaying that we muſt diſuſe the fleſh; and thenceforward lived a ſingle life in continency, as his children alſo. But the *Continentes* afterwards embraced the doctrine of Æons and ghoſts, male and female, and were avoided by the churches till the fourth century; and the church of Epheſus is here commended for hating their deeds.

[a] Apoc. ii. 4.

XIV. The perſecution of Diocleſian began in the year of Chriſt 302, and laſted ten years in the Eaſtern empire, and two years in the Weſtern. To this ſtate of the church the ſecond epiſtle, to the church of Smyrna, agrees. "([b]) I know," ſaith Chriſt, "thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, but thou art rich; "and I know the blaſphemy of them, which ſay they are Jews "and are not, but are the ſynagogue of Satan. Fear none of "thoſe things which thou ſhalt ſuffer: Behold, the Devil ſhall "caſt ſome of you into priſon, that ye may be tried; and ye "ſhall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death,

[b] Apoc. ii. 9, 10.

"and

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"and I will give thee a crown of life." The tribulation of ten days can agree to no other perſecution than that of Diocleſian, it being the only perſecution which laſted ten years. By the blaſphemy of them which ſay they are Jews and are not, but are the ſynagogue of Satan, I underſtand the idolatry of the Nicolaitans, who falſely ſaid they were Chriſtians.

XV. The Nicolaitans are complained of alſo in the third epiſtle ([a]), as men that held the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to caſt a ſtumbling-block before the children of Iſrael, to eat things ſacrificed to idols, and to commit ſpiritual fornication. For Balaam taught the Moabites and Midianites to tempt and invite Iſrael by their women to commit fornication, and to feaſt with them at the ſacrifices of their gods ([b]). The dragon therefore began now to come down among the inhabitants of the earth and ſea.

[a] Apoc. ii. 14.

[b] Numb. xxv. 1, 2, 18, and xxxvi. 16.

XVI. The Nicolaitans are alſo complained of in the fourth epiſtle, under the name of the woman Jezabel, who calleth herſelf a propheteſs, to teach and to ſeduce the ſervants of Chriſt to commit fornication, and to eat things ſacrificed to idols ([c]). The woman therefore began now to fly into the wilderneſs.

[c] Apoc. ii. 20.

XVII. The reign of Conſtantine the Great from the time of his conquering Licinius, was monarchical over the whole Roman empire. Then the empire became divided between the ſons of Conſtantine: and afterwards it was again united under Conſtantius, by his victory over Magnentius. And to the affairs of the church in theſe three ſucceſſive periods of time, the third, fourth, and fifth epiſtles, that is, thoſe to the angels of the churches in Pergamus, Thyatira, and Sardis, ſeem to relate. The next emperor was Julian the apoſtate.

XVIII. In the ſixth epiſtle, that to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, Chriſt ſaith: "([d]) Becauſe [in the reign of the "heathen emperor Julian] thou haſt kept the word of my pati- "ence, I alſo will keep thee from the hour of temptation," which by the woman's flying into the wilderneſs, and the dragon's making war with the remnant of her ſeed, and the killing of all who will not worſhip the image of the beaſt, "ſhall "come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the "earth,"

[d] Apoc. iii. 10, 12.

"earth," and to diſtinguiſh them by ſealing the one with the name of God in their foreheads, and marking the other with the mark of the beaſt. "Him that overcometh, I will make a "pillar in the temple of my God; and he ſhall go no more out "of it. And I will write upon him the name of my God in "his forehead." So the Chriſtians of the church of Philadelphia, as many of them as overcome, are ſealed with the ſeal of God, and placed in the ſecond temple, and go no more out. The ſame is to be underſtood of the church in Smyrna, which alſo kept the word of God's patience, and was without fault. Theſe two churches, with their poſterity, are therefore the two pillars, and the two candleſticks, and the two witneſſes in the ſecond temple.

APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.

XIX. After the reign of the emperor Julian, and his ſucceſſor Jovian, who reigned but five months, the empire became again divided between Valentinian and Valens. Then the church catholick, in the epiſtle to the angel of the church of Laodicea, is reprehended as lukewarm, and threatened to be ſpewed out of Chriſt's mouth ([a]). She ſaid, that ſhe was "rich and in-"creaſed with goods, and had need of nothing [being in out-"ward proſperity]; and knew not that ſhe was [inwardly] wretch-"ed, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked." She is therefore ſpewed out of Chriſt's mouth at the opening of the ſeventh ſeal: and this puts an end to the times of the firſt temple.

[a] Apoc. iii. 16, 17.

XX. About one half of the Roman empire turned Chriſtians in the time of Conſtantine the Great and his ſons. After Julian had opened the temples, and reſtored the worſhip of the heathens, the emperors Valentinian and Valens tolerated it all their reign; and therefore the prophecy of the ſixth ſeal was not fully accompliſhed before the reign of their ſucceſſor Gratian. It was the cuſtom of the heathen prieſts, in the beginning of the reign of every ſovereign emperor, to offer him the dignity and habit of *Pontifex Maximus*. This dignity all emperors had hitherto accepted: but Gratian rejected it, threw down the idols, interdicted the ſacrifices, and took away their revenues with their ſalaries and authority of the prieſts. Theo-

CHAPTER THIRD. doſius the Great followed his example; and heatheniſm afterwards recovered itſelf no more, but decreaſed ſo faſt, that Prudentius, about ten years after the death of Theodoſius, called the heathens, "*vix pauca ingenia, & pars hominum rariſſima.*" Whence the affairs of the ſixth ſeal ended with the reign of Valens, or rather with the beginning of the reign of Theodoſius; when he, like his predeceſſor Gratian, rejected the dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*. For the Romans were very much infeſted by the invaſions of foreign nations in the reign of Valentinian and Valens: "*Hoc tempore,*" faith Ammianus, "*velut* "*per univerſum orbem Romanum bellicum canentibus buccinis,* "*excitæ gentes ſæviſſimæ limites ſibi proximos perſultabant: Gal*"*lias Rhætiaſque ſimul Alemanni populabantur: Sarmatæ Panno*"*nias, & Quadi: Picti, Saxones, & Scoti & Attacotti Britannos* "*ærumnis vexavere continuis: Auſtoriani, Mauricæque aliæ gen*"*tes Africam ſolito acrius incurſabant: Thracias diripiebant præ*"*datorii globi Gotthorum: Perſarum Rex manus Armeniis injec*"*tabat.*" And whilſt the emperors were buſy in repelling theſe enemies, the Hunns and Alans and Goths came over the Danube in two bodies, overcame and ſlew Valens, and made ſo great a ſlaughter of the Roman army, that Ammianus ſaith: "*Nec* "*ulla Annalibus præter Cannenſem ita ad internecionem res legi*"*tur geſta.*" Theſe wars were not fully ſtopt on all ſides till the beginning of the reign of Theodoſius, A.C. 379 and 380: but thenceforward the empire remained quiet from foreign armies, till his death, A.C. 395. So long the four winds were held: and ſo long there was ſilence in heaven. And the ſeventh ſeal was opened when this ſilence began ([a]).

[a] Apoc. viii. 1.

XXI. Mr. Mede hath explained the prophecy of the firſt ſix trumpets not much amiſs: but if he had obſerved, that the prophecy of pouring out the vials of wrath is ſynchronal to that of ſounding the trumpets, his explanation would have been yet more complete.

XXII. The name of Woes ([b]) is given to the wars to which the three laſt trumpets ſound, to diſtinguiſh them from the wars of the four firſt. The ſacrifices on the firſt four days of the feaſt of tabernacles, at which the four firſt trumpets ſound, and the firſt four

[b] Apoc. viii. 13.

four vials of wrath are poured out, are ſlaughters in four great wars; and theſe wars are repreſented by four winds ([a]) from the four corners of the earth. The firſt was an eaſt wind, the ſecond a weſt wind, the third a ſouth wind, and the fourth a north wind; with reſpect to the city of Rome, the metropolis of the old Roman empire. Theſe four plagues fell upon the third ([b]) part of the earth, ſea, rivers, ſun, moon, and ſtars; that is, upon the earth, ſea, rivers, ſun, moon, and ſtars, of the third part of the whole ſcene of theſe prophecies of Daniel and John.

APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.

[a] Apoc. vii. 1.

[b] Apoc. viii. 7—12.

XXIII. The plague of the eaſtern wind at the ſounding of the firſt trumpet, was to fall upon the earth ([c]); that is, upon the nations of the Greek empire. Accordingly, after the death of Theodoſius the Great, the Goths, Sarmatians, Hunns, Iſaurians, and Auſtorian Moors invaded and miſerably waſted Greece, Thrace, Aſia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Illyricum, for ten or twelve years together.

[c] Apoc. viii. 7.

XXIV. The plague of the weſtern wind at the ſounding of the ſecond trumpet, was to fall upon the Sea ([d]), or Weſtern empire, by means of a great mountain burning with fire caſt into it, and turning it to blood. Accordingly in the year 407, that empire began to be invaded by the Viſigoths, Vandals, Alans, Sueves, Burgundians, Oſtrogoths, Heruli, Quadi, Gepides; and by theſe wars it was broken into ten kingdoms, and miſerably waſted: and Rome itſelf, the burning mountain, was beſieged and taken by the Oſtrogoths in the beginning of theſe miſeries.

[d] Apoc. viii. 8, 9.

XXV. The plague of the ſouthern wind at the ſounding of the third trumpet, was to cauſe "a great ſtar ([e]), burning as it were a "lamp, to fall from heaven upon the rivers and fountains of wa-"ters [the Weſtern empire now divided into many kingdoms,] and "to turn them to wormwood and blood, and make them bitter." Accordingly Genſeric, the king of the Vandals and Alans in Spain, A. C. 427, invaded Africa with an army of eighty thouſand men; and ſeating himſelf in Africa, invaded the Moors, and made war upon the Romans, there and on the ſea-coaſts of Europe, for fifty years together, almoſt without intermiſſion, taking Hippo A. C. 431, and Carthage the capital of Africa A. C. 439. And,

[e] Apoc. viii. 10, 11.

Chapter Third.

A. C. 455, with a numerous fleet containing three hundred thouſand Vandals and Moors, he invaded Italy, took and plundered Rome, Naples, Capua, and many other cities; and carried thence the wealth of the cities and flower of the people into Africa: and the next year, A. C. 456, he rent all Africa from the empire, expelling the Romans. Then they invaded and took the iſlands of the Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, Ebuſus, Majorca, Minorca, &c. and Ricimer beſieged the emperor Anthemius in Rome, took the city, and gave his ſoldiers the plunder, A. C. 472. The Viſigoths about the ſame time ejected the Romans out of Spain: and now the Weſtern emperor, the great ſtar which fell from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, having by all theſe wars gradually loſt almoſt all his dominions, was invaded, and conquered in one year by Odoacer king of the Heruli, A. C. 476. After this the Moors revolted, A. C. 477, and weakened the Vandals by ſeveral wars, and took Mauritania from them. Theſe wars continued till the Vandals were invaded and conquered by Beliſarius, A. C. 534; and by all theſe wars Africa was almoſt depopulated, as Procopius repreſents; who reckons, that above five millions of men periſhed in them. When the Vandals firſt invaded Africa, that country was very populous, conſiſting of about 700 biſhopricks; which were more than were in all France, Spain, and Italy together: but by the wars between the Vandals, Romans, and Moors, it was depopulated to that degree, that Procopius tells us, it was next to a miracle for a traveller to ſee a man.

XXVI. In pouring out the third vial it is ſaid: "Thou art righ-"teous, O Lord,—becauſe thou haſt judged thus: for they have "ſhed the blood of thy ſaints and prophets, and thou haſt given "them blood to drink, for they are worthy (a)." How they ſhed the blood of ſaints, may be underſtood by the following edict of the emperor Honorius, procured by four biſhops ſent to him by a council of African biſhops, who met at Carthage 14 June, A. C. 410,

a Apoc. xvi. 5, 6.

"Impp.

"*Impp. Honor. & Theod. AA. Heracliano Com. Afric.*

APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.

"*Oraculo penitus remoto, quo ad ritus ſuos hæreticæ ſuperſti-*
"*tionis obrepſerant, ſciant omnes ſanctæ legis inimici, plectendos*
"*ſe pœnâ & proſcriptionis & ſanguinis, ſi ultrà convenire per*
"*publicum, execrandâ ſceleris ſui temeritate temptaverint. Dat.*
viii. Kal. Sept. Varano V. C. Conſ. A. C. 410."

Which edict was five years after fortified by the following.

Impp. Honor. & Theod. AA. Heracliano Com. Afric.

"*Sciant cuncti, qui ad ritus ſuos hæreſis ſuperſtitionibus obrep-*
"*ſerant, ſacroſanctæ legis inimici, plectendos ſe pœnâ & proſcrip-*
"*tionis & ſanguinis, ſi ultrà convenire per publicum exercendi ſce-*
"*leris ſui temeritate temptaverint: nequâ vera divinaque reve-*
"*rentia contagione temeretur. Dat. viii. Kal. Sept. Honorio x. &*
"*Theod. vi. AA. Coſſ. A. C.* 415."

XXVII. Theſe edicts, being directed to the governor of Africa, extended only to the Africans. Before theſe there were many ſevere ones againſt the Donatiſts, but they did not extend to blood. Theſe two were the firſt which made their meetings, and the meetings of all Diſſenters, capital: for by Hereticks in theſe edicts are meant all Diſſenters, as is manifeſt by the following againſt Eureſius, a Luciferan biſhop.

"*Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA. Aureliano Proc. Africæ.*

"*Hæreticorum vocabulo continentur, & latis adverſus eos ſanc-*
"*tionibus debent ſuccumbere, qui, vel levi argumento, à judicio Ca-*
"*tholicæ religionis & tramite detecti fuerint deviare: ideoque ex-*
"*perientia tua Eureſium hæreticum eſſe cognoſcat. Dat. iii. Non.*
Sept. Conſtantinop. Olybrio & Probino Coſſ. A. C. 395."

XXVIII. The Greek emperor Zeno adopted Theoderic king of the Oſtrogoths to be his ſon, made him maſter of the horſe and Patricius, and conſul of Conſtantinople; and recommending to him the Roman people and ſenate, gave him the Weſtern empire, and ſent him into Italy againſt Odoacer king of the Heruli.

Theoderic

Theoderic thereupon led his nation into Italy, conquered Odoacer, and reigned over Italy, Sicily, Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Liburnia, Iſtria, and part of Suevia, Pannonia and Gallia. Whence Ennodius ſaid, in a panegyric to Theoderic: "*Ad limitem ſuum Romana regna remeaſſe.*" Theoderic reigned with great prudence, moderation and felicity; treated the Romans with ſingular benevolence; governed them by their own laws, and reſtored their government under their ſenate and conſuls, he himſelf ſupplying the place of emperor, without aſſuming the title. "*Ita ſibi parentibus,*" ſaith Procopius, "*ut verè Imperatori conveniens decus nullum ipſi abeſſet: Juſtitiæ magnus ei cultus, legumque diligens cuſtodia: terras à vicinis barbaris ſervavit intactas, &c.*" Whence I do not reckon the reign of this king amongſt the plagues of the four winds.

XXIX. The plague of the northern wind, at the founding of the fourth trumpet, was to cauſe the ſun, moon, and ſtars, that is, the king, kingdom and princes of the Weſtern empire, to be darkened, and to continue ſome time in darkneſs ([a]). Accordingly Beliſarius, having conquered the Vandals, invaded Italy, A. C. 535, and made war upon the Oſtrogoths in Dalmatia, Liburnia, Venetia, Lombardy, Tuſcany, and other regions northward from Rome, twenty years together. In this war many cities were taken and retaken. In retaking Millan from the Romans, the Oſtrogoths ſlew all the males young and old, amounting, as Procopius reckons, to three hundred thouſand, and ſent the women captives to their allies the Burgundians. Rome itſelf was taken and retaken ſeveral times, and thereby the people were thinned; the old government by a ſenate ceaſed; the nobles were ruined; and all the glory of the city was extinguiſhed: and, A. C. 552, after a war of ſeventeen years, the kingdom of the Oſtrogoths fell; whoſe kings had been her huſband and her ſon; yet the remainder of the Oſtrogoths, and an army of Germans called in to their aſſiſtance, continued the war three or four years longer. Then enſued a war of the Heruli, who, as Anaſtaſius tells us, "*perimebant cunctam Italiam,*" ſlew all Italy. This was followed by the war of the Lombards, the fierceſt of all the Barbarians, which began A. C. 568, and laſted thirty-eight years together; "*factâ tali*

"*clade,*

[a] Apoc. viii. 12.

" *clade*," ſaith Anaſtaſius, " *qualem à ſæculo nullus meminit.*" APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.
It ended in the papacy of Sabinian, A. C. 605, by a laſting peace then made with the Lombards. Three years before it ended, Gregory the Great, then biſhop of Rome, thus ſpeaks of it: " *Qualiter enim & quotidianis gladiis & quantis Longobardorum incurſionibus, ecce jam per triginta quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere vocibus ſuggeſtionis valemus.*" And in one of his ſermons to the people, he thus expreſſes the great preſumption of the Romans by theſe wars: " *Ex illâ plebe innumerabili quanti remanſeritis aſpicitis; & tamen adhuc quotidie flagella urgent, repentini caſus opprimunt, novæ res & improviſæ clades affligunt.*" In another ſermon he thus deſcribes the deſolations: " *Deſtructæ urbes, everſa ſunt caſtra, depopulati agri, in ſolitudinem terra redacta eſt. Nullus in agris incola, pene nullus in urbibus habitator remanſit. Et tamen ipſæ parvæ generis humani reliquiæ adhuc quotidiè & ſine ceſſatione feriuntur, & finem non habent flagella cœleſtis juſtitiæ. Ipſa autem, quæ aliquando mundi Domina eſſe videbatur, qualis remanſit Roma, conſpicimus, innumeris doloribus multipliciter attrita, deſolatione civium, impreſſione hoſtium, frequentiâ ruinarum.—Ecce jam de illâ omnes hujus ſæculi potentes ablati ſunt.—Ecce populi defecerunt.—Ubi enim Senatus? Ubi jam populus? Contabuerunt oſſa, conſumptæ ſunt carnes. Omnis enim ſæcularium dignitatum ordo extinctus eſt, & tamen ipſos nos paucos, qui remanſimus, adhuc quotidiè gladii, adhuc quotidiè innumeræ tribulationes premunt.—Vacua jam ardet Roma. Quid autem iſta de hominibus dicimus? Cùm, ruinis crebreſcentibus, ipſa quoque deſtrui ædificia videmus. Poſtquam defecerunt homines, etiam parietes cadunt. Jam ecce deſolata, ecce contrita, ecce gemitibus oppreſſa eſt, &c.*" All this was ſpoken by Gregory to the people of Rome, who were witneſſes of the truth of it. Thus by the plagues of the four winds, the empire of the Greeks was ſhaken, and the empire of the Latins fell; and Rome remained nothing more than the capital of a poor dukedom, ſubordinate to Ravenna, the ſeat of the exarchs.

XXX. The fifth trumpet ſounded to the wars, which the king of the South, as he is called by Daniel, made in the time of the

CHAPTER THIRD.

end, in puſhing at the king who did according to his will. This plague began with the opening of the bottomleſs pit ([a]), which denotes the letting out of a falſe religion: the ſmoke which came out of the pit, ſignifying the multitude which embraced that religion; and the locuſts which came out of the ſmoke, the armies which came out of that multitude. This pit was opened, to let out ſmoke and locuſts into the regions of the four monarchies, or ſome of them. The king of theſe locuſts was the angel of the bottomleſs pit, being chief governor as well in religious as civil affairs, ſuch as was the caliph of the Saracens. Swarms of locuſts often ariſe in Arabia Fœlix, and from thence infeſt the neighbouring nations: and ſo are a very fit type of the numerous armies of Arabians invading the Romans. They began to invade the Romans A. C. 634, and to reign at Damaſcus A. C. 637. The built Bagdat A. C. 766, and reigned over Perſia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Africa and Spain. They afterwards loſt Africa to Mahades, A. C. 910; Media, Hircania, Choraſan, and all Perſia, to the Dailamites, between the years 927 and 935; Meſopotamia and Miafarekin to Naſiruddaulas, A. C. 930; Syria and Egypt to Achsjid, A. C. 935; and now being in great diſtreſs, the caliph of Bagdad, A. C. 936, ſurrendered all the reſt of his temporal power to Mahomet, the ſon of Rajici, king of Waſit in Chaldea, and made him emperor of emperors. But Mahomet within two years loſt Bagdad to the Turks; and thenceforward Bagdad was ſometimes in the hands of the Turks, and ſometimes in the hands of the Saracens; till Togrul-beig, called alſo Togra, Dogriſſa, Tangrolipix, and Sadoc, conquered Choraſan and Perſia; and, A. C. 1055, added Bagdad to his empire, making it the ſeat thereof. His ſucceſſors Olub-Arſlan and Melechſchah, conquered the regions upon Euphrates; and theſe conqueſts, after the death of Melechſchah, brake into the kingdoms of Armenia, Meſopotamia, Syria, and Cappadocia. The whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damaſcus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 to the year 936 incluſive. Now locuſts live but five months; and therefore, for

[a] Apoc. ix. 2.

for the decorum of the type, theſe locuſts are ſaid to hurt men five months ([a]) and five months, as if they had lived about five months at Damaſcus, and again about five months at Bagdad; in all ten months, or 300 prophetic days, which are years.

APOCALYPSE COMPARED WITH DANIEL.

[a] Apoc. ix. 5.

XXXI. The ſixth trumpet ſounded to the wars, which Daniel's king of the North made againſt the king above-mentioned, who did according to his will. In theſe wars the king of the North, according to Daniel, conquered the empire of the Greeks, and alſo Judea, Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia: and by theſe conqueſts the empire of the Turks was ſet up, as may be known by the extent thereof. Theſe wars commenced A. C. 1258; when the four kingdoms of the Turks ſeated upon Euphrates, that of Armenia Major ſeated at Miyapharekin, Megarkin or Martyropolis, that of Meſopotamia ſeated at Moſul, that of all Syria ſeated at Aleppo, and that of Cappadocia ſeated at Iconium, were invaded by the Tartars under Hulacu, and driven into the weſtern parts of Aſia Minor, where they made war upon the Greeks, and began to erect the preſent empire of the Turks. Upon the ſounding of the ſixth trumpet, "John "([b]) heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar "which is before God, ſaying to the ſixth angel which had the "trumpet, Looſe the four angels which are bound at the great "river Euphrates. And the four angels were looſed, which "were prepared for an hour and a day, and a month and a "year, for to ſlay the third part of men." By the four horns of the golden altar, is ſignified the ſituation of the head cities of the ſaid four kingdoms, Miyapharekin, Moſul, Aleppo, and Iconium, which were in a quadrangle. They ſlew the third part of men, when they conquered the Greek empire, and took Conſtantinople, A. C. 1453, and they began to be prepared for this purpoſe, when Olub-Arſlan began to conquer the nations upon Euphrates, A. C. 1063. The interval is called an hour and a day, and a month and a year, or 391 prophetic days, which are years. In the firſt thirty years, Olub-Arſlan

[b] Apoc. ix. 13, &c.

and Melechſchah conquered the nations upon Euphrates, and reigned over the whole. Melechſchah died A. C. 1092, and was ſucceeded by a little child; and then this kingdom broke into the four kingdoms above-mentioned.

ADVER-

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The laſt pages of theſe obſervations having been differently drawn up by the Author in another copy of his work; they are here inſerted as they follow in that copy, after the 35th line of the 454th page foregoing.

AND none was found worthy to open the book till the Lamb of God appeared; the great high-prieſt repreſented by a lamb ſlain at the foot of the altar in the morning-ſacrifice. "And he came, and took the book out of him "that ſat upon the throne." For the high-prieſt, in the feaſt of the ſeventh month, went into the moſt holy place, and took the book of the law out of the right ſide of the ark, to read it to the people: and in order to read it well, he ſtudied it ſeven days, that is, upon the fourth, fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth and tenth days, being attended by ſome of the prieſts to hear him perform. Theſe ſeven days are alluded to, by the Lamb's opening the ſeven ſeals ſucceſſively.

Upon the tenth day of the month, a young bullock was offered for a ſin-offering for the high-prieſt, and a goat for a ſin-offering for the people: and lots were caſt upon two goats to determine which of them ſhould be God's lot for the ſin-offering; and the other goat was called Azazel, the ſcape-goat. The high-prieſt in his linen-garments, took a cenſer full of burning coals of fire from the altar, his hand being full of ſweet incenſe beaten ſmall; and went into the moſt holy place within

the veil, and put the incenſe upon the fire, and ſprinkled the blood of the bullock with his finger upon the mercy-ſeat, and before the mercy-ſeat ſeven times: and then he killed the goat which fell to God's lot, for a ſin-offering for the people, and brought his blood within the veil, and ſprinkled it alſo ſeven times upon the mercy-ſeat and before the mercy-ſeat. Then he went out to the altar, and ſprinkled it alſo ſeven times with the blood of the bullock, and as often with the blood of the goat. After this " he laid both his hands upon the head of the live " goat; and confeſſed over him all the iniquities of the children " of Iſraël, and all their tranſgreſſions in all their ſins, putting " them upon the head of the goat; and ſent him away into the " wilderneſs by the hands of a fit man: and the goat bore upon " him all their iniquities into a land not inhabited" (Levit. chap. iv. and chap. xvi.) While the high-prieſt was doing theſe things in the moſt holy place and at the altar, the people continued at their devotion quietly and in ſilence. Then the high-prieſt went into the holy place, put off his linen garments, and put on other garments; then came out, and ſent the bullock and the goat of the ſin-offering to be burnt without the camp, with fire taken in a cenſer from the altar: and as the people returned home from the temple, they ſaid one to another, " God ſeal you to a " good new year."

In alluſion to all this, " when he had opened the ſeventh " ſeal, there was ſilence in heaven about the ſpace of half an " hour. And an angel ſtood at the altar having a golden cenſer, " and there was given unto him much incenſe, that he ſhould " offer it with the prayers of all ſaints, upon the golden altar " which was before the throne. And the ſmoke of the incenſe " with the prayers of the ſaints aſcended up before God out of " the angel's hand. And the angel took the cenſer, and filled " it with fire of the altar, and caſt it to the earth ([a]);" ſuppoſe without the camp, for ſacrificing the goat which fell to God's lot. For the high-prieſt being Chriſt himſelf, the bullock is omitted. At this ſacrifice there were voices and thunderings, of the muſick of the temple, and lightenings of the ſacred fire, and an earthquake: and ſynchronal to theſe things was the

[a] Apoc. viii. 1—5.

ſealing of the 144000 out of all the twelve tribes of the children of Iſrael with the ſeal of God in their foreheads ([a]), while the reſt of the twelve tribes received the mark of the beaſt ([b]), and the woman fled from the temple into the wilderneſs ([c]) to her place upon this beaſt. For this ſealing and marking was repreſented by caſting lots upon the two goats, ſacrificing God's lot on mount Sion, and ſending the ſcape-goat into the wilderneſs loaden with the ſins of the people.

[a] Apoc. vii. 3, &c.
[b] Apoc. xiii. 16.
[c] Apoc. xii. 6.

Upon the fifteenth day of the month, and the ſix following days, there were very great ſacrifices. And in alluſion to the ſounding of trumpets, and ſinging with thundering voices, and pouring out drink-offerings at thoſe ſacrifices, ſeven trumpets are ſounded, and ſeven thunders utter their voices, and ſeven vials of wrath are poured out. Wherefore the ſounding of the ſeven trumpets, the voices of the ſeven thunders, and the pouring out of the ſeven vials of wrath, are ſynchronal; and relate to one and the ſame diviſion of the time of the ſeventh ſeal following the ſilence, into ſeven ſucceſſive parts. The ſeven days of this feaſt were called the feaſt of tabernacles; and during theſe ſeven days the children of Iſrael dwelt in booths, and rejoiced with palm-branches in their hands. To this alludes the multitude with palms in their hands, which appeared after the ſealing of the 144000 ([d]), and came out of the great tribulation with triumph at the battle of the great day, to which the ſeventh trumpet ſounds. The viſions therefore of the 144000, and of the palm-bearing multitude, extend to the ſounding of the ſeventh trumpet, and therefore are ſynchronal to the times of the ſeventh ſeal.

[d] Apoc. vii. 9.

When the 144000 are ſealed out of all the twelve tribes of Iſrael, and the reſt receive the mark of the beaſt, and thereby the firſt temple is deſtroyed; John is bidden to "meaſure the "temple and altar [that is, their courts], and them that worſhip "therein, [that is, the 144000 ſtanding on mount Sion and on "the ſea of glaſs]: but the court that is without the temple [that "is, the peoples' court], to leave out and meaſure it not, becauſe "it is given to the Gentiles [thoſe who receive the mark of the "beaſt]; and the holy city they ſhall tread under foot forty and

"two

[a] Apoc. xi. 1, 2. "two months ([a])," that is, all the time that the beaſt acts under the woman Babylon: and the two witneſſes propheſy 1260 days,
[b] —— 3. that is, all the ſame time, clothed in ſackcloth ([b]). "Theſe have "power [like Elijah] to ſhut heaven that it rain not [at the ſounding of the firſt trumpet]; and [like Moſes] to turn the waters "into blood [at the ſounding of the ſecond]; and to ſmite the "earth with all plagues [thoſe of the trumpets] as often as they
[c] Apoc. xi. 6. "will ([c])." Theſe propheſy at the building of the ſecond temple, like Haggai and Zechary. Theſe are the two olive-trees ([d]), or churches, which ſupplied the lamps with oil (Zech. iv.) Theſe are the two candleſticks, or churches, ſtanding before the God
[d] Apoc. xi. 4. of the earth ([d]). Five of the ſeven churches of Aſia, thoſe in proſperity, are found fault with, and exhorted to repent, and threatened to be removed out of their places, or ſpewed out of Chriſt's mouth, or puniſhed with the ſword of Chriſt's mouth, except they repent: the other two, the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia, which were under perſecution, remain in a ſtate of perſecution, to illuminate the ſecond temple. When the primitive church catholick, repreſented by the woman in heaven, apoſtatized, and became divided into two corrupt churches, repreſented by the whore of Babylon and the two-horned beaſt, the 144000 who were ſealed out of all the twelve tribes, became the two witneſſes, in oppoſition to thoſe two falſe churches: and the name of two witneſſes once impoſed, remains to the true church of God in all times and places to the end of the prophecy.

In the interpretation of this prophecy, the woman in heaven clothed with the ſun, before ſhe flies into the wilderneſs, repreſents the primitive church catholick, illuminated with the ſeven lamps in the ſeven golden candleſticks, which are the ſeven churches of Aſia. The dragon ſignifies the ſame empire with Daniel's he-goat in the reign of his laſt horn, that is, the whole Roman empire, until it became divided into the Greek and Latin empires; and all the time of that diviſion it ſignifies the Greek empire alone: and the beaſt is Daniel's fourth beaſt, that is, the empire of the Latins. Before the diviſion of the Roman empire into the Greek and Latin empires, the beaſt is included

included in the body of the dragon; and from the time of that diviſion, the beaſt is the Latin empire only. Hence the dragon and beaſt have the ſame heads and horns; but the heads are crowned upon the dragon, and the horns upon the beaſt. The horns are ten kingdoms, into which the beaſt becomes divided preſently after his ſeparation from the dragon, as hath been deſcribed above. The heads are ſeven ſucceſſive dynaſties, or parts, into which the Roman empire becomes divided by the opening of the ſeven ſeals. Before the woman fled into the wilderneſs ([a]), "ſhe being with child [of a Chriſtian empire], cried "travelling, [viz. in the ten years perſecution of Diocleſian] and "pained to be delivered: and the dragon [the heathen Roman "empire] ſtood before her, to devour her child as ſoon as it was "born. And ſhe brought forth a man child, who at length "was to rule all nations with a rod of iron. And her child was "caught up unto God, and to his throne [in the temple, by the "victory of Conſtantine the Great over Maxentius:] and the "woman fled [from the temple] into the wilderneſs of Arabia to "Babylon, where ſhe hath a place [of riches and honour and "dominion, upon the back of the beaſt,] prepared of God, that "they ſhould feed her there 1260 days. And there was war in "heaven, [between the heathens under Maximinus and the new "Chriſtian empire;] and the great dragon was caſt out, that "old ſerpent which deceiveth the whole world [the ſpirit of hea"then idolatry;] he was caſt out [of the throne] into the earth. "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by "the word of their teſtimony; and they loved not their lives "unto the death.

[a] Apoc. xii.

"And when the dragon ſaw that he was caſt unto the "earth, he perſecuted the woman which brought forth the man "child," ſtirring up a new perſecution againſt her in the reign of Licinius. "And to the woman [by the building of Conſtantinople and equalling it to Rome,] were given two wings "of a great eagle, that ſhe might flee into the wilderneſs into "her place [upon the back of her beaſt,] where ſhe is nouriſh"ed for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of

"the

"the ſerpent. And the ſerpent [upon the death of Conſtantine the Great] caſt out of his mouth water as a flood [viz. the Weſtern empire under Conſtantine Junior and Conſtans,] after the woman: that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth [the nations of Aſia now under Conſtantinople] helped the woman;" and by conquering the Weſtern empire, now under Magnentius, "ſwallowed up the flood which the dragon caſt out of his mouth. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her ſeed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, which [in that war] were ſealed out of all the twelve tribes of Iſrael," and remained upon Mount Sion with the Lamb, being in number 144000, and having their father's name written in their foreheads.

When the earth had ſwallowed up the flood, and the dragon was gone to make war with the remnant of the woman's ſeed, "John ſtood upon the ſand of the ſea, and ſaw a beaſt riſe out of the ſea, having ſeven heads and ten horns.—And the beaſt was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion ([a])." John here names Daniel's four beaſts in order, putting his beaſt in the room of Daniel's fourth beaſt, to ſhew that they are the ſame. "And the dragon gave this beaſt his power and his ſeat and great authority ([b])," by relinquiſhing the Weſtern empire to him. "And one of his heads [the ſixth] was as it were wounded to death ([c])," viz. by the ſword of the earth, which ſwallowed up the waters caſt out of the mouth of the dragon; "and his deadly wound was healed ([d])," by a new diviſion of the empire between Valentinian and Valens, ann. 364. John ſaw the beaſt riſe out of the ſea, at the diviſion thereof between Gratian and Theodoſius, ann. 379. And the dragon gave the beaſt his power, and his ſeat and great authority, at the death of Theodoſius, when Theodoſius gave the Weſtern empire to his ſon Honorius. After which the two empires were no more united: but the Weſtern empire became preſently divided into ten

[a] Apoc. xii. 18.—xiii. 2.

[b] Apoc. xiii. 2.

[c] —— 3.

[d] Ibid.

ten kingdoms, as above; and theſe kingdoms at length united in religion under the woman, and reign with her forty and two months.

"And I beheld," ſaith John, "another beaſt coming up "out of the earth(a)." When the woman fled from the dragon into the kingdom of the beaſt, and became his church, this other beaſt roſe up out of the earth, to repreſent the church of the dragon. For "he had two horns like the lamb [ſuch as "were the biſhopricks of Alexandria and Antioch:] and he "ſpake as the dragon [in matters of religion]: and he cauſeth "the earth [or nations of the dragon's kingdom] to worſhip the "firſt beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed, [that is, to be of "his religion. And he doth great wonders, ſo that he maketh "fire come down from heaven on the earth in the ſight of "men(b);" that is, he excommunicateth thoſe who differ from him in point of religion: for in pronouncing their excommunications, they uſed to ſwing down a lighted torch from above. "And he ſaid to them that dwell on the earth, that they ſhould "make an image to the beaſt, which had the wound by a ſword, "and did live(c);" that is, that they ſhould call a council of men of the religion of this beaſt. "And he had power to give life "unto the image of the beaſt, that the image of the beaſt "ſhould both ſpeak, and cauſe that as many as would not wor-"ſhip the image of the beaſt ſhould be killed(d), [viz. myſtically, by diſſolving their churches. "And he cauſeth all both ſmall "and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in "their right hand or in their foreheads, and that no man might "buy or ſell, ſave he that had the mark, or the name of the "beaſt, or the number of his name(e);" that is, the mark ✠, or the name ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟC, or the number thereof χξϛ, 666. All others were excommunicated.

When the ſeven angels had poured out the ſeven vials of wrath, and John had deſcribed them all in the preſent time, he is called up (f) from the time of the ſeventh vial to the time of the ſixth ſeal, to take a view of the woman and her beaſt, who were to reign in the times of the ſeventh ſeal. And in reſpect of the latter

(a) Apoc. xiii. 11.
(b) Apoc. xiii. 11—13.
(c) Apoc. xiii. 14.
(d) Apoc. xiii. 15.
(e) Apoc. xiii. 16, 17.
(f) Apoc. xvii.

latter part of time of the ſixth ſeal, then conſidered as preſent, the angel tells John: "The beaſt that thou ſaweſt, was and is "not, and ſhall aſcend out of the abyſs, and go into perdition ([a]);" that is, "He was," in the reign of Conſtans and Magnentius, until Conſtantius conquered Magnentius, and re-united the Weſtern empire to the Eaſtern: "He is not," during the re-union: "and he ſhall aſcend out of the abyſs," or ſea, at a following diviſion of the empire. The angel tells him further: "Here is the mind which "hath wiſdom: the ſeven heads are ſeven mountains, on which "the woman ſitteth ([b]);" Rome being built upon ſeven hills, and thence called the ſeven-hilled city. "Alſo there are ſeven "kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet "come; and when he cometh, he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace: "and the beaſt that was and is not, even he is the eighth, and is "of the ſeven, and goeth into perdition ([c])." "Five are fallen," the times of the five firſt ſeals being paſt: "and one is;" the time of the ſixth ſeal being conſidered as preſent: "and another is not "yet come, and when he cometh [which will be at the opening of "the ſeventh ſeal], he muſt continue a ſhort ſpace: and the beaſt "that was and is not, even he is the eighth [by means of the di-"viſion of the Roman empire into two collateral empires]; and is "of the ſeven [being one-half of the ſeventh], and ſhall go into "perdition." The words, "five are fallen, and one is, and the "other is not yet come," are uſually referred by interpreters to the time of John the apoſtle, when the prophecy was given: but it is to be conſidered, that in this prophecy many things are ſpoken of as preſent, which were not preſent when the prophecy was given, but which were preſent with reſpect to ſome future time, conſidered as preſent in the viſions. So where it is ſaid upon pouring out the ſeventh vial of wrath, "that great Babylon re-"ceived the cup of the wine of the fierceneſs of God's wrath ([d]):" this relates not to the time of John the apoſtle, but to the time of pouring out the ſeventh vial of wrath. And ſo where it is ſaid, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen ([e]);" and "thruſt in thy ſickle and reap, "for the time is come for thee to reap ([f]);" and "the time of the "dead is come, that they ſhould be judged ([g]):" and again, "I "ſaw

[a] Apoc. xvii. 8.
[b] —— 9.
[c] —— 10, 11.
[d] Apoc. xvi. 19.
[e] Apoc. xviii. 2.
[f] Apoc. xiv. 18.
[g] Apoc. xi. 18.

" ſaw the dead ſmall and great ſtand before God(a):" theſe ſay- [a] Apoc. xx. 12.
ings relate not to the days of John the apoſtle, but to the latter
times conſidered as preſent in the viſions. And ſo the words,
" five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come (b)," [b] Apoc. xvii. 10.
" and the beaſt that was and is not, he is the eighth (c)," are not to [c] —— 11.
be referred to the age of John the apoſtle, but relate to the time
when the beaſt was to be wounded to death with a ſword, and
ſhew that this wound was to be given him in his ſixth head: and
without this reference we are not told in what head the beaſt was
wounded. " And the ten horns which thou ſaweſt, are ten
" kings, which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive
" power as kings one hour with the beaſt. Theſe have one
" mind [being of the whore's religion], and ſhall give their
" power and ſtrength to the beaſt. Theſe ſhall make war with
" the Lamb [at the ſounding of the ſeventh trumpet;] and the
" Lamb ſhall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King
" of kings; and they that are with him are called and choſen
" and faithful. And he ſaith unto me, the waters which thou
" ſaweſt, where the whore ſitteth, are peoples and multitudes
" and nations and tongues [compoſing her beaſt]. And the ten
" horns which thou ſaweſt upon the beaſt, theſe ſhall hate the
" whore, and ſhall make her deſolate and naked, and ſhall eat
" her fleſh, and burn her with fire [at the end of the 1260
" days]. For God hath put in their hearts to fulfill his will,
" and to agree and give their kingdom unto the beaſt, until the
" words of God had been fulfilled. And the woman which thou
" ſaweſt, is that great city which reigneth over the kings of the
" earth (d)," or the great city of the Latins, which reigneth over [d] Apoc. xvii. 12—18.
the ten kings till the end of thoſe days.

This tract has been carefully collated with the author's MSS. which has given occaſion to the variations, which the learned reader will obſerve of this from the former editions.

THE END OF THE PROPHECIES.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

TWO NOTABLE CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

IN

A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

Now firſt publiſhed entire from a MS. in the AUTHOR's hand-writing in the poſſeſſion of the Rev. Dr. EKENS, Dean of Carliſle.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A VERY imperfect copy of this tract, wanting both the beginning and the end, and erroneous in many places, was publiſhed at London in the year 1754, *under the title of Two Letters from Sir Iſaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc. But in the Author's MS. the whole is one continued diſcourſe; which, although it is conceived in the epiſtolary form, is not addreſſed to any particular perſon.*

A N

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

O F

TWO NOTABLE CORRUPTIONS OF SCRIPTURE.

I N

A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

SIR,

SINCE the diſcourſes of ſome late writers have raiſed in you a curioſity of knowing the truth of that text of Scripture concerning the teſtimony of the Three in heaven (1 John v. 7.) I have here ſent you an account of what the reading has been in all ages, and by what ſteps it has been changed, ſo far as I can hitherto determine by records. And I have done it the more freely, becauſe to you, who underſtand the many abuſes which they of the Roman church have put upon the world, it will ſcarce be ungrateful to be convinced of one more than is commonly believed. For although the more learned and quick-ſighted men (as Luther, Eraſmus, Bullinger, Grotius, and ſome others) would not diſſemble their knowledge, yet the generality are fond of the place for its making againſt hereſy. But whilſt we exclaim againſt the pious frauds of the Roman church, and make it a part of our religion to detect and renounce all things

of

RECORD OF of that kind, we muſt acknowledge it a greater crime in us to favour ſuch practices, than in the Papiſts we ſo much blame on that account: for they act according to their religion, but we contrary to ours. In the Eaſtern nations, and for a long time in the Weſtern, the faith ſubſiſted without this text; and it is rather a danger to religion, than an advantage, to make it now lean upon a bruiſed reed. There cannot be better ſervice done to the truth, than to purge it of things ſpurious: and therefore knowing your prudence, and calmneſs of temper, I am confident I ſhall not offend you by telling you my mind plainly: eſpecially ſince it is no article of faith, no point of diſcipline, nothing but a criticiſm concerning a text of Scripture which I am going to write about.

II. The hiſtory of the corruption, in ſhort, is this. Firſt, ſome of the Latines interpreted the Spirit, Water and Blood of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to prove them One. Then Jerome, for the ſame end, inſerted the Trinity in expreſs words into his verſion. Out of him the Africans began to alledge it againſt the Vandals, about 64 years after his death. Afterwards the Latines noted his variations in the margins of their books; and thence it began at length to creep into the text in tranſcribing, and that chiefly in the twelfth and following centuries, when diſputing was revived by the ſchoolmen. And when printing came up, it crept out of the Latine into the printed Greek, againſt the authority of all the Greek MSS. and ancient verſions; and from the Venetian preſſes it went ſoon after into Greece. Now the truth of this hiſtory will appear by conſidering the arguments on both ſides.

III. The arguments alledged for the teſtimony of the Three in heaven, are the authorities of Cyprian, Athanaſius, and Jerome, and of many Greek manuſcripts, and almoſt all the Latine ones.

IV. Cyprian's ([a]) words runs thus: the Lord ſaith, "I and the

([a]) Dicit Dominus, ego et pater unum ſumus; et iterum de patre et filio et ſpiritu ſancto ſcriptum eſt, et tres unum ſunt. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccleſ.*

([i]) Si templum Dei factus eſt, quaſo cujus Dei? Si ſpiritûs ſancti, cùm tres unum ſint, quomodo ſpiritus ſanctus placatus ei eſſe poteſt, qui aut patris aut filii inimicus eſt. *Cypr. Epiſt.* 73. *ad Jubaianum.*

"Father,

"Father am One." And again of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt it is written; "And theſe Three are One." The Socinians here deal too injuriouſly with Cyprian, while they would have this place corrupted: for Cyprian in another place repeats almoſt the ſame thing ([b]). "If," ſaith he, ["one baptized among "Heretics] be made the temple of God, tell me, I pray, of what "God? If of the Holy Ghoſt, ſince theſe Three are One, how "can the Holy Ghoſt be reconciled to him who is the enemy of "either the Father or the Son?" Theſe places of Cyprian being, in my opinion, genuine, ſeem ſo appoſite to prove the teſtimony of the Three in heaven, that I ſhould never have ſuſpected a miſtake in it, could I but have reconciled it with the ignorance I meet with of this reading in the next age, amongſt the Latines of both Africa and Europe, as well as among the Greeks. For had it been in Cyprian's bible, the Latines of the next age, when all the world was engaged in diſputing about the Trinity, and all arguments that could be thought of were diligently ſought out, and daily brought upon the ſtage, could never have been ignorant of a text, which in our age, now the diſpute is over, is chiefly inſiſted upon. In reconciling this difficulty, I conſider, therefore, that the only words of the text quoted by Cyprian in both places are, "And theſe Three are One:" which words may belong to the eighth verſe as well as to the ſeventh. For Eucherius ([c]), biſhop of Lion in France, and contemporary to St. Auſtin, reading the text without the ſeventh verſe, tells us, that many then underſtood the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, to ſignify the Trinity. And St. Auſtin ([d]) is one of thoſe many; as you may ſee in his third book againſt Maximus, where he tells us, "that the Spirit is the Father, for God is a Spirit: the Wa-"ter the Holy Ghoſt; for he is the Water, which Chriſt gives to "them

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([c]) Eucherius reads the text thus: "Tria ſunt quæ teſtimonium perhibent; aqua, ſanguis, et ſpiritus." And then adds this interpretation: "Plures hîc ipſam, interpretatione myſticá, intelligunt Trinitatem; eo quod perfecta ipſa perhibeat teſtimonium Chriſto: aquâ, patrem indicans; quia ipſe de ſe dicit, me dereliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ: ſanguine, Chriſtum demonſtrans, utique per paſſionis cruorem: ſpiritu verò ſanctum ſpiritum manifeſtans." *Eucher. de Quæſt. N. Teſt.*

([d]) Sane falli te nolo in epiſtolâ Joannis Apoſtoli, ubi ait, "tres ſunt teſtes, ſpiritus, aqua, et ſanguis, et tres unum ſunt;" ne fortè dicas, ſpiritum et aquam et ſanguinem diverſas eſſe ſubſtantias, et tamen dictam eſſe, tres unum ſunt. Propter hoc admonui te, ne fallaris: hæc enim

 ſunt

RECORD OF "them that thirſt: and the Blood the Son; for the Word was "made fleſh." Now if it was the opinion of many in the Weſtern churches of thoſe times, that the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, ſignified the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; it is plain that the teſtimony of Three in heaven, in expreſs words, was not yet crept into their books: and even without this teſtimony, it was obvious for Cyprian, or any man elſe of that opinion, to ſay of the Father and Son and Holy Ghoſt, it is written, "And theſe Three are One." And that this was Cyprian's meaning, Facundus (e), an African biſhop in the ſixth century, is my author: for he tells us expreſsly that Cyprian, in the above-mentioned place, underſtood it ſo; interpreting the Water, Spirit, and Blood, to be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt: and thence affirming that John ſaid of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, "theſe Three are One." This at leaſt may be gathered from this paſſage of Facundus, that ſome in thoſe early ages interpreted Cyprian after this manner. Nor do I underſtand, how any of thoſe many who took the Spirit, Water, and Blood, for a type of the Trinity; or any man elſe, who was ignorant of the teſtimony of the Three in heaven, as the churches in the times of the Arian controverſy generally were, could underſtand him otherwiſe. And even Cyprian's own words do plainly make for the interpretation. For he does not ſay, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, as it is now in the ſeventh verſe; but the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghoſt, as it is in baptiſm; the place from which they tried * at firſt to derive the Trinity. If it be pretended, that the words cited by Cyprian

ſunt, in quibus non quid ſint, ſed quid oſtendant, ſemper attenditur. Si vero ea, quæ his ſignificata ſunt, velimus inquirere; non abſurdè occurrit ipſa Trinitas, quæ unus, ſolus, ſummus eſt Deus, pater et filius et ſpiritus ſanctus; de quibus veriſſimè dici potuit, tres ſunt teſtes, et tres unum ſunt: ut nomine ſpiritûs ſignificatum accipiamus Deum Patrem (de Deo ipſo quippe adorando loquebatur dominus, ubi ait, ſpiritus eſt Deus) nomine autem ſanguinis, filium; quia verbum caro factum eſt; nomine autem aquæ, ſpiritum ſanctum. Cùm enim de aquâ loqueretur Jeſus, quam daturus erat ſitientibus, ait evangeliſta; "hoc autem dicit de ſpiritu, quem accepturi erant credentes in eum." *D. Auguſtin. Cont. Maximum. Cap. XXII.*

(e) Facundus, in the beginning of his book to the emperor Juſtinian, pro Defenſione trium Capitulorum Conſilii Chalcedonenſis, firſt recites the text after the manner of Cyprian, but more diſtinctly in theſe words: "Nam Joannes Apoſtolus, in epiſtolâ ſuâ, de patre et filio et ſpiritu ſancto ſic dicit: "Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant in terrâ, ſpiritus, aqua, et ſanguis; et hi tres unum ſunt" in ſpiritu ſignificans patrem, &c. Joan. IV. 21. In aquâ ſpiritum ſanctum Joan. VII. 37. in ſanguine vero filium." And a little after he thus confirms this interpretation by Cyprian's

prian are taken out of the ſeventh verſe, rather than out of the eighth; becauſe he reads not, "*Hi Tres in Unum ſunt,*" but "*Hi Tres Unum ſunt;*" I anſwer that the Latines generally read, "*Hi Tres Unum ſunt,*" as well in the eighth verſe, as in the ſeventh; as you may ſee in the newly-cited places of St. Auſtin and Facundus, and thoſe of Ambroſe, pope Leo, Beda and Caſſiodorus, which follow, and in the preſent vulgar Latine. So then the teſtimony of Cyprian reſpects the eighth, or at leaſt is as applicable to that verſe as to the ſeventh, and therefore is of no force for proving the truth of the ſeventh: but on the contrary, for diſproving it we have here the teſtimony of Facundus, St. Auſtin, Eucherius, and thoſe many others whom Eucherius mentions. For if thoſe of that age had met with it in their books, they would never have underſtood the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, to be the Three Perſons of the Trinity, in order to prove them One God. THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

V. Theſe paſſages in Cyprian may receive further light by a like paſſage in Tertullian, from whence Cyprian ſeems to have borrowed them. For it is well known, that Cyprian was a great admirer of Tertullian's writings, and read them frequently, calling Tertullian his maſter. The paſſage is this ([f]): "The connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes Three coherent ones from one another, which Three are One (one thing, not one perſon) as it is ſaid, 'I and the Father are One;' denoting the Unity of ſubſtance, not the ſingularity of number." Here, you ſee, Tertullian ſays not, "the Father, Word, and Holy Ghoſt," as the text now has it, "but the Father, Son, and Paraclete;" nor cites any thing

Cyprian's authority, ſaying: "Aut ſi forſan ipſi, qui de verbo contendunt, in eo quod dixit, "tres ſunt qui teſtificantur in terrâ, ſpiritus aqua et ſanguis, et hi tres unum ſunt," Trinitatem nolunt intelligi; ſecundum ipſa verba quæ poſuit, pro apoſtolo Joanne reſpondeant. Numquid hi tres, qui in terrâ teſtificari, et qui unum eſſe dicuntur, poſſunt ſpiritus et aquæ et ſanguines dici? Quod tamen Joannis apoſtoli teſtimonium B. Cyprianus Carthaginenſis, antiſtes et martyr, in epiſtolâ ſive libro quem de Trinitate, immo de unitate eccleſiæ ſcripſit, de patre filio et ſpiritu ſancto dictum intelligit: ait enim, dicit dominus, ego et pater unum ſumus; et iterum de patre filio et ſpiritu ſancto ſcriptum eſt; "et hi tres unum ſunt." *Facund. l.* 1. *p.* 16. *ex edit. Sirmondi Pariſiis,* 1629."

([f]) Connexus patris in filio, et filii in paracleto, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, "qui Tres Unum ſunt" (non Unus) quomodo dictum eſt. "Ego et Pater Unum ſumus;" ad ſubſtantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri ſingularitatem. *Tertullian advers. Prax. c.* 25.

* *The inſinuation contained in this expreſſion, that the Trinity is not to be derived from the words preſcribed for the baptiſmal form, is very extraordinary to come from a writer who was no Socinian.*

RECORD OF more of the text than theſe words, "which Three are One." Though this treatiſe againſt St. Praxeas be wholly ſpent in diſcourſing about the Trinity, and all texts of Scripture are cited to prove it, and this text of St. John, as we now read it, would have been one of the moſt obvious and appoſite to have been cited at large, yet Tertullian could find no more obvious words in it for his purpoſe than "theſe Three are One." Theſe, therefore, he interprets of the Trinity, and inforces the interpretation by that other text, "I and the Father are One;" as if the phraſe was of the ſame importance in both places.

VI. So then this interpretation ſeems to have been invented by the Montaniſts for giving countenance to their Trinity. For Tertullian was a Montaniſt, when he wrote this; and it is moſt likely that ſo corrupt and forced an interpretation had its riſe among a ſect of men accuſtomed to make bold with the ſcriptures. Cyprian being uſed to it in his maſter's writings, it ſeems from thence to have dropt into his: for this may be gathered from the likeneſs between their citations. And by the diſciples of theſe two great men, it ſeems to have been propagated among thoſe many Latins, who (as Eucherius tells us) received it in the next age, underſtanding the Trinity by the "Spirit, Water, "and Blood." For how, without the countenance of ſome ſuch authority, an interpretation ſo corrupt and ſtrained ſhould come to be received in that age ſo generally, I do not underſtand.

VII. And what is ſaid of the teſtimony of Tertullian and Cyprian, may be much more ſaid of that in the feigned diſputation of Athanaſius with Arius at Nice. For there the words cited are only "*και οἱ τρεις το ἑν εισιν*;" and "theſe Three are One;" and they are taken out of the ſeventh verſe, without naming the perſons of the Trinity before them. For the Greeks interpreted "the Spirit, Water and Blood" of the Trinity, as well as the Latins; as is manifeſt from the annotations they made on this text

(g) Critical hiſtory of N. Teſt. cap. 18.

(h) Suſpicor verba *ει τῃ γῃ* non extare in MS.

(i) The whole preface runs thus: "Incipit prologus in epiſtolas canonicas. Non ita eſt ordo apud Græcos, qui integrè ſapiunt, fidemque rectam ſectantur, epiſtolarum ſeptem, quæ canonicæ nuncupantur, ſicut in Latinis codicibus invenitur: ut quia Petrus eſt primus in ordine apoſtolorum, primæ ſint etiam ejus epiſtolæ in ordine ceterarum. Sed ſicut evangeliſtas dedum ad veritatis lineam correximus, ita has proprio ordini, Deo juvante, reddidimus. Eſt enim una earum

text in the margin of ſome of their manuſcripts. For father Simon ([g]) informs us, that in one of the MSS. in the library of the king of France, marked Numb. 2247, over againſt theſe words; " ὅτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες εν τη γη ([h]) το πνευμα και το " ὑδωρ και το ἁιμα." " For there are Three that bear record [in " earth], the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood:" there is this remark, " τουτεστι το πνευμα το ἁγιον, και ὁ πατηρ, και αυτος ἑαυτου;" that is, " the Holy Ghoſt, and the Father, and He of Himſelf." And in the ſame copy over againſt theſe words, " και οἱ τρεις εις " το ἑν εισι," " and theſe Three are One;" this note is added, " τουτεστι μια θεοτης, ἑις θεος." That is, " One Deity, One God." This MS. is about 500 years old. THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

VIII. Alſo in the margin of one of the MSS. in Monſieur Colbert's library, Numb. 871, father Simon tells us there is a like remark. For beſides theſe words, " ἑις θεος, μια θεοτης," " One " God, One Godhead;" there are added, " μαρτυρια του θεου του " πατρος και του ἁγιου πνευματος." " The teſtimony of God the Fa" ther, and of the Holy Ghoſt." Theſe marginal notes ſufficiently ſhew how the Greeks uſed to apply this text to the Trinity; and by conſequence how the author of that diſputation is to be underſtood. But I ſhould tell you alſo, that that diſputation was not writ by Athanaſius, but by a later author, and therefore, as a ſpurious piece, uſes not to be much inſiſted upon.

IX. Now this myſtical application of " the Spirit, Water and " Blood, to ſignify the Trinity, ſeems to me to have given occaſion to ſomebody, either fraudulently to inſert the teſtimony of " the Three in heaven," in expreſs words into the text, for proving the Trinity; or elſe to note it in the margin of his book, by way of interpretation. Whence it might afterwards creep into the text in tranſcribing. And the firſt upon record that inſerted it, is Jerome; if the preface ([i]) to the canonical epiſtles, which goes under his name, be his. For whilſt he compoſed not

earum prima Jacobi, duæ Petri, tres Johannis, et Judæ una. Quæ ſi ſicut ab eis digeſtæ ſunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec ſermonum ſeſe varietates impugnarent, illo præcipue loco ubi de Unitate Trinitatis in primâ Johannis epiſtolâ, poſitum legimus, &c. In quâ etiam ab infidelibus tranſlatoribus, multum erratum eſſe à fidei veritate comperimus, trium tantummodo vocabula, hoc eſt, Aquæ, Sanguinis et Spiritûs, in ipſâ ſuâ editione ponentibus; et Patris, Verbique, ac Spiritûs teſtimonium

RECORD OF not a new tranſlation of the New Teſtament, but only corrected the ancient vulgar Latin (as learned men think) and among his emendations (written perhaps at firſt in the margin of his book) he inſerted this teſtimony; he complains in the ſaid preface, how he was thereupon accuſed * by ſome of the Latins for falſifying Scripture; and makes anſwer, that former Latin tranſlators had much erred from the faith, in putting only "the Spirit, "Water and Blood" in their edition, and omitting the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," whereby the Catholic Faith is eſtabliſhed. In this defence he ſeems to ſay, that he corrected the vulgar Latin tranſlation by the original Greek; and this is the great teſtimony the text relies upon.

X. But whilſt he confeſſes it was not in the Latin before, and accuſes former tranſlators of falſifying the Scriptures in omitting it, he ſatisfies us that it has crept into the Latin ſince his time, and ſo cuts off all the authority of the preſent vulgar Latin for juſtifying it. And whilſt he was accuſed by his contemporaries of falſifying the Scriptures in inſerting it, this accuſation alſo confirms, that he altered the publick reading. For had the reading been dubious before he made it ſo, no man would have charged him with falſification for following either part. Alſo, whilſt upon this accuſation, he recommends the alteration by its uſefulneſs for eſtabliſhing the Catholick Faith, this renders it the more ſuſpected; by diſcovering both the deſign of his making it, and the ground of his hoping for ſucceſs. However, ſeeing he was thus accuſed by his contemporaries, it gives us juſt reaſon to examine the buſineſs between him and his accuſers. And ſo, he being called to the bar, we are not to lay ſtreſs upon his own teſtimony for himſelf (for no man is a witneſs in his own cauſe) but laying aſide all prejudice, we ought, according to the ordinary rules of juſtice, to examine the buſineſs between him and his accuſers by other witneſſes.

nium omittentibus: in quo maxime et fides catholica roboratur, et Patris, ac Filii, et Spiritûs una divinitatis ſubſtantia comprobatur. In cæteris verò epiſtolis, quantum à noſtrâ aliorum diſtet editio, lectoris judicio derelinquo. Sed tu, virgo Chriſti Euſtochium, dum à me impenſius ſcripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo ſenectutem invidorum dentibus corrodendam exponis, qui me falſarium, corruptoremque Sanctarum pronunciant Scripturarum. Sed ego in tali opere, nec æmulorum meorum invidiam pertimeſco, nec Sanctæ Scripturæ veritatem poſcentibus denegabo."

XI. They

XI. They that have been converſant in his writings, obſerve a ſtrange liberty which he takes in aſſerting things. Many notable inſtances of this he has left us in compoſing thoſe very fabulous lives of Paul and Hilarian, not to mention what he has written upon other occaſions. Whence Eraſmus ſaid of him, that he was in affirming things, " [k] frequently violent and impudent, and often contrary to himſelf." But I accuſe him not. It is poſſible that he might be ſometimes impoſed upon, or, through inadvertency, commit a miſtake. Yet ſince his contemporaries accuſed him, it is but juſt that we ſhould lay aſide the prejudice of his great name, and hear the cauſe impartially between them. THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

XII. Now the witneſſes between them are partly the ancient tranſlators of the Scriptures into the various languages; partly the writers of his own age, and of the ages next before, and after him; and partly the Scribes, who have copied out the Greek manuſcripts of the Scriptures in all ages. And all theſe are againſt him. For by the unanimous evidence of all theſe, it will appear that the teſtimony of " the Three in heaven" was wanting in the Greek manuſcripts, from whence Jerome, or whoever was the author of that preface to the canonical epiſtles, pretends to have borrowed it.

XIII. The ancient interpreters, which I cite as witneſſes againſt him, are chiefly the authors of the ancient vulgar Latin, of the Syriac, and the Æthiopic verſions. For as he tells us, that the Latins omitted the teſtimony of " the Three in heaven" in their verſion before his time, ſo in the Syriac and Æthiopic verſions (both which, from biſhop Walton's account of them, are much ancienter than Jerome's time, being the verſions which the Oriental and Æthiopic nations received from the beginning, and generally uſed, as the Latins did the vulgar Latin) that ſame teſtimony is wanting to this day; and the authors of theſe Three

(k) Sæpe numero violentus, parumque pudens, ſæpe varius, parumque ſibi conſtans. *Eraſmi Annotation. in Johan. v. 7.*

Vide etiam, quæ Eraſmus contra Leum in hunc locum de Hieronymo fuſius dixit.

Jerom complains not of any accuſation raiſed upon what he had done in this, or any other particular text of Scripture. He affirms, that this text was unfaithfully rendered in the Latin bibles, which were current in his time before his own edition. That his edition in this, as well as in other paſſages, faithfully repreſented the original Greek; and he expreſſes an apprehenſion, that the number of his emendations, which the infidelity of former tranſlators had rendered neceſſary, might furniſh his enemies with a pretence for abuſe.

RECORD OF moſt ancient, moſt famous, and moſt received verſions by omitting it are concurrent witneſſes, that they found it wanting in the original Greek manuſcripts of their own times. It is wanting alſo in other ancient verſions; as in the Egyptian Arabick, publiſhed in Walton's Polyglot; in the Armenian verſion ([l]), uſed, ever ſince Chryſoſtom's age, by the Armenian nations; and in the Illyrican ([m]) of Cyrillus, uſed in Raſcia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Ruſſia, Muſcovy, and other countries, which uſe the Sclavonic tongue. In a copy of this verſion ([m]), printed at Oſtrobe (Oſtrow) in Volhinia, in the year 1581, I have ſeen it wanting; and one Camillus ([n]) relates the ſame thing out of ancient manuſcripts of this verſion ſeen by him. Father Simon notes it wanting alſo in a certain verſion of the French church, which, ſaith he, is at leaſt 1000 years old, and which was publiſhed by father Mabillon, a Benedictine monk. Nor do I know of any verſion wherein it is extant, except the modern vulgar Latin, and ſuch modern verſions, of the Weſtern nations, as have been influenced by it. So then, by the unanimous conſent of all the ancient and faithful interpreters, which we have hitherto met with (who doubtleſs made uſe of the beſt manuſcripts they could get) the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" was not anciently in the Greek.

XIV. And that it was neither in the ancient verſions nor in the Greek, but was wholly unknown to the firſt churches, is moſt certain by an argument hinted above; namely, that in all that vehement, univerſal, and laſting controverſy about the Trinity in Jerome's time, and both before, and long enough after it, this text of "the Three in heaven" was never once thought of. It is now in every body's mouth, and accounted the main text for the buſineſs, and would aſſuredly have been ſo too with them, had it been in their books. And yet it is not once to be met with in all the diſputes, epiſtles, orations, and other writings of the Greeks and Latins (Alexander of Alexandria, Athanaſius, the council of Sardica, Baſil, Nazianzen, Nyſſen, Epiphanius, Chry-

([l]) Codex Armeniacus ante 400 annos exaratus. quem vidi apud Epiſcopum Eccleſiæ Armeniacæ, quæ Amſtelodami colligitur, locum illum non legit. *Sandius Append. Interpret. Paradox. in h. l.*

([m]) The printed Sclavonic verſion runs thus: "Quia Tres ſunt, qui teſtificantur, Spiritus, "et Aqua, et Sanguis; et Tres in Unum ſunt. Si teſtimonium, &c."

ſoſtom,

ſoſtom, Cyril, Theodoret, Hilary, Ambroſe, Auſtin, Victorinus Afer, Philaſtrius Brixienſis, Phæbedius Agennenſis, Gregorius Bæticus, Fauſtinus Diaconus, Paſchaſius, Arnobius Junior, Cerealis, and others) in the times of thoſe controverſies; no, not in Jerome himſelf; if his verſion and preface to the canonical epiſtles be excepted. The writings of thoſe times were very many, and copious; and there is no argument, or text of Scripture, which they do not urge again and again. That of St. John's goſpel, "I, and the Father, am One," is every where inculcated, but this of "the Three in heaven, and their being One," is no where to be met with, till at length, when the ignorant ages came on, it began by degrees to creep into the Latin copies out of Jerome's verſion. So far are they from citing the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," that, on the contrary, as often as they have occaſion to mention the place, they omit it, and that too, as well after Jerome's age, as in, and before it. For Heſychius (°) cites the place thus: "*Audi Johannem dicentem, Tria ſunt, qui teſtimonium præbent, et Tres Unum ſunt, Spiritus, et ſanguis et aqua.*" The words, *in terrâ*, he omits, which is never done, but in copies where "the Three in heaven" is wanting. Caſſiodorus, or whoever was the author of the Latin verſion of the diſcourſe of Clemens Alexandrinus on theſe epiſtles of St. John, reads it thus: "*Quia tres ſunt, qui teſtificantur, Spiritus, et aqua, et ſanguis, et hi Tres Unum ſunt* (p)." Beda, in his commentary on the place, reads it thus: "*Et ſpiritus eſt, qui teſtificatur, quoniam Chriſtus eſt veritas. Quoniam Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant in terrâ, ſpiritus, aqua, et ſanguis, et Tres Unum ſunt. Si teſtimonium, &c.*" But here the words, *in terrâ*, ſo far as I can gather from his commentary on this text, have been inſerted by ſome latter hand. The author of the firſt epiſtle, aſcribed to pope Euſebius, reads it, as Beda doth, omitting only the words, *in terrâ*. And if the authority of popes

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(n) Teſtimonium trium in Cœlo non eſt in antiquiſſimis Illyricorum et Ruthenorum codicibus; quorum unum exemplar, à ſexcentis fere annis manuſcriptum, jampridem apud illuſtriſſimum Gabrielem Chineum, terræ Bactricæ Dominum vidi, et legi: alterum manibus noſtris teritur, fide et antiquitate ſuâ nobile. *Camillus de Antichriſto. Lib. ii. cap. 2. pag. 156.*

(°) Heſych. in Levit. lib. 2. c. 8. poſt med.

(p) Caſſiodor. in Bibl. S. Patr. edit. Paris, 1589.

 be

RECORD OF be valuable, pope Leo the Great, in his tenth epiſtle, thus cites the place: "*Et ſpiritus eſt, qui teſtificatur, quoniam ſpiritus* "*eſt veritas; quia Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant, ſpiritus, et* "*aqua, et ſanguis; et hi Tres Unum ſunt.*" St. Ambroſe, in the ſixth chapter of his firſt book, *De Spiritu Sancto*, diſputing for the Unity of the Three Perſons, ſays, "*Hi Tres Unum ſunt,* "*Johannes dixit, aqua, ſanguis et ſpiritus: Unum in myſterio;* "*non in naturâ.*" This is all he could find of the text, while he was diſputing about the Trinity, and therefore he proves the Unity of the Perſons by the myſtical Unity of the Spirit, Water, and Blood: interpreting theſe of the Trinity with Cyprian and others. Yea, in the eleventh chapter of his third book, he fully recites the text thus: "*Per aquam et ſanguinem venit Chriſ-* "*tus Jeſus, non ſolum in aquâ, ſed in aquâ et ſanguine; et ſpiri-* "*tus teſtimonium dat, quoniam ſpiritus eſt veritas. Quia Tres* "*ſunt teſtes, ſpiritus, aqua, et ſanguis; et hi Tres Unum ſunt in* "*Chriſto Jeſu* (q). The like reading of Facundus, Eucherius, and St. Auſtin, you have in the places cited above. Theſe are Latins as late, or later, than Jerome. For Jerome did not prevail with the churches of his own time to receive the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven." And for them to know his verſion, and not receive his teſtimony, was in effect to condemn it.

XV. And as for the Greeks, Cyril of Alexandria reads the text without this teſtimony in the xivth book of his Theſaurus, cap. 5; and again in his firſt book *De fide ad Reginas*, a little after the middle. And ſo does Oecumenius, a later Greek, in his commentary on this place of St. John's epiſtle. Alſo Didymus Alexandrinus, in his commentary on the ſame paſſage, reads, "the Spirit, Water, and Blood," without mentioning "the "Three in heaven:" and ſo he doth in his book of the Holy Ghoſt, where he ſeems to omit nothing that he could find for his purpoſe: and ſo doth Gregory Nazianzen in his xxxviith oration concerning the Holy Ghoſt; and alſo Nicetas in his commentary on Gregory Nazianzen's xlivth oration. And here it is farther obſervable, that, as the Euſebians had contended, that "the "Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt" were not to be connumerated,

(q) See alſo Ambroſe in Luc. xxii. 10, and in his book, De iis qui myſteriis initiantur, cap. 4.

 becauſe

becauſe they were things of a different kind; Nazianzen and Nicetas anſwer, that they might be connumerated, becauſe St. John connumerates three things not ſubſtantial, namely, "the "Spirit, the Water, and the Blood." By the objection of the Euſebians, it then appears that the teſtimony of "the Three in "heaven" was not in their books; and by the anſwer of the Catholicks it is as evident, that it was not in theirs. For while they anſwer by inſtancing the "the Spirit, Water, and Blood," they could not have miſſed of "the Father, the Word, and the Holy "Ghoſt;" had they been connumerated, and called one in the words immediately before: and to anſwer by inſtancing in theſe, would have been far more to their purpoſe, becauſe it was the very thing in queſtion. In like manner the Eunomians, in diſputing againſt the Catholicks, had objected, that the Holy Ghoſt is no where in Scripture conjoined with the Father and the Son, except in the form of baptiſm: which is as much as to ſay, that the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" was not in their books: and yet St. Baſil (r), whilſt he is very diligent in returning an anſwer to them, and perplexes himſelf in citing places, which are nothing to the purpoſe, does not produce this text of "the "Three in heaven," though it be the moſt obvious, and the only proper paſſage, had it been then in the Scriptures; and therefore he knew nothing of it. The objection of the Eunomians, and the anſwer of the Catholicks, ſufficiently ſhew that it was in the books of neither party. Beſides all this, the tenth epiſtle of pope Leo, mentioned above, was that very famous epiſtle to Flavian, patriarch of Conſtantinople, againſt Eutyches, which went about through all the churches, both Eaſtern and Weſtern, being tranſlated into Greek, and ſent about in the Eaſt by Flavian. It was generally applauded in the Weſt, and read in the council of Chalcedon, and there ſolemnly approved and ſubſcribed by all the biſhops; and in this epiſtle the text was thus cited: "*Et ſpiritus eſt, qui teſtificatur, quoniam Chriſtus eſt ve-* "*ritas: quia Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant, ſpiritus, aqua, et* "*ſanguis; et hi Tres Unum ſunt.*" And by putting πνευμα (according to the Greek reading) for *Chriſtus*, which is ſtill the vulgar

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(r) Lib. 5. adverſus Eunomium ſub finem.

RECORD OF gar Latin, it was thus tranſlated by the Greeks: "και το πνευμα "εστιν το μαρτυρουν· επειδη το πνευμα εστιν ἡ αληθεια· τρεις γαρ εισιν "οἱ μαρτυρουντες, το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, και το ἁιμα· και οἱ τρεις το "ἑν εισι." So then we have the reading, quoted by the pope, owned in the Weſt, and ſolemnly ſubſcribed in the Eaſt by the fourth general council, and therefore it continued the publick received reading in both the Eaſt and Weſt, till after the age of that council.

XVI. So then the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," which, in the times of theſe controverſies, would have been in every body's mouth, had it been in their books, was wholly unknown to the churches of thoſe ages. All that they could find in their books was the teſtimony of "the Water, the Spirit, and the "Blood." Will you now ſay, that the teſtimony of "the Three "in heaven" was razed out of their books by the prevailing Arians? Yes, truly, thoſe Arians were crafty knaves, that could conſpire ſo cunningly and ſlily all the world over at once (as at the word of a Mithridates) in the latter end of the reign of the emperor Conſtantius, to get all men's books in their hands, and correct them without being perceived: ay, and conjurors too, to do it without leaving any blot or chaſm in their books, whereby the knavery might be ſuſpected and diſcovered; and to wipe away the memory of it out of all men's brains; ſo that neither Athanaſius, or any body elſe, could afterwards remember that they had ever ſeen it in their books before; and out of their own books too; ſo that when they turned to the con-ſubſtantial faith, as they generally did in the Weſt, ſoon after the death of Conſtantius, they could then remember no more of it than any body elſe. Well, then, it was out of their books in Jerome's age, when he pretended it was in; which is the point we are to prove; and when any body can ſhew, that it was in their books before, it may be pertinent to conſider that point alſo: but till then we are only to enquire how, ſince it was out, it came into the copies that are now extant. For they that, without proof, accuſe the Hereticks of corrupting books, and upon that pretence correct them at their pleaſure without the authority of ancient manuſcripts, as ſome learned men of the fourth and fifth centuries

centuries uſed to do, are falſaries by their own confeſſion, and certainly need no other confutation. And therefore if this reading was once out, we are bound in juſtice to believe, that it was out from the beginning; unleſs the razing of it out can be proved by ſome better argument, than that of pretence and clamour. THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

XVII. Will you now ſay, that Jerome followed ſome copy different from any which the Greeks were acquainted with? This is to overthrow the authority of his verſion by making him depart from the received Greeks; and beſides, it is contrary to what he himſelf ſeems to repreſent. For in his blaming not the vulgar Greek copies, but the Latin interpreters only, which were before his time, as if they had varied from the received Greek, he repreſents, that he himſelf followed it. He does not excuſe, and juſtify himſelf for reading differently from the received Greek, to follow a private copy, but accuſes former interpreters, as if, in leaving out the teſtimony of "the Three in "heaven," they had not followed the received Greek, as he did. And therefore ſince the Greeks knew nothing of this teſtimony, the authority of his verſion ſinks; and that the rather, becauſe he was then accuſed of corrupting the text, and could not perſuade either the Greeks or the Latins of thoſe times to receive his reading. For the Latins received it not till many years after his death; and the Greeks not till this preſent age, when the Venetians ſent it amongſt them in printed books: and their not receiving it was plainly to approve the accuſation.

XVIII. The authority of this verſion being thus far diſcuſſed, it remains, that we conſider the authority of the manuſcripts, wherein we now read the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven." And by the beſt inquiry that I have been able to make, it is wanting in the manuſcripts of all languages but the Latin. For, as we have ſhewn, that the Æthiopick, Syriac, Arabick, Armenian and Sclavonian verſions, ſtill in uſe in the ſeveral Eaſtern nations, Ethiopia, Egypt, Syria, Meſopotamia, Armenia, Muſcovy, and ſome others, are ſtrangers to this reading, and that it was antiently wanting alſo in the French: ſo I am told by thoſe who have been in Turkey, that it is wanting to this day in the Greek

RECORD OF Greek manuſcripts, which have been brought from thoſe parts into the Weſt; and that the Greeks, now that they have got it in print from the Venetians, when their manuſcripts are objected againſt it, pretend that the Arians razed it out. A reading to be found in no manuſcripts but the Latin, and not in the Latin before Jerome's age, as Jerome himſelf confeſſes, can be but of little authority: and this authority ſinks, becauſe we have already proved the reading ſpurious by ſhewing, that it was heretofore unknown, both to the Weſtern and the Eaſtern churches, in the times of the great controverſy about the Trinity. But, however, for further ſatisfaction, we ſhall now give you an account of the Latin and Greek manuſcripts; and ſhew, firſt, how, in the dark ages, it crept into the Latin manuſcripts out of Jerome's verſion; and then how it lately crept out of the Latin into the printed Greek without the authority of MSS; thoſe, who firſt publiſhed it in Greek, having never yet ſo much as ſeen it in any Greek manuſcript.

XIX. That the vulgar Latin, now in uſe, is a mixture of the old vulgar Latin, and of Jerome's verſion together, is the received opinion. Few of theſe manuſcripts are above four or five hundred years old. The lateſt generally have the teſtimony of "the "Three in heaven:" the oldeſt of all uſually want it; which ſhews, that it has crept in by degrees. Eraſmus notes it to be wanting in three very ancient ones; one of which was in the pope's library at Rome; the other two were at Bruges; and he adds, that in another manuſcript belonging to the library of the Minorites in Antwerp, the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" was noted in the margin in a newer hand. Peter Cholinus notes in the margin of his Latin edition of the Scriptures, printed anno Chriſti 1543 and 1544, that it was wanting in the moſt ancient manuſcript of the Tugurine library. Dr. Gilbert Burnet has lately, in the firſt letter of his travels, noted it wanting in five other ones kept at Straſburg, Zurich, and Baſil: one of which MSS. he reckons about 1000 years old, and the other four about 800. F. Simon has noted it wanting in five others in the libraries of the king of France, Monſ. Colbert, and the Benedictines of the abby of St. German's. An ancient and diligent collator

collator of manuſcripts, cited by Lucas Brugenſis by the name of Epanorthotes, notes in general, that it was wanting in the ancient Latin manuſcripts. Lucas himſelf, collating many Latin ones, notes it to be wanting in only *five*, that is, in the few old ones he had, his manuſcripts being almoſt all of them new ones. For he praiſes (ſ) the Codex Lobienſis written anno Chriſti 1084, and the Codex Tornacenſis written anno Chriſti 1105, as moſt ancient and venerable for their antiquity, and uſed others much more new, of which a great number was eaſily had; ſuch as was the Codex Buſlidianus, written anno Chriſti 1432, that is, but eight years before the invention of printing. The Lateran council, collected under Innocent the Third, anno Chriſti 1215, canon 2, mentions Joachim, the abbot, quoting the text in theſe words: "*Quoniam in canonicâ* "*Johannis epiſtolâ, quia Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant in Cœlo,* "*Pater, et Verbum, et Spiritus; et hi Tres Unum ſunt: ſtatimque* "*ſubjungitur. Et Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant in terrâ, Spi-* "*ritus, Aqua, et Sanguis, et Tres Unum ſunt: ſicut in codicibus* "*quibuſdam invenitur.*" This was written by Joachim (t) in the papacy of Alexander the Third, that is, in or before the year 1180, and therefore this reading was then got but into ſome books. For the words, "*ſicut in codicibus quibuſdam invenitur,*" refer as well to the firſt words of Joachim, "*Quoniam in cano-* "*nicâ Johannis epiſtolâ legitur,*" as to the text, "*ſtatimque ſubjun-* "*gitur;*" and more to the firſt, than the text; becauſe the firſt part of the citation was then but in ſome books, as appears by ancient manuſcripts; but the ſecond part was in almoſt all: the words "*Tres Unum ſunt,*" being in all the books which wanted the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven;" and in moſt of thoſe which had it; though afterwards left out in many, when branded by the ſchoolmen for Arian.

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XX. But to go to the original of the corruption. Gregory the Great (u) writes, that Jerome's verſion was in uſe in his time; and therefore no wonder if the teſtimony of "the Three in hea-

(ſ) Lucas Brug. in calce annot.
(t) Vide Math. Paris Hiſtor. Angl. A. D. 1179.
(u) Vide Walton's Prolegomena x. 5.

"ven"

RECORD OF "ven" began to be cited out of it before. Eugenius, biſhop of Carthage, in the ſeventh year of Hunneric, king of the Vandals, anno Chriſti 484, in the ſummary of his faith exhibited to the king, cited it the firſt of any man, ſo far as I can find. A while after Fulgentius, another African biſhop, diſputing againſt the ſame Vandals, cited it again, and backed it with the fore-mentioned place of Cyprian, applied to the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven." And ſo it is probable, that by that abuſed authority of Cyprian it began firſt in Afric, in the diſputes with the ignorant Vandals, to get ſome credit; and thence at length crept into uſe. It occurs alſo frequently in Vigilius Tapſenſis, another African biſhop, contemporary to Fulgentius. In its defence, ſome alledge earlier writers; namely, the firſt epiſtle of pope Hyginus, the firſt epiſtle of pope John II. the book of Idacius Clarus againſt Varimadus; and the book, *De unitâ Deitate Trinitatis*, aſcribed to Athanaſius. But Chiffletius, who publiſhed the works of Victor Vitenſis, and Vigilius Tapſenſis, ſufficiently proves the book againſt Varimadus to be this Vigilius's, and erroneouſly aſcribed to Idacius. To the ſame Vigilius he aſſerts alſo the book, *De unitâ Deitate Trinitatis*. Certainly Athanaſius was not its author. All the epiſtles of Hyginus, except the beginning and the end, and the firſt part of the epiſtle of pope John, wherein the teſtimony of "the Three in "heaven" is cited, are nothing elſe than fragments of the book againſt Varimadus, deſcribed word by word by ſome forger of decretal epiſtles, as may appear by comparing them. So then Eugenius is the firſt upon record that quotes it.

XXI. But though he ſet it on foot among the Africans, yet I cannot find that it became of authority in Europe before the revival of learning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In thoſe ages St. Barnard, the Schoolmen, Joachim, and the Lateran council ſpread it abroad, and Scribes began generally to inſert it into the text: but in ſuch Latin manuſcripts and European writers, as are ancienter than thoſe times, it is ſcarce to be met with.

XXII. Now that it was inſerted into the vulgar Latin out of Jerome's verſion is manifeſt by the manner, how the vulgar Latin

and

and that verſion came to be mixed. For it is agreed that the Latines, after Jerome's verſion began to be of uſe, noted out of it his corrections of the vulgar Latin in the margin of their books. And theſe the tranſcribers afterwards inſerted into the text. By this means, the old Latin has been ſo generally corrected, that it is no where to be found ſincere. It is Jerome that we now read, and not the old vulgar Latin; and what wonder, if in Jerome we read the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven?" For who, that inſerted the reſt of Jerome into the text, would leave out ſuch a paſſage for the Trinity, as this hath been taken to be? THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

XXIII. But to put the queſtion out of diſpute, there are footſteps of the inſertion ſtill remaining. For in ſome old manuſcripts, it has been found noted in the margin; in others, the various readings are ſuch as ought to ariſe, by tranſcribing it out of the margin into the text. I ſhall only mention the three following varieties. Of the manuſcripts which have not the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven;" ſome have the words *in terrâ*, in the eighth verſe, but the moſt want it; which ſeems to proceed from hence, that ſome, before they allowed ſo great an addition to the text, as the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" noted only *in terrâ*, in the margin of their books, to be inſerted into the teſtimony of the Spirit, Water and Blood. Of the manuſcripts which have the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," ſome in the eighth verſe have "*hi Tres Unum ſunt*." Others not. The reaſon of this ſeems to be, that of thoſe who noted this teſtimony in the margin, ſome blotted out "*Et hi Tres* "*Unum ſunt*" in the eighth verſe, according to Jerome; and others did not. And, laſtly, the teſtimony of "the Three in "heaven" is in moſt books ſet before the teſtimony of "the "Three in earth;" in ſome, it is ſet after. So Eraſmus notes two old books, in which it is ſet after; Lucas Brugenſis a third; and Heſſelius (if I miſremember not) a fourth; and ſo Vigilius Tapſenſis (x) ſets it after: which ſeems to proceed from hence, that it was ſometimes ſo noted in the margin, that the reader or

(x) Vigilius libr. adverſ. Varimadum. cap. 5.

RECORD OF transſcriber knew not whether it were to come before or after. Now theſe diſcords in the Latin manuſcripts, as they detract from the authority of the manuſcripts, ſo they confirm to us, that the old vulgar Latin has in theſe things been tampered with, and corrected by Jerome's verſion.

XXIV. In the next place, I am to ſhew how, and when, the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" crept out of the Latin into the Greek. Thoſe, who firſt printed the Greek Teſtament, did generally, in following their manuſcripts, omit the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," except in *Spain*. For it was omitted in the firſt and ſecond edition of Eraſmus, anno Chriſti 1516 and 1519: in the edition of Francis Aſulan, printed at Venice by Aldus, anno Chriſti 1518: in that of Nicholas Gerbelius, printed at Haganau, anno Chriſti 1521: and a little after, in that of Wolfius Cephalius, printed at Straſbourg, anno Chriſti 1524: and again in 1526, in the Badian edition, as Eraſmus notes; and in that of Simon Colinæus at Paris, anno Chriſti 1534 (y). At the ſame time it was omitted in ſome editions of other Weſtern languages, as in the Saxon and German editions of Luther; and in the Latin Tugurine editions of Peter Cholins, anno Chriſti 1543 and 1544. The firſt edition in Greek, which has the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," was that of cardinal Ximenes, printed at Complutum in Spain in 1515; but not publiſhed before the year 1521. The cardinal, in his edition, uſed the aſſiſtance of ſeveral divines, which he called together to Complutum, there founding an univerſity, anno Chriſti 1517, or a little before. Two of thoſe divines were Antonius Nebriſſenſis and Stunica. For Stunica then reſided at Complutum; and in the preface (z) to a treatiſe he wrote againſt Eraſmus, gives this teſtimony of himſelf; "That he had ſpent "ſome years in reading the holy Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek "and Latin; and had diligently collated the Hebrew and Greek "exemplars

(y) "In editis exemplaribus nonnullis non legi: ut in Aldinâ et Badianâ editione.—Addo, "nec in Græco Teſtamento Gerbelii Haganoæ, 1521; nec in Colinæi, Pariſiis edito." *Comærus in h.*

(z) "Cùm præſertim, ſi quiſquam alius; et nos quoque his de rebus, noſtro quodam jure, "judicium ferre poſſumus. [Quippe] qui non paucos annos in ſanctis Scripturis veteris et Novi "Teſtamenti,

“ exemplars with the Latin copies.” This book, diſpleaſing the cardinal, was not printed till after his death; and then it came forth at Complutum, anno Chriſti 1520. The year before one Lee, an Engliſhman, writ alſo againſt Eraſmus; and both Stunica and Lee, amongſt other things, reprehended him for omitting the teſtimony of “ the Three in heaven.” Afterwards Eraſmus, finding the Spaniards, and ſome others of the Roman church, in a heat againſt him, printed this teſtimony in his third edition, anno Chriſti 1522; repreſenting, “ That in his former “ editions he had printed the text, as he found it in his manu- “ ſcripts; but now there being found in England one manuſcript “ which had the teſtimony of *the Three in heaven*, he had in- “ ſerted it, according to that manuſcript; for avoiding the ca- “ lumnies raiſed againſt him.” And ſo it continued in his two following editions. And at length Robert Stephens, anno Chriſti 1550, reprinted Eraſmus's edition, with ſome few alterations, and various lections, taken out of the Complutenſian edition, and fifteen Greek manuſcripts, which he named after the numeral letters, α, β, γ, δ, ε, &c. putting α for the Complutenſian edition and β, γ, δ, ε, &c. for the manuſcripts in order; and noting in the margin, that the teſtimony of “ the Three in heaven” was wanting in the ſeven manuſcripts, δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ. Whence Beza ([aa]) tells us, that he had read it in the reſt. His words are, “ *Legit Hieronymus, legit Eraſmus in Britannico codice, et in Com-* “ *plutenſi editione. Legimus et nos in nonnullis Roberti noſtri vete-* “ *ribus libris.*” And this is the original and authority of the printed editions. For theſe are the editions ever ſince followed by all the Weſt; and of late years propagated by the Venetian preſſes into Greece; and nothing further, that I know of, has been diſcovered in any manuſcripts in favour of theſe editions.

XXV. Now to pull off the vizard, I cannot but, in the firſt place, extremely complain of Beza's want of modeſty and cau-

“ Teſtamenti, Hebraicè, Græcè, et Latinè perlegendis conſumpſerimus; ac Hebraica, Græcaque “ ipſa divinarum literarum exemplaria cum Latinis codicibus diligentiſſimè contulerimus. Longâ “ igitur lectione ac experientiâ jampridem edocti, quantum tralationi huic eccleſiaſticæ Novi “ Teſtamenti deferendum ſit, ni fallor, optimè novi.” *Hæc Stunica in præm. libri ſui.*

([aa]) Beza in hunc locum.

Record of

tion in expreſſing himſelf. ([bb]) In the preface to his annotations, deſcribing what helps he had in compoſing his firſt edition, he tells us, "That he had the annotations of Valla, Stapulenſis, "and Eraſmus, and the writings of the ancients and moderns "collated by himſelf; and out of Stephens's library, the exem- "plar, which Stephens had collated with about twenty-five ma- "nuſcripts, almoſt all of which were printed." He ſhould have ſaid ſeventeen; for that number he puts in other places, and in his annotations cites no more. So then he had the collations of two more manuſcripts, than Stephens has given us in print. And this was all his furniture. The original manuſcripts he does not here pretend to have; nor could he have them: for they were not Stephens's manuſcripts; but belonged to ſeveral libraries in France and Italy. The manuſcript ϐ, Stephens himſelf never ſaw; but had only various lections collected out of it by his friends in Italy. The manuſcripts γ, δ, ε, ϛ, ζ, η, ι, ιε, were not Stephens's, but belonged to the library of the king of France, to whom Stephens was printer. The other ſix books, θ, ια, ιϐ, ιγ, ιδ, ιϛ, Stephens had not out of his own library, but borrowed them for a time from ſeveral places to collate, his friends ſtudying to promote the deſign of his edition. And yet Beza in his annotations, when he would favour any text, cites the collations of Stephens in ſuch a manner, as if he had the very original manuſcripts at Geneva before his eyes. And where Stephens does not cite various lections, there he reckons, that in the text of Stephens's collated books he read all the manuſcripts. So in Mark vi. 11, where Stephens notes a certain period to be wanting in the manuſcript copies ϐ and η; Beza ſaith, "*Hæc periodus* "*in omnibus exemplaribus Græcis legitur*,. *exceptis ſecundo et* "*octavo.*" In the Acts xiii. 33, becauſe Stephens had noted no various lections, Beza affirms of the Greek text, "*Ita ſcriptum* "*invenimus in omnibus vetuſtis codicibus.*" In 1 John iv. 3, where Stephens is ſilent, Beza ſpeaks, "*Sic legitur in omnibus* "*Græcis exemplaribus, quæ quidem mihi inſpicere licuit.*" In James i. 22,

([bb]) "Non deſunt, qui Bezam nimis audacem fuiſſe judicant, dum à receptâ lectione ſæpius "ſine neceſſitate recedit; et unius, interdum nullius, codicis authoritate fretus, prætoriam ex- "ercet

i. 22, where Stephens is again ſilent, Beza tells us of the word μονον, "*Ego in omnibus noſtris vetuſtis libris inveni.*" And ſo, where Stephens in the margin had noted the teſtimony of "the "Three in heaven" to be wanting in ſeven manuſcripts, he thinks that, in reading the text of Stephens's collated book, he reads it in the reſt; and ſo tells us, "*Legimus et nos in nonnullis* "*Roberti Stephani codicibus.*" This he did in the firſt edition of his annotations. Afterwards, when he had got two real manuſcripts, the Claromontan, and that, which at length he preſented to the Univerſity of Cambridge (in both which the canonical epiſtles are wanting); in the epiſtle to his fourth edition, in reckoning up the books he then uſed, he puts only theſe two, and the ſeventeen of Stephens; and, in his fifth edition, he writes ſummarily, that he uſed nineteen manuſcripts, joining with thoſe two real ones the collations of Stephens, as if in thoſe he had ſeventeen others; which ſufficiently explains his way of ſpeaking in his annotations. But whilſt he had not the manuſcripts themſelves to read with his own eyes, it was too hard and unwarrantable a way of ſpeaking to tell us, "*Legimus et nos in nonnullis* "*Roberti Stephani codicibus;*" and therefore, in his later editions, he corrects himſelf, and tells us only, that the reading doth "*Extare in nonnullis Stephani veteribus libris.*" Thus Beza argues from Stephens's book of collations; and the ſame inference has been made by Lucas Brugenſis, and others, ever ſince from Stephens's forementioned edition of that book. "For," ſay they, "Stephens had fifteen manuſcripts in all, and found the teſtimo-"ny of *the Three in heaven* wanting but in ſeven; and therefore "it was in the other eight; and ſo being found in the greater "part of his manuſcripts, has the authority and manuſcripts on "its ſide." Thus they argue; and this is the great argument by which the printed Greek has hitherto been juſtified.

XXVI. But if they pleaſe to conſider the buſineſs a little better, they will find themſelves very much miſtaken. For though Stephens had fifteen manuſcripts in all, yet all of them did not contain all the Greek Teſtament. Four of them noted γ, ς, ιε, ιδ,

" ercet poteſtatem, ex conjecturis mutando et interpolando textum ſacrum pro lubitu." *Walton Prolegom. IV. Sect. 15. in Bibl. Polyglott.*

 had each of them the four goſpels only. Two, noted ϛ, η, contained only the goſpels, and the Acts of the apoſtles. One, noted ιϛ, contained the Apocalypſe only. One, noted ιε, had only the Apocalypſe, with St. Paul's epiſtles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Epheſians, Philippians and Coloſſians. The other ſeven, noted δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ, contained both St. Paul's epiſtles and the canonical ones, beſides ſome other books; namely, the manuſcript ζ, contained the epiſtles and goſpels; the manuſcripts ι, ια, ιγ, the epiſtles and acts of the apoſtles; and the manuſcripts δ, ε, θ, the epiſtles, goſpels and acts. And this any one may gather, by noting what manuſcripts the various lections are cited out of, in every book of the New Teſtament. For in the various lections of the canonical epiſtles, and thoſe to the Theſſalonians, Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews, are found theſe ſeven manuſcripts, δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ, every where cited, and no more than theſe. The ſame alſo, and no more, are cited in the epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews; one numeral error (whether of the ſcribe or typographer) excepted. Stephens therefore did collect various lections of the epiſtles out of only theſe ſeven manuſcripts, δ, ε, ζ, θ, ι, ια, ιγ; and in all theſe ſeven, he found the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" to be wanting; as you may ſee noted in the margin of his edition.

XXVII. And that this teſtimony was wanting in all Stephens's manuſcripts, is apparent alſo by its being generally wanting in the manuſcripts which are now extant in France. For father Simon (cc) tells us, "That after a diligent ſearch in the library of the "king of France, and in that alſo of Monſieur Colbert, he could "not find it in any one manuſcript; though he conſulted ſeven "manuſcripts in the king's library, and one in Colbert's." And becauſe Stephens had ſome of his various lections from Italy, I will add, that a gentleman, who, in his travels, had conſulted

(cc) Simon's Critic. Hiſtory of the New Teſt. chap. 18.

(dd) "Dicam mihi diverſis temporibus plura fuiſſe exemplaria, quam ſeptem; [ſcilicet Græca] "nec in ullo horum repertum, quod in noſtris [ſcilicet Latinis] legitur. Quod ſi contigiſſet "unum exemplar, in quo fuiſſet, quod nos legimus, nimirum illinc adjeciſſem, quod in cæteris "aberat. Id quia non contigit, quod ſolum licuit, feci; indicavi quid in Græcis codicibus minus eſſet." *Hæc Eraſmus contra Leum, in hunc locum.*

twelve

twelve MSS. in ſeveral libraries in Italy, aſſured me that he found it wanting in them all. One of the twelve, was that moſt ancient and moſt famous MS. in the pope's library, written in capital letters. THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

XXVIII. So then the authority of the printed books reſts only upon the authority of the editions of Eraſmus, and cardinal Ximenes. But ſeeing that Eraſmus omitted it in his two firſt editions, and inſerted it unwillingly, againſt the authority of his manuſcripts, in his three laſt; the authority of theſe three can be none at all. When Lee, upon Eraſmus's putting forth his ſecond edition, fell foul upon him for leaving out the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," Eraſmus ([dd]) anſwered, "That he had conſulted more "than ſeven Greek manuſcripts, and found it wanting in them "all; and that if he could have found it in any one manuſcript, "he would have followed that in favour of the Latin." Hence notice was ſent to Eraſmus out of England, that it was in a manuſcript there, and thereupon to avoid ([ee]) their calumnies (as he ſaith), he printed it in his following editions; notwithſtanding that, he ſuſpected that manuſcript to be a new one, corrected by the Latin. But ſince, upon enquiry, I cannot learn that they in England ever heard of any ſuch manuſcript, but from Eraſmus; and ſince he was only told of ſuch a manuſcript in the time of the controverſy between him and Lee, and never ſaw it himſelf; I cannot forbear to ſuſpect, that it was nothing but a trick put upon him by ſome of the popiſh clergy, to try if he would make good what he had offered, the printing of the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" by the authority of one Greek copy, and thereby to get it into his edition ([ff]). Greek manuſcripts of the Scriptures are things of value, and do not uſe to be thrown away; and ſuch a manuſcript, for the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," would have made a greater noiſe than

([e]) "Ex hoc igitur codice Britannico repoſuimus, quod in noſtris dicebatur deeſſe; ne cui ſit "anſa calumniandi. Quanquam et hunc ſuſpicor, et Latinorum codices, fuiſſe caſtigatum. "Poſteaquam enim concordiam inierunt cum eccleſiâ Romanâ, ſtuduerunt et hâc in parte cum "Romanis conſentire." *Eraſmi Annotation. in hunc locum Editio tertia et ſequen.*

([ff]) "Verſiculus 1. Joan. v. 7. in Syriacâ, ut et vetuſtiſſimis Græcis exemplaribus, noſtro "Alexandrino, aliis manuſcriptis Græcis, quos contulimus, non reperitur." *Walton. Prolegomena. xix. 23. in Bibli. Polyglot.*

the

RECORD OF the reſt have done againſt it. Let thoſe who have ſuch a manuſcript, at length tell us where it is.

XXIX. So alſo let them, who inſiſt upon the edition of cardinal Ximenes, tell us by what manuſcript he printed this teſtimony; or, at leaſt, where any ſuch manuſcript of good note is to be ſeen. For till then I muſt take the liberty to believe, that he printed nothing elſe than a tranſlation out of the Latin, and that for theſe reaſons.

Firſt: Becauſe in the preface to his edition of the New Teſtament we are told, that this teſtament was printed after manuſcripts taken out of the pope's library; and theſe the cardinal only borrowed (gg) thence, and therefore returned them back ſo ſoon as his edition was finiſhed. And Caryophilus ſome time after, by the pope's command, collating the Vatican manuſcripts, found the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," wanting in them all. I do not ſay but that the cardinal had other manuſcripts; but theſe were the chief, and the only ones he thought worth while to tell his reader of.

Secondly: I ſtartle at the marginal note in this place of the cardinal's edition. For it is beſide the uſe of this edition, to put notes in the margin of the Greek text. I have not found it done above thrice in all this edition of the New Teſtament; and therefore there muſt be ſomething extraordinary; and that, in reſpect of the Greek, becauſe it is in the margin of this text. In 1 Corinth. xv. there is noted in this margin a notable variation in the Greek reading. In Matthew vi. 13, where they, in their edition, recede from the Greek copies, and correct it by the Latin, they make a marginal note, to juſtify their doing ſo. And ſo here, where the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" is generally wanting in the Greek copies, they make a third marginal note, to ſecure themſelves from being blamed for printing it.

(gg) "Accivit è Vaticanâ Romæ Bibliothecâ, bonâ cum Leonis X. pontificis maximi veniâ." As Gaſpar Bellerus, in his epiſtle prefixed to the Quinquagena of Antonius Nabriſſenſis, expreſſes it.

(hh) The marginal note is this: "Sanctus Thomas, in expoſitione ſecundæ decretalis de ſummâ "Trinitate et Fide Catholicâ, tractans iſtum paſſum contra Abbatem Joachim, viz. 'Tres ſunt, "qui teſtimonium dant in Cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus" dicit ad literam verba ſequentia. "Et ad inſinuendam Unitatem Trium Perſonarum ſubditur, et 'Hi Tres Unum ſunt;'

it. Now in ſuch a caſe as this, there is no queſtion but they would make the beſt defence they could; and yet they do not tell of any various lections in the Greek manuſcripts, nor produce any one Greek manuſcript on their ſide, but run to the authority of Thomas Aquinas ([hh]). The Greek manuſcripts have the text thus, "For there are Three that bear record, the Spirit, the "Water and the Blood; and theſe Three are One." In many of the Latin manuſcripts, the words "theſe Three are One" are here omitted, and put only at the end of the teſtimony of "the "Three in heaven," before that of "the Spirit, Water and "Blood:" in others, they are put after both teſtimonies. In the Complutenſian edition, they follow the former copies, and juſtify their doing ſo, by the authority of Thomas Aquinas ([hh]); "Thomas, ſay they, in treating of the Three which bear wit-"neſs in heaven, teaches, that the words 'theſe Three are One' "are ſubjoined for inſinuating the Unity of the eſſence of the "Three Perſons. And whereas one Joachim interpreted this "Unity to be only in *love*, and *conſent*, it being thus ſaid of the "Spirit, Water and Blood in ſome copies, that 'theſe Three are "One':" Thomas replied, "That this laſt clauſe is not extant "in the true copies; but was added by the Arians for pervert-"ing the ſenſe." Thus far this annotation. Now this plainly reſpects the Latin copies (for Thomas underſtood not Greek) and therefore part of the deſign of this annotation is to ſet right the Latin reading. But this is not the main deſign. For ſo the annotation ſhould have been ſet in the margin of the Latin verſion. Its being ſet in the margin of the Greek text ſhews, that its main deſign is to juſtify the Greek by the Latin thus rectified and confirmed. Now to make Thomas thus, in a few words, do all the work, was very artificial; and in Spain, where Thomas is of apoſtolic authority, might paſs for a very judicious and

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"ſunt;' quandoquidem dicitur propter eſſentiæ Unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverſè trahere "volens ad Unitatem charitatis et conſenſûs, inducebat conſequentem auctoritatem. Nam ſubditur ibidem, 'Et Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant in terrâ, Spiritus Sanctus, Aqua et "Sanguis:' et in quibuſdam libris additur, 'Et hi Tres Unum ſunt.' Sed hoc in veris exem-"plaribus non habetur; ſed dicitur eſſe appoſitum ab Hæreticis Arianis ad pervertendum intel-"lectum ſanum auctoritatis præmiſſæ de Unitate eſſentiæ Trium Perſonarum." Hæc Beatus Thomas, ubi ſupra.

RECORD OF ſubſtantial defence of the printed Greek. But to us, Thomas Aquinas is no apoſtle. We are ſeeking for the authority of Greek manuſcripts.

A third reaſon why I conceive the Complutenſian Greek to have been in this place a tranſlation from the Latin, is, becauſe Stunica (who, as I told you, was one of the divines employed by the cardinal in this edition; and at that very time wrote againſt Eraſmus), when, in his objections, he comes to this text of the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven," he cites not one Greek manuſcript for it againſt Eraſmus; but argues wholly from the authority of the Latin. On the contrary, he ſets down, by way of conceſſion, the common reading of the Greek manuſcripts (as well as his own, and that of others) in theſe words; "ὁτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες· το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, "και το ἁιμα· και οἱ τρεις εις το ἑν εισι": and then condemns them all together without exception; and juſtifies the Latin againſt them by the authority of Jerome. "(ii) Know, ſaith he, "that in this place the Greek manuſcripts are moſt evidently corrupted; but ours (that is, the Latin ones) contain the truth itſelf, as they are tranſlated from the firſt original: which is manifeſt by the prologue of St. Jerome upon the epiſtles, &c." And this prologue (which he goes on to cite at length, and of which we gave you an account above) is all he argues in favour of the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven." In other places of Scripture, where he had Greek manuſcripts on his ſide, he produces them readily. So 1 Theſſalonians ii. 7, "*Ita quidem legitur,*" ſays he, "*in Græcis codicibus, quos ego viderim.*" In James i. 11, he ſaith, "*Sciendum in omnibus Græcis codicibus* "πορειαις *hîc legi per* ει *dipthongum.*" In 1 Theſſalonians v. 23, he ſaith, "*Cum in Græcis exemplaribus, quotquot ſunt,* ολοκληρον, "*et in Latinis* integer *hîc legatur pernemine diſcrepante, neſcio,* "*cur Eraſmus dixerit, &c.*" In Philipp. iv. 9, "*Si quidem in* "*omnibus,*" ſaith he, "*Græcis codicibus;* ταυτα λογιζεσθε *hîc legitur: neque Græci ſunt libri, qui* πρασσετε *hoc loco, neque Latini,*

(ii) "Sciendum eſt, hoc loco codices apertiſſimè eſſe corruptos; noſtros verò veritatem ipſam, "ut à primâ origine traducti ſunt. continere; quod ex prologo B. Hieronymi ſuper epiſtolas manifeſtè

"*tini, qui* agite; *niſi mendoſos utriuſque linguæ codices, cùm hæc* THE THREE IN HEAVEN.
"*commentaretur Eraſmus, perlegit.*" After this manner does Stunica produce the manuſcripts uſed in the Complutenſian edition, when they make for him: and here he produces them too, but it is for Eraſmus againſt himſelf. "Know," ſaith he, "that "in this place the Greek manuſcripts are moſt evidently corrupt-"ed." In other places, if he hath but one manuſcript on his ſide, he produces it magnificently enough; as the Codex Rhodienſis in his diſcourſes upon 2 Corinthians ii. 3. James i. 22. 2 Peter ii. 2. and other texts. Here he produces all the manuſcripts againſt himſelf, without excepting ſo much as one. And hence Eraſmus, in his anſwer to Stunica, gloried in the conſent of the Spaniſh manuſcripts with his own; and Sanctius Caranza, another of the Complutenſian divines, in his defence of Stunica, written preſently after, had nothing to reply in this point. Neither could Sepulveda, or the Spaniſh monks who next undertook the controverſy, find one Greek manuſcript, which here made againſt Eraſmus. Neither had Marchio Valeſius better ſucceſs, though, on that occaſion, he collated ſixteen Greek manuſcripts, eight whereof belonged to the king of Spain's library; and the other eight to other libraries of Spain: and he did it on purpoſe, to collect out of them whatever he could meet with in favour of the preſent vulgar Latin. Neither did the reprinting of the Complutenſian Bible by Arias Montanus, produce the notice of any ſuch manuſcript; though, on that occaſion, many manuſcripts, as well Greek as Latin, fetched from Complutum and other places, were collated by Arias, Lucas Brugenſis, Canter, and others.

XXX. So then, to ſum up the argument, the Complutenſian divines did ſometimes correct the Greek by the Latin, without the authority of any Greek manuſcript; as appears by their practice in Matthew vi. 13, and therefore their printing the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" is no evidence that they did it by a manuſcript; but, on the contrary, for want of one, they

"nifeſtè apparet." Ait enim, "Quæ ſi ſicut ab eis digeſtæ ſunt; ita quoque ab interpretibus "fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium, &c."—*Hæc Stunica in h. locum. Ejus Liber exſtat in Criticor. vol. IX.*

RECORD OF contented themſelves with the authority of Thomas Aquinas: and Stunica confeſſed that they had none. Nor has all the zeal for this text been able ſince to diſcover one either in Spain, or any where elſe.

XXXI. And now you may underſtand whence it is, that the Complutenſian edition, and the reading of the pretended Engliſh manuſcript, ſet down by Eraſmus in his annotations, differ ſo much from one another. For the Complutenſian edition has the text thus: "*Ὁτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρεντες εν τῳ ουρανῳ, ὁ πατηρ, ὁ λογος, και το ἁγιον πνευμα· και οἱ τρεις εις το ἑν εισι· και τρεις εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρεντες επι της γης, το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, και το αἱμα.*" The pretended Engliſh manuſcript thus: "*Οτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρεντες εν τῳ ουρανῳ, πατηρ, λογος, και πνευμα· και ὁυτοι οἱ τρεις ἑν εισιν· και τρεις μαρτυρουντες εν τη γη, πνευμα, και ὑδωρ, και αἱμα.*" The differences are too great to ſpring from the bare errors of ſcribes, and ariſe rather from the various tranſlations of the place, out of Latin into Greek, by two ſeveral perſons.

XXXII. But whilſt theſe two readings, by their diſcord, confute one another; the readings of the real Greek manuſcripts by their agreement confirm one another as much. For Caryophilus, who, by the command of pope Urban the Eighth, collated the Vatican, and other manuſcripts, borrowed out of the principal libraries in Rome, found one common reading in them all, without the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven;" as you may ſee in thoſe his collations, printed in 1673, by Peter Poſſinus, in the end of his Catena of the Greek fathers upon Mark. He met with eight manuſcripts in all upon the epiſtles, and notes their reading thus: "1 Joan. v. 7. Manuſcripti octo (omnes nempe) legunt, *Οτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες, το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, και το αἱμα; και οἱ τρεις εις το ἑν εισι.*" "*Porro totus ſeptimus verſus hujus capitis deſideratur in octo manuſcriptis codicibus Græcis, &c.*" Thus Caryophilus.

XXXIII. The very ſame reading Eraſmus, in his annotations on this place, gives us of all his manuſcripts, which were more than ſeven; and ſo doth Stephens of all his ſeven, without noting any various

(kk). "Habuimus ab Hunnæo——id quod maximi facimus, MS. Bibl. correctorium ab incerto "auctore,

various lections in them. Only the comma, which in Stephens's edition is (ſurely by miſtake) ſet after οὐρανῷ, is to be put in its right place. The very ſame reading does Stunica alſo, in his book againſt Eraſmus, note out of the manuſcript, he had ſeen in Spain, as was ſeen above. Nor does Valeſius, in his collection of the ſixteen Spaniſh manuſcripts, note any various lections in this text. The ſame reading exactly have alſo the manuſcripts in England; namely, that moſt ancient and famous one in the king's library, which was conveyed thither from Ægypt through Greece, and publiſhed in Walton's Polyglott Bible; and the four at Oxford, viz, that in New College, and that in Magdalen College (both very old), and two in Lincoln College: and four or five other ancient ones lately collated at Oxford, in order to a new impreſſion of the Greek teſtament, as I am informed. The very ſame reading have alſo the three manuſcripts of Monſieur Petavius Gachon, a ſenator of Paris, whoſe various lections, collected by his ſon, John Gachon, were printed in the Oxford edition of the New Teſtament, anno Chriſti 1675. The ſame reading, without any variation, is publiſhed by Francis Aſulan in his edition, printed anno Chriſti 1518, by Aldus at Venice, out of the manuſcripts of thoſe parts. The ſame reading Oecumenius, ſix hundred years ago, found in the manuſcripts of Greece; as you may ſee in the text of his commentary on this epiſtle of St. John. The ſame reading alſo Cyril of Alexandria met with in the manuſcripts of Egypt, above eleven hundred years ago; as you may ſee in his citations of the text; both in his Theſaurus, lib. xiv. cap. 5. And in his firſt book *De Fide ad Reginas*, excepting that in the latter of theſe two citations, the particle "εἱς" is omitted; and "μαρτυροῦσι" written for "οἱ μαρτυροῦντες." And that the very ſame reading was alſo in the manuſcripts of the firſt ages, may be gathered from the conformity of this reading to all the ancient verſions.

XXXIV. It may ſeem by what has been hitherto ſaid, that this teſtimony is not to be found in the Greek manuſcripts. Epanorthotes ([kk]), whom Lucas Brugenſis deſcribes to be an ancient, accurate,

" auctore, quem Epanorthotem, aut correctorem fere vocamus, magnâ diligentiâ, ac fide contex-

RECORD OF curate, full, and induſtrious collator of manuſcripts, found it wanting in all thoſe he met with. "*Epanorthotes*," ſaith Lucas, "*deeſſe hæc eadem Græcis libris, et antiquis Latinis annotat.*" Nor have other collators made a further diſcovery to this day. Lee, Stunica, and the reſt in England, Spain, Flanders, France and Italy, who conſpired againſt Eraſmus, could find nothing in the manuſcripts of thoſe parts againſt him; if that Phœnix be excepted, which once appeared to ſomebody ſomewhere in England, but could never ſince be ſeen. Heſſelius ([ll]), about the year 1565, profeſſor of divinity at Lovain, in his commentary on this place, ingenuouſly confeſſes it wanting in all the Greek manuſcripts then known, except two; the one in Spain, the other in England; meaning thoſe, by which the Complutenſian divines and Eraſmus printed it. Which two we have ſhewn to be none at all; unleſs one Annius dug up one in England. Since that time nothing further has been produced, beſides the imaginary books of dreaming Beza. And yet I will not ſay, but that it may hereafter be found in ſome Greek copies. For in the times of the holy war, the Latins had much to do in the Eaſt. They were long united to the Greek church: they made Latin patriarchs of Jeruſalem and Antioch: they reigned at Conſtantinople over the Greeks from the year 1204, for above fifty years together: and during this their kingdom, in the year 1215, was aſſembled the Lateran council, conſiſting of four hundred and fifteen biſhops, Greeks and Latins together; and therein the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" was quoted out of ſome of the Latin manuſcripts, as we told you above. All which might occaſion ſome Greeks, as well as Latins, to note it in the margins of their books; and hence inſert it into the text in tranſcribing. For

" tum, ſecuto uti oportet antiquos noſtræ editionis codices, eoſque cum Hæbræis, Græcis, et vete-" rum patrum commentariis ſedulo collatos: qui liber ad Geneſin viii. 7: latius à nobis deſcriptus " eſt." Hæc Lucas; qui ad Geneſin viii. 7. dixit hunc librum multis annis ſcriptum, et pluribus forte compoſitum. Dein loco ex eo citato pergit. " Ad quæ dici quid poſſit? An " quod libro fidendum non ſit? Non hoc dicet, qui evolverit; quæ namque à noſtri ſeculi ſcrip-" toribus ex MSS. codicibus collectæ ſunt variæ lectiones, omnes propemodum in eo comperimus; " et ad fontes fideliter examinatas deprehendimus.——*Scripſit hæc Lucas*, anno 1579: unde ſe-" quitur correctorium ante diſputationes Eraſmicas de Teſtibus in Cœlo elaboratum eſſe."

([ll]) Heſſelius in hunc locum ait, " Manuſcripti Græci fere omnes ſic ſe habent. ' Quoniam " Tres ſunt, qui teſtimonium dant in terrâ, Spiritus, Aqua et Sanguis, et hi Tres Unum ſunt,' " nullâ

For this is moſt certain, that ſome Greek manuſcripts have been corrected by the Latin ones. Such a book Eraſmus (mm) tells us, that he "once met with, and that there was ſuch another in "the pope's library." He ſuſpected alſo that book in England, out of which he printed the teſtimony of "the Three in hea- "ven," to be of the ſame kind; though I rather think it was none at all; unleſs ſome falſary of that age were at the pains to tranſcribe one or two of St. Paul's epiſtles. Such another book was one of thoſe, out of which Valeſius collected his various lections. Whence Mariana, into whoſe hands the manuſcript book of thoſe lections fell, tells us, that for that reaſon, in his annotations on the New Teſtament, he uſed thoſe lections but ſparingly and cautiouſly. And that Valeſius did meet with ſuch a corrected manuſcript, appears by the lections themſelves. For in the Apocalypſe xviii. 17, where the Greek reads "επι τοπον;" and the Latin tranſlates *in locum*, and by the error of one letter *in lacum*, as the books now have it; ſome Grecian has here corrected this book by the Latin, and written "επι λιμνην;" as it is in the lections of Valeſius, taken out of this. Again in the Apocalypſe ix. 11, where the Latin tranſlation, in expounding the names *Abaddon et Apollyon*, adds, "*Et Latinè habens nomen* "*exterminans*;" Valeſius notes the reading in his Greek copy to be "ρωμαιςι εχων ονομα εξτερμιναυς;" which certainly is a tranſlation of the Latin. Again, in the Apocalypſe xxi. 12, where the Greek has "αγγελυς;;" and ſome ancient Latin copies, *angelos*; but the far greater part of the Latin copies at preſent have *angulos*; Valeſius, in his manuſcript, reads "γωνιας." So in the Apocalypſe xix. 6, where the Greek is "οχλυ πολλυ;" the Latin, *turbæ magnæ*; and in the later copies, *tubæ magnæ*; Valeſius, in his manuſcript, reads "σαλπιγγος μεγαλης." In He-

"nullâ factâ mentione triplicis teſtimonii de Cœlo, 'Patris, Verbi et Spiritûs Sancti'." Dein codices aliter legentes deſcribendo ſic pergit: "Noſtro tempore duo Græci codices manuſcripti "reperti ſunt; unus in Angliâ, et alter in Hiſpaniâ: quorum uterque hoc loco teſtimonium habet "'Patris, Verbi et Spiritûs Sancti'."

(mm) "Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, eſſe Græcorum quoſdam Novi Teſtamenti codices "ad Latina exemplaria emendatos. Id factum eſt in fœdere Græcorum cum Romanâ eccleſia: "quod fœdus teſtatur Bulla, quæ dicitur Aurea: viſum eſt enim et hoc ad firmandam concor- "diam pertinere. Et nos olim in hujuſmodi codicem indicimus; et talis adhuc dicitur adſervari "in Bibliothecâ Pontif. Verum ex his corrigere noſtros eſt Leſbiam, ut aiunt, admovere regu- "lam."——*Eraſmus ad Lectorem. Editio 5ta Novi Teſtamenti.*

brews

RECORD OF brews xiii. 2, for " ελαθον," *latuerunt*; and in later copies, *placuerunt*, Valeſius reads " ηρεσαν:" and in 1 Peter iii. 8, for " το δε " τελος," *in fine*; and by an error *in fide*, Valeſius reads " εν τη " πιςει δε." Theſe, and ſuch like inſtances, put the thing out of diſpute. Now, though Valeſius found not the teſtimony of " the " Three in heaven" in this manuſcript; and Eraſmus tells us, that he never ſaw it in any Greek manuſcript; and, by conſequence, not in that corrected one which fell into his hands, yet it may have crept out of the Latin into ſome other books, not yet taken notice of; and even in ſome manuſcripts, which, in other places, have not been corrected by the Latin, it may poſſibly have been inſerted by ſome of the Greek biſhops of the Lateran council, where the teſtimony of " the Three in heaven" was read. And therefore he, that ſhall hereafter meet with it in any book, ought firſt, before he inſiſt upon the authority of that book, to examine whether it has not been corrected by the Latin; and whether it be ancienter than the Lateran council, and empire of the Latins in Greece; for, if it be liable to either of theſe two exceptions, it can ſignify nothing to produce it.

XXXV. HAVING given you the hiſtory of the controverſy, I ſhall now confirm all that I have ſaid from the ſenſe of the text itſelf. For, without the teſtimony of " the Three in heaven," the ſenſe is good and eaſy, as you may ſee by the following paraphraſe inſerted in the text in a different character.

" WHO IS HE THAT OVERCOMETH THE WORLD, BUT HE THAT " BELIEVETH THAT JESUS IS THE SON OF GOD, that Son ſpo- " ken of in the Pſalms, where he ſaith, ' Thou art my Son; " this day have I begotten thee.' THIS IS HE THAT, after the " Jews had long expected him, CAME, firſt in a mortal body, BY " baptiſm of WATER, AND then in an immortal one by ſhed- " ding his BLOOD upon the Croſs, and riſing again from the " dead; NOT BY WATER ONLY, BUT BY WATER AND BLOOD; " being the Son of God, as well by his reſurrection from the " dead (Acts xiii. 33.) as by his ſupernatural birth of the Virgin " (Luke i. 35.) AND IT IS THE SPIRIT alſo, THAT, together " with

" with the Water and Blood, BEARETH WITNESS of the truth of THE THREE
" his coming; BECAUSE THE SPIRIT IS TRUTH; and ſo a fit and IN HEAVEN.
" unexceptionable witneſs. FOR THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR
" RECORD of his coming; THE SPIRIT, which he promiſed to
" ſend; and which was ſince ſhed forth upon us in the form of
" cloven tongues, and in various gifts; THE baptiſm of WATER,
" wherein God teſtified, 'This is my beloved Son;' AND THE
" ſhedding of his BLOOD, accompanied with his reſurrection,
" whereby he became the moſt faithful martyr, or witneſs, of
" this truth. AND THESE THREE, the Spirit, the baptiſm, and
" paſſion of Chriſt, AGREE IN witneſſing ONE, and the ſame
" thing (namely, that the Son of God is come); and, therefore,
" their evidence is ſtrong: for the law requires but two conſent-
" ing witneſſes, and here we have three: AND IF WE RECEIVE
" THE WITNESS OF MEN, THE threefold WITNESS OF GOD,
" which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptiſm, 'This
" is my beloved Son;' by raiſing him from the dead, and by
" pouring out his Spirit on us, IS GREATER; and therefore ought
" to be more readily received."

XXXII. This is the ſenſe plain and natural, and the argument full and ſtrong: but, if you inſert the teſtimony of "the Three "in heaven," you interrupt and ſpoil it. For the whole deſign of the apoſtle being here to prove to men by witneſs the truth of Chriſt's coming, I would aſk how the teſtimony of "the Three "in heaven" makes to this purpoſe. If their teſtimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Chriſt's coming? If it be, how is the teſtimony in heaven diſtinguiſhed from that on earth? It is the ſame Spirit which witneſſes in heaven and in earth. If in both caſes it witneſſes to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witneſſing in heaven, and its witneſſing in earth? If, in the firſt caſe, it does not witneſs to men, to whom doth it witneſs? And to what purpoſe? And how does its witneſſing make to the deſign of St. John's diſcourſe? Let them make good ſenſe of it, who are able. For my part, I can make none. If it be ſaid that we are not to determine what is ſcripture, and what not, by our private judgments; I confeſs it in places not controverted: but in diſputable places, I love to

RECORD OF take up with what I can beſt underſtand. It is the temper of the hot and ſuperſtitious part of mankind, in matters of religion, ever to be fond of myſteries; and for that reaſon, to like beſt what they underſtand leaſt. Such men may uſe the apoſtle John as they pleaſe; but I have that honour for him, as to believe that he wrote good ſenſe; and therefore take that ſenſe to be *his*, which is the beſt: eſpecially ſince I am defended in it by ſo great authority. For I have on my ſide the authority of the Fourth General Council, and (ſo far as I know) of all the churches in all ages, except the modern Latin, and ſuch others as have lately been influenced by them; and that alſo of all the old verſions, and Greek manuſcripts, and ancient Latin ones: and nothing againſt me, but the authority of Jerome, and the credulity and heat of his followers. For to tell us of other manuſcripts, without ever letting us know, in what libraries they were to be ſeen: to pretend manuſcripts which, ſince their firſt diſcovery, could never be heard of; nor were then ſeen by perſons whoſe names and credit we know; is plainly to impoſe upon the learned world, and ought not to paſs any longer for plain dealing. The Spaniards tell us plainly that they followed the Latin, and by the authority of Thomas left out the clauſe, "And theſe "Three are One," in the eighth verſe, as inſerted by the Arians. And yet St. Ambroſe, St. Auſtin, Eucherius and other Latins, in the Arian age, gathered the Unity of the Deity from this clauſe; and the omiſſion of it is now, by printing it, acknowledged to be an erroneous correction. The manuſcript in England wanted the ſame clauſe, and therefore if there was any ſuch MS. it was a corrected one, like the Spaniſh edition, and the manuſcript of Valeſius. Eraſmus, who printed the triple teſtimony in heaven by that Engliſh manuſcript, never ſaw it; tells us it was a new one; ſuſpected its ſincerity; and accuſed it publicly in his writings on ſeveral occaſions, for ſeveral years together: and yet his adverſaries in England never anſwered his accuſation; never endeavoured to ſatisfy him; and the world about it; did not ſo much as let us know, where the record might be conſulted for confuting him; but, on the contrary, when they had got the Trinity into his edition, threw by their manuſcript (if

(if they had one), as an almanack out of date. And can ſuch ſhuffling dealings ſatisfy conſidering men? Let manuſcripts at length be produced, and freely expoſed to the ſight of the learned world; but let ſuch manuſcripts be produced as are of authority; or elſe let it be confeſſed, that whilſt Jerome pretended to correct the Latin by the Greek, the Latins have corrected both the Latin and the Greek by the ſole authority of Jerome.

THE THREE IN HEAVEN.

I. WHAT the Latins have done to this text, the Greeks have done to that of St. Paul (Timothy iii. 16). For by changing ὁ into ΘC, the abbreviation of Θεος, they now read, "Great is the "myſtery of godlineſs: GOD manifeſted in the fleſh." Whereas all the churches for the firſt four or five hundred years, and the authors of all the ancient verſions, Jerome, as well as the reſt, read, "Great is the myſtery of godlineſs, which was ma"nifeſted in the fleſh." For this is the common reading of the Ethiopic, Syriac, and Latin verſions to this day; Jerome's manuſcripts having given him no occaſion to correct the old vulgar Latin in this place. Grotius adds the Arabic, but the Egyptian Arabic verſion has Θεος; and ſo has the above-mentioned Sclavonian verſion of Cyrillus: for theſe two verſions were made long after the ſixth century, wherein the corruption began. With the ancienter verſions agree the writers of the firſt five centuries, both Greeks and Latins. For they, in all their diſcourſes to prove the Deity of the Son, never alledge this text (that I can find) as they would all have done; (and ſome of them frequently) had they read "God manifeſted in the fleſh," and therefore they read ὁ. Tertullian *(adverſus Praxeam)* and Cyprian *(adverſus Judæos)* induſtriouſly cite all the places where Chriſt is called God, but have nothing of this. Alexander of Alexandria, Athanaſius, the biſhops of the council of Sardica, Epiphanius, Baſil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyſſen, Chryſoſtom, Cyril of Jeruſalem, Cyril of Alexandria, Caſſian, alſo Hilary, Lucifer, Jerome, Ambroſe, Auſtin, Phæbadius, Victorinus Afer, Fauſtinus Diaconus, pope Leo the Great, Arnobius junior, Cerealis, Vigilius Tapſenſis, Fulgentius, wrote all of them in the fourth and fifth centuries for the Deity of the Son, and incarnation of

GOD MANIFESTED IN THE FLESH.

God; and ſóme of them largely, and in ſeveral tracts; and yet I cannot find that they ever alledge this text to prove it, excepting that Gregory Nyſſen ([nn]) once urges it, if the paſſage crept not into him out of ſome marginal annotation. In all the times of the hot and laſting Arian controverſy, it never came into play; though now thoſe diſputes are over, they that read "God mani-"feſted in the fleſh," think it one of the moſt obvious and pertinent texts for the buſineſs.

II. The churches therefore of thoſe ages were abſolute ſtrangers to this reading. For, on the contrary, their writers, as often as they have any occaſion to cite the reading then in uſe, diſcover that it was ὃ. For though they cite it not to prove the Deity of the Son, yet in their commentaries, and ſometimes in other diſcourſes, they produce it. And particularly Hilary (lib. 2. *de Trinitate)* and Ambroſe, or whoever of his contemporaries was the author of the commentary on the epiſtles, reads ὃ; and ſo doth St. Auſtin *in Geneſin ad literam*, lib. 5. And Beda in his commentary on this text, where he cites the reading of St. Auſtin, and the author of the commentary on the epiſtles aſcribed to Jerome. So alſo do Primaſius and Sedulius in their commentaries on this text; and Victorinus Afer, lib. 1. *adverſus Arium*; and Idacius Clarus, or rather Vigilius Tapſenſis, lib. 3. *adverſus Varimadum*, cap. 12. And Fulgentius, c. 2. *de Incarnatione*; and ſo did pope Leo the Great, epiſt. 20. *ad Flavianum*; and pope Gregory the Great, *lib.* 34. *Moral. cap.* 7. Theſe ancient Latins all cite the text after this manner, "Great is the myſ-"tery of godlineſs, which was manifeſted in the fleſh;" as the Latin manuſcripts of St. Paul's epiſtles generally have it to this day: and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that this hath been the

([nn]) Orat. xi. contra Eunom.

* —— *nor expounds it as they do, who read* Θεὸς.] *They who read* Θεὸς *cannot expound the paſſage otherwiſe than Chryſoſtom expounds it. His words, "For God was made Man, and Man "God," are not particularly expoſitive of* ὃ, *as our author imagines, but declarative of the myſtery which the apoſtle calls the great myſtery of godlineſs, and they will not decide for either reading. "Obſerve," ſays Chryſoſtom, "how the apoſtle calls the diſpenſation for our ſakes [the ſcheme of "redemption] a myſtery in all its branches. With good reaſon. For it is not known to all men. "Nay, rather it was [formerly] not known to angels. How ſhould it? ſince it has been diſcovered "through the church. Therefore, he ſays, without controverſy it is great. And great indeed it is. "For God has been made Man, and Man God. A Man was ſeen without ſin. A Man has been "received*

the conſtant publick reading of the Latin churches from the beginning. So alſo one of the Arians in a homily, printed in Fulgentius's works, reads ὃ, and interprets it of the Son of God, who was born of the Father *ante ſecula*; and of the Virgin, *in noviſſimo tempore.* And Fulgentius, in his anſwer to this homily, found no fault with the citation; but on the contrary, in his firſt book *ad Traſimundum, cap.* 6. ſeems to have read and underſtood the text after the ſame manner with other Latins. IN THE FLESH.

III. Now for the Greeks, I find indeed that they have changed the ancient reading of the text, not only in the manuſcripts of St. Paul's epiſtles, but alſo in other authors; and yet there are ſtill remaining ſufficient inſtances among them of what the reading was at firſt. So in Chryſoſtom's commentary on this epiſtle, they have now gotten Θεος into the text; and yet by conſidering the commentary itſelf, I am ſatisfied that he read ὃ. For he neither in this commentary, nor any where elſe, infers the Deity of Chriſt from this text; nor expounds it, as they do who read Θεος *; but with the Latins, who read ὃ, underſtands by it Chriſt incarnate; or, as he expreſſes it, "Man made God, and "God made man;" and ſo leaves it at liberty to be taken for either God or man. And accordingly in one place of this commentary he ſaith, "Εφανερωθη εν σαρκι ὁ δημιεργος †." In another place: "Ανθρωπος ωφθη αναμαρτητος, ανθρωπος ανεληφθη, εκηρυχθη "εν κοσμῳ, μεθ ἡμων ειδον αυτον οἱ αγγελοι." "Man appeared without ſin; Man was received up; Man was preached in the world; "was ſeen amongſt us by angels." Inſtead of "ὃ εφανερωθη εν "σαρκι, εδικαιωθη εν πνευματι," &c. he ſaith, "Man appeared "without ſin;" making Man the nominative caſe to theſe, and all the verbs which follow; which certainly he would not have done, had Θεος been their nominative caſe expreſsly in the text.

"*received up—preached in the world—angels ſaw him with us—truly this is myſtery." The deſign of this paraphraſe of St. Chryſoſtom's, is to ſhew that the ſcheme of redemption involves myſtery in every diſtinct branch mentioned by the apoſtle: and our author's concluſion, that the ſubject of the verb* εφανερωθη *in Chryſoſtom's bible, was ſomething that might be taken either for God or man, is at beſt precarious. The more natural concluſion would be, that the common ſubject of the verbs* εφανερωθη, εδικαιωθη, ωφθη, εκηρυχθη, *&c. was ſome word that might denote a living perſon; and is not likely to have been the neuter relative* ὃ.

† *Chryſoſtom's words are* —— λεγων, "Θεος εφανερωθη εν σαρκι," τουτεστιν ὁ δημιεργος. *Subſtitute* ὃ *for* Θεος *in the text of Chryſoſtom, and the expoſition* τουτ' εστιν ὁ δημιεργος, *will be rank nonſenſe.*

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He might properly put man for ὁ, but not for θεος. Neither could he have put αναμαρτητος for εδικαιωθη; if he had read in his text θεος εδικαιωθη. For what man of common ſenſe would ſay, that God was made ſinleſs in and through the Spirit? But what I have ſaid of Chryſoſtom will be more evident, when I ſhall have ſhewn you how afterwards, in the time of the Neſtorian controverſy, all parties read ὁ or ὁς without any diſpute raiſed about the reading; and how the Greeks have ſince corrupted the text in Cyril's writings, and changed ὁ and ὁς into θεος, as they have done in Chryſoſtom's.

IV. And, firſt, that the Neſtorians read ὁ is evident by ſome fragments of the orations or homilies of Neſtorius ſent by him to the pope, and cited by Arnobius Junior, in the ſecond book of his conflict with Serapion. For there, in order to ſhew what was the opinion of Neſtorius, and how he defended it, he cites two of his orations in theſe words: "*Non peperit ſanctiſſima Maria Deitatem; nam quod natum eſt de carne, caro eſt. Non peperit creatura Creatorem; ſed peperit hominem Deitatis miniſtrum. Non ædificavit Deum verbum, Spiritus Sanctus; quod ex ipſâ natum eſt, de Spiritu Sancto eſt. Deo itaque virgo templum ex virgine ædificavit.*" *Et paulo poſt*, "*Qui per ſe natus eſt Deus in utero (ſcilicet ante Luciphorum) Deus eſt.*" *Et paulo poſt*; "Θεοτοκȣ *formam in Deo honoramus.*" *Et in aliâ prædicatione*; "*Spiritum divina ſeparat natura, qui humanitatem ejus creavit. Quicquid ex Mariâ natum eſt, de Spiritu Sancto eſt, qui et ſecundum juſtitiam replevit, quod creatum eſt; hoc quod manifeſtum eſt in carne, juſtificatum eſt in Spiritu.*" Which laſt words in the language, wherein Neſtorius wrote thoſe homilies, are, "ὁ εφανερωθη εν σαρκι, εδικαιωθη εν πνευματι."

V. Here you ſee that Neſtorius reads ὁ expreſsly; not only ſo, but abſolutely excludes God from being underſtood by it; arguing, that the Virgin was not θεοτοκος, becauſe that thing which was manifeſted in the fleſh, was juſtified in the Spirit; or (as he expounds it) repleniſhed by the Spirit in righteouſneſs, and calling that thing which was manifeſted in the fleſh, a creature: "*Spiritus*," ſaith he, "*ſecundum juſtitiam replevit* [*hoc*] *quod creatum*

"*tum eſt*; [*nempe*] *hoc quod manifeſtum eſt in carne, juſtificatum* IN THE FLESH.
"*eſt in Spiritu.*"

VI. And now whilſt he read the text after this manner, and urged it thus againſt the Deity of Chriſt, one would ſuſpect, that if this had not been the received publick reading in the Greek churches, his adverſaries would have fallen foul upon him, and exclaimed againſt him for falſifying the text, and blaſphemouſly ſaying it was a created thing, which the Scripture calls "God "manifeſted in the fleſh." And ſuch an accuſation as this, would ſurely have made as great a noiſe as any thing elſe in the controverſy: and yet I meet with nothing of this kind in hiſtory. His adverſaries do not ſo much as tell him, that Θεος was in the text. They were ſo far from raiſing any controverſy about the reading, that they do not in the leaſt correct him for it; but, on the contrary, they themſelves, in their anſwers to his writings, read ὁ, as he did; and only laboured by various diſputations to put another ſenſe upon the text, as I find by Caſſian and Cyril, the two principal who at that time wrote againſt him.

VII. John Caſſian was Chryſoſtom's ſcholar, and his deacon and legate to the pope; and after the baniſhment of Chryſoſtom, retired from Conſtantinople into Syria and Egypt, where he lived a monkiſh life for ſome time, and then ended his days in France. At that time, therefore, when Neſtorius, who was patriarch of Conſtantinople, broached his opinion, and Cyril, the patriarch of Alexandria, oppoſed him; Neſtorius ſent a legacy to Rome with copies of his orations, to let the pope underſtand the controverſy: and thereupon Leo the Great, who was then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and afterwards pope, put Caſſian (then in France) upon writing this book, *De Incarnatione Domini*, againſt Neſtorius. He wrote it therefore in the year 430, as Baronius alſo reckons. For he wrote it before the condemnation of Neſtorius in the council of Epheſus; as appears by the book itſelf. This book is now extant only in Latin; but, conſidering that his deſign in writing was to ſtir up the Greek church againſt Neſtorius, and that for the making great impreſſion upon them, he quotes Greek fathers at the end of his book, and concludes with an exhortation to the citizens of Conſtantinople, telling them,

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that what he wrote for, he had received from his maſter Chryſoſtom: I am ſatisfied that he wrote it originally in Greek. His other books were in both languages. For Photius ſaw them in eloquent Greek; and it is more likely that they had their author's eloquent language from their author, and the Latin from one of the Latins, where he lived; than that the contrary ſhould be true. Now in this treatiſe ([oo]) when he comes to conſider the paſſage of Neſtorius about this text, of which we gave you an account above out of Arnobius, he returns this anſwer to it: "*Jam primum enim hoc ais Neſtori, quia juſtitiâ repleverit, quod cre-* "*atum eſt; et hoc apoſtolico vis teſtimonio comprobare, quod dicat,* "apparuit in carne; juſtificatus eſt in Spiritu; *utrumque falſo ſen-* "*ſu, et furioſo Spiritu loqueris. Quia et hoc, quod à Spiritu vis* "*eum repletum eſſe juſtitiâ, ideo ponis, ut oſtendas ejus vacuita-* "*tem, cui præſtitam eſſe aſſeras juſtitiæ adimpletionem. Et hoc,* "*quod ſuper hâc re apoſtolico teſtimonio uteris, divini teſtimonii or-* "*dinem rationemque furaris. Non enim ita ab apoſtolo poſitum eſt,* "*ut tu id truncatum, vitiatumque poſuiſti. Quid enim apoſtolus* "*ait?* 'Et manifeſtè magnum eſt pietatis ſacramentum, quod ma- "nifeſtum eſt in carne, juſtificatum eſt in Spiritu.' *Vides ergo,* "*quòd myſterium pietatis, vel ſacramentum juſtificatum apoſtolus* "*prædicavit.*" Thus far Caſſian not only reading ὅ, but confuting Neſtorius by that reading. For whereas Neſtorius ſaid it was a creature which was juſtified, Caſſian tells him, that if he had read the whole text, he would have found that it was "the myſ- "tery of godlineſs." "*Vides ergo,*" ſaith he, "*quod myſterium* "*pietatis juſtificatum apoſtolus prædicavit.*" He does not ſay, "*Deum juſtificatum apoſtolus prædicavit;*" (as he would certainly have done, had that been in his bible) but *myſterium*; and ſo makes *myſterium*, or, which is all one, its relative *quod*, the nominative caſe to the verbs which follow. In another part of this treatiſe, lib. 5, cap. 12. Caſſian cites and interprets the text as follows: "*Et manifeſtè magnum eſt pietatis ſacramentum, quod* "*manifeſtatum eſt in carne, &c. Quod ergo magnum eſt illud ſa-* "*cramentum, quod manifeſtatum eſt in carne? Deus, ſcilicet, natus* "*in carne, Deus viſus in corpore, qui utique ſicut palam eſt aſ-*

([oo]) Libro ſeptimo, cap. 18.

"*ſumptus in gloriâ.*" So you ſee Neſtorius and Caſſian agree in reading ὁ, but differ in interpreting it; the one reſtraining it to a creature, by reaſon of its being juſtified; the other reſtraining it to God, by reaſon of its being a great myſtery, and aſſumed in glory. IN THE FLESH.

VIII. In like manner Cyril, the grand adverſary of Neſtorius, in his three books, *De Fide ad Imperatorem et Reginas*, written againſt him in the beginning of that controverſy, did not reprehend him, as if he had cited the text falſely, but only complained of his miſinterpreting it; telling him, that he did not underſtand the great myſtery of godlineſs, and that it was not a created thing (as he thought), but the Word or Son of God; and arguing for this interpretation from the circumſtances of the text. And, firſt, in his book *De Fide ad Imperatorem*, ſect. 7. he has this paſſage: "*Πλανασθε, μη ειδοτες τας γραφας· μητε μεν* "*το μεγα της ευσεβειας μυστηριον, τουτεστι Χριστον, ὁς εφανερωθη εν σαρκι,* "*εδικαιωθη εν πνευματι*, &c." "Ye err," ſaith he, "not know-"ing the Scriptures, nor the great myſtery of godlineſs, that "is, Chriſt; who was manifeſted in the fleſh, juſtified in the "Spirit." By this citation, it is plain that he read ὁς, uſing one of theſe MSS. which, by underſtanding *Χριστον* for *μυστηριον*, turned ὁ into ὁς; and, by way of interpretation, inſerting *τουτεστι Χριστον*, which in thoſe MSS. was to be underſtood; unleſs you will ſay that he turns *θεος* into ὁς, which is very hard. For had Θεος been in this text, he would not have ſaid *μυστηριον, τουτεστι Χριστον, ὁς εφανερωθη*; but *μυστηριον, Θεος, τουτεστι Χριστος εφανερωθη*, putting *Χριστος* not for *μυστηριον*, but for *Θεος*. For *Χριστος* and *Θεος* are more plainly equipollent than *Χριστος* and *μυστηριον*. And making *Χριστος* and *μυστηριον* equipollent, he makes *μυστηριον* the nominative caſe to *εφανερωθη*; and therefore read them joined in this text by the article ὁς· Had he read Θεος, he would never have left out that authentick and demonſtrative word, and by way of interpretation for *μυστηριον Θεος*, written *Χριστον ὁς*. For this was not to argue againſt Neſtorius, but to ſpoil the argument which lay before him. Neither would he have gone on, as he does, within a few lines, to recite the ſame text, putting *λογος* by way of interpretation for *μυστηριον*; and after to propound it as his bare

opinion,

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opinion, that the Word, or Son of God, was here to be underſtood by this myſtery, and to diſpute for this his opinion, as needing proof out of other texts of Scripture, as he does after this manner: "(pp) Moreover," ſaith he, "in my opinion, that myſ-"tery of godlineſs is nothing elſe than he who came to us from "God the Father; the Word, who was manifeſted in the fleſh. "For in taking the form of a ſervant, he was born of the "holy God-bearing Virgin, &c." And then after many other things he at length, in Sect. 23 and 24, concludes, that "this "divine myſtery is above our underſtanding; and that the Only-"begotten, who is God, and, according to the Scriptures, the "Lord of all things, appeared to us, was ſeen on earth, and "became a Man." This he makes not the text itſelf, but the interpretation thereof; and from the preceding diſputation, concludes it to be genuine.

IX. Again, in the firſt of his two treatiſes, *De Fide ad Reginas*, near the end, he cites the text, and argues thus againſt the interpretation of Neſtorius. "Who is he," ſaith he, "that is "manifeſted in the fleſh? Is it not fully evident, that it is no "other than the Word of God the Father? For ſo will that be a "great myſtery of godlineſs (which was (qq) manifeſted in the "fleſh): he was ſeen of angels, aſcending into heaven; he was "preached to the Gentiles by the holy apoſtles; he was believed "on in the world; but this not as a mere man; but as God born "in the fleſh, and after our manner."

X. So alſo in his ſecond book, *De Fide ad Reginas* (rr), he cites the place again; and then argues upon it againſt the opinion of Neſtorius after this manner: "If the Word, being God, "is ſaid to become a Man, and yet continue what he was before, "without loſing his Deity, the myſtery of godlineſs is without "doubt a very great one: but if Chriſt be a mere man, joined "with God only in the parity of dignity and power (for this is "maintained by ſome unlearned men) how is he manifeſted in "the fleſh? Is it not plain, that every man is in the fleſh, and

(pp) "Ειη γαρ αν ουχ ἑτερον οιμαι τι το της ευσεβειας μυστηριον, η αυτος ἡμιν ὁ εκ θεου πατρος λογος, ὁς εφανερωθη εν σαρκι. Γεγεννηται γαρ δια της ἁγιας παρθενου και θεοτοκου, μορφην δουλου λαβων."——*Cyril de Fide ad Imperatorem*, Sect. 8.

"cannot

" cannot otherwiſe be ſeen by any body; how then was he ſaid IN THE FLESH.
" to be ſeen of the holy angels? For do they not alſo ſee us?
" What was there therefore new or extraordinary in Chriſt, if
" the angels ſaw him ſuch a Man as we are, and nothing more,
" &c." Thus Cyril goes on to give his reaſons why that, which was manifeſted in the fleſh, was not a mere created Man, as Neſtorius interpreted, but the eternal Word, or Son of God; all which would have been very ſuperfluous and impertinent, if God had then been expreſsly in the text.

XI. Seeing therefore Neſtorius alledged the text to prove, that it was a created thing which was manifeſted in the fleſh; and Cyril, in confuting him, did not anſwer that it was God expreſsly in the text, nor raiſe any debate about the reading, but only put another interpretation upon the text than Neſtorius had done; arguing with Caſſian, that in the text it was not a mere Man, as Neſtorius contended, but a great myſtery of godlineſs; and by conſequence Chriſt, or God the Son, which was manifeſted in the fleſh; and labouring by divers other arguments to prove this interpretation, it is evident beyond all cavil, that Cyril was a ſtranger to Θεος, now got into the text; and read ὃς or ὃ, as Neſtorius and Caſſian did.

XII. And all this is further confirmed by Photius, who in his commentary on the epiſtles not yet publiſhed, relates that Cyril, in the 12th chapter of his Scholiums, read ὃς εφανερωθη, &c. and conſonant to this reading is Cyril's commentary upon the text in his explanation of the ſecond of the twelve Anathematiſms, where he puts the queſtion, " *Quid eſt igitur quod dicit, apparuit*
" *in carne?*" And explains it by ſaying, " *Hoc eſt Dei patris ver-*
" *bum Caro factum eſt:*" and concludes, that it is hence that we call him God and Man. Whereas had Θεος been in the text, it would have needed no interpretation; nor would he have put λογος for Θεος, in order to prove that God was manifeſted in the fleſh. And yet in his books *ad Reginas*, and his other writings, wherever he quotes this text, the Greeks have ſince corrected it by their corrected manuſcripts of St. Paul's epiſtles, and written

(q) Codex Græcus hoc loco jam legit ΘC pro ὃς ſenſu perturbato.
(r) Section 33.

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Θεος instead of ὁ: whence, if you would truly underſtand the Neſtorian hiſtory, you muſt read ὁ or ὅς for Θεος in all Cyril's citations of this text.

XIII. Now, whilſt Cyril read ὁ or ὅς, and in the explanation of the twelve chapters, or articles, quoted this text in the ſecond article; and this explanation was recited by him in the council of Epheſus, and approved by the council (ss), with an Anathema at the end of every article: it is manifeſt that this council allowed the reading ὅς or ὁ; and by conſequence that ὅς or ὁ was the authentick public uncontroverted reading till after the times of this council. For if Neſtorius and Cyril, the patriarchs of Conſtantinople and Alexandria, and the heads of the two parties in this controverſy, read ὅς or ὁ; and their writings went about amongſt the Eaſtern churches, and were canvaſſed by the biſhops and clergy without any diſpute raiſed about the reading; and if Cyril read ὅς by the approbation of the council itſelf: I think that the concluſion we make, of its being then the general uncontroverted reading, muſt needs be granted us. And if the authority of one of the four firſt general councils make any thing for the truth of the reading, we have that into the bargain.

XIV. Yet whilſt the Neſtorian controverſy brought the text into play, and the two parties ran the interpretation into extremes, the one diſputing that ὁ or ὅς was a creature; the other, that it was the Word of God: the prevalence of the latter party made it paſs for the orthodox opinion, that ὁ or ὅς was God; and ſo gave occaſion to the Greeks henceforward to change the language of Chriſt into that of God; and ſay, in their expoſitions of the text, that God was manifeſted in the fleſh (as I find Theodoret doth), and at length to write God in the text itſelf; the eaſy change of O or OC into ΘC, inviting them to do it: and, if this was become the orthodox authentick reading, to ſet right the text in Chryſoſtom, Cyril, Theodoret, and wherever elſe they found it (in their opinion) corrupted by Hereticks.

XV. And the man that firſt began thus to alter the ſacred text, was Macedonius, the patriarch of Conſtantinople, in the begin-

(ss) Concil. Epheſ. Par. iii. ſub initio.

ning

ning of the ſixth century. For the emperor Anaſtaſius baniſhed him for corrupting it. At that time, the Greek church had been long divided about the council of Chalcedon. Many, who allowed the condemnation of Eutyches, rejected the council; by reaſon of its decreeing, by the influence of the biſhop of Rome's letter againſt Eutyches, that Chriſt ſubſiſted not only *ex duabus naturis*, which Eutyches allowed, but alſo *in duabus naturis*; which language was new to the Greeks, and by a great part of that church taken for Neſtorianiſm. For they underſtood, that as the body and ſoul made the nature of man, ſo God and Man made the nature of Chriſt; aſſigning the nature to the perſon of Chriſt, as well as to all other things, and not conſidering that in all compounds the ſeveral parts have alſo their ſeveral natures. Hence each party endeavoured to render the other ſuſpected of Hereſy; as if they that were for the council ſecretly favoured the Neſtorians, and they that were againſt it, the Eutychians. For one part, in maintaining two diſtinct natures in Chriſt, were thought to deny the nature of one perſon with Neſtorius; and the other party, in oppoſing two diſtinct natures in him, were thought to deny the truth of one of the natures with Eutyches. Both parties, therefore, to clear themſelves of thoſe imputations, anathematiſed both thoſe Hereſies; and therefore whilſt they thus differed in their modes of ſpeaking, they agreed in their ſenſe, as Evagrius well obſerves. But the biſhops of Rome and Alexandria being engaged againſt one another, and for a long time diſtracting the Eaſt by theſe diſputes; at length the emperor Zeno, to quiet his empire, and perhaps to ſecure it from the encroachment of the biſhop of Rome, who, by this verbal conteſt ([tt]), aſpired to the name and authority of univerſal biſhop, ſent about an *henoticum*, or pacificatory decree; wherein he anathematiſed both Neſtorius and Eutyches with their followers on the one hand, and abrogated the pope's letter and the council on the other: and his ſucceſſor Anaſtaſius, for the ſame end, laboured for to have this decree ſigned by all the biſhops. And Macedonius at firſt ſubſcribed it; but afterwards heading thoſe

([tt]) Vide Baronium, anno 451. Sect. 149, 150, 151.

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who ſtood up for the council (uu), was, for corrupting the Scriptures in favour of his opinion, and ſuch other things as were laid to his charge, depoſed and baniſhed, ann. C. 512 (xx). But his own party (which at length prevailed) defended him, as if oppreſſed by calumnies; and ſo received that reading for genuine, which he had put about among them. For how ready are all parties to receive what they reckon on their ſide, Jerome well knew, when he recommended the teſtimony of "the Three in "heaven" by its uſefulneſs; and we have a notable inſtance of it in the laſt age, when the churches, both Eaſtern and Weſtern, received this teſtimony in a moment in their Greek teſtaments, and ſtill continue with great zeal and paſſion to defend it for the ancient reading againſt the authority of all the Greek manuſcripts.

XVI. But now I have told you the original of the corruption, I muſt tell you my author; and he is Liberatus, archdeacon of the church of Carthage, who lived in that very age. For in his Breviary, which he wrote in the year 535, or ſoon after, and collected (as he ſaith in his preface) out of Greek records, he delivers it in theſe words (yy): "*Hoc tempore Macedonius Conſtanti-* "*nopolitanus epiſcopus ab imperatore Anaſtaſio dicitur expulſus, tan-* "*quam evangelia falſaret; et maximè illud apoſtoli dictum,* Quia "apparuit in carne, juſtificatum in Spiritu. *Hunc enim mutaſſe,* "*ubi habet* qui ..... *hoc eſt* ...... *monoſyllabum Græcum, literâ* "*mutatâ in* ..... *vertiſſe et feciſſe* ...... *id eſt, ut eſſet Deus,* "*apparuit per carnem. Tanquam Neſtorianus ergo culpatus ex-* "*pellitur per ſeverum Monachum* (zz)." The Greek letters here omitted are, in the ſecond edition of Sunius, and in thoſe of the councils, thus inſerted: "*Ubi habet* ὁς, *hoc eſt* qui; *monoſyllabum* "*Græcum, literâ mutatâ* ο *in* ω, *vertiſſe, et feciſſe,* ὡς; *id eſt, ut* "*eſſet, Deus apparuit per carnem.*" But this interpolation was ſurely made by conjecture: for if Θεος was in the ſacred text before

(uu) Evagrius, lib. iii. cap. xxi. 44.——Theodorus lector, lib. ii. and Marcellini Chronicon.

(xx) Flavian was baniſhed in the year of Antioch 561, as Evagrius notes; and Macedonius was baniſhed the ſame year, or the year before.

(yy) Liberati Brev. cap. xix.

(zz) Vide Baronii Annal. 510. Sect. 9.

(α) N. B. In Hincmari opuſc. xxxiii. cap. 22. the words "ut eſſet" are in like manner referred

fore the corruption, then ὃς or ὃ was not in, and ſo could not be changed into ὡς: but if Θεος was not in, it could not be brought in by this change. The interpolation therefore is inconſiſtent and ſpurious, and ſeems to have been occaſioned by ſtraining to make out Neſtorianiſm here; the Scribes for that end (α), referring the words *ut eſſet* to the ſacred text; and then the interpolator writing ὡς for *ut*. Whereas they ſhould have referred *ut eſſet* to the words of Liberatus, thus diſtinguiſhed from the ſacred text; "*Id eſt, ut eſſet,* Deus apparuit per carnem." I had rather, therefore, wave the conjecture of this interpolator, and fill up the *lacunæ* by the authority of an ancient author, Hincmarus; who above eight hundred years ago (β) related the fact out of Liberatus after this manner: "*Quidam ipſas ſcripturas* "*verbis illicitis impoſturaverunt; ſicut Macedonius Conſtantinopoli*-"*tanus epiſcopus, qui ab Anaſtaſio Imperatore, ideo à civitate ex*-"*pulſus legitur, quoniam falſavit evangelia; et illum apoſtoli lo*-"*cum,* quod apparuit in carne, juſtificatum eſt in Spiritu; *per* "*cognationem Græcarum literarum* Ο *et* Θ *hoc modo mutando fal*-"*ſavit. Ubi enim habuit,* qui, *hoc eſt* ΟC, *monoſyllabum Græcum,* "*literâ mutatâ* Ο *in* Θ, *mutavit, et fecit* ΘC, *id eſt, ut eſſet, Deus* "*apparuit per carnem, quâpropter tanquam Neſtorianus fuit ex*-"*pulſus.*" He was baniſhed therefore for changing the ancient reading (which in ſome MSS. was ΟC, as theſe authors have it, and in others Ο) into ΘC. But whereas he is here repreſented a Neſtorian, for doing this, the meaning is, that he was baniſhed for corrupting the text in favour of the doctrine of two natures in Chriſt; which his enemies accounted Neſtorianiſm, though it was not really ſo. Neſtorius held only a human nature in Chriſt; and that God, *the Word,* dwelt in this nature, as the Spirit in a holy man; and therefore interpreted ὃ of the human nature. This doctrine Macedonius anathematiſed, and maintained two natures in Chriſt; and, for proving this, corrupted the text, and made it God *manifeſted in the fleſh.* This diſtinguiſhing Chriſt

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ferred to the ſacred text; and ſomebody, to make out the ſenſe, has in their ſtead added "ut "appareret" to the words of Liberatus, and written "ut appareret, ut eſſet Deus, &c." But the words "ut appareret" not being in Liberatus muſt be ſtruck out, and ſupplied by ſetting the comma after "ut eſſet," to part theſe words from the ſacred text.

(β) Hincmari opuſcul. artic. xxxiii. cap. 18.

into

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into two natures was, by the enemies of Macedonius, accounted Neſtorianiſm in another language; and in this reſpect the hiſtorian faith, that they baniſhed him as a Neſtorian for corrupting the text, though he was not really of that opinion.

XVII. But whilſt he is ſaid to be baniſhed as a Neſtorian for this, without explaining what is here meant by a Neſtorian, it looks like a trickiſh way of ſpeaking, uſed by his friends to ridicule the proceedings againſt him as inconſiſtent; perhaps to invert the crime of falſation; as if a Neſtorian would rather change ΘC into O. For they that read hiſtory with judgment, will too often meet with ſuch trickiſh reports; and even in the very ſtory of Macedonius, I meet with ſome other reports of the ſame kind. For Macedonius having in his keeping the original acts of the council of Chalcedon, ſigned by that emperor, under whom it was called, and refuſing to deliver up this book to the emperor Anaſtaſius; ſome, to make this emperor prejured, diſtorted the ſtory; as if, at his coming to the crown, he had promiſed under his hand and oath, that he would not act againſt the council of Chalcedon; and repreſented his ſubſcribed promiſe to be the book, which Macedonius refuſed to deliver back to him. Macedonius had got his biſhoprick by being againſt the council of Chalcedon, and had ſubſcribed the *henoticum* (γ) of Zeno, in which that council was anathematiſed; and this being objected againſt him, his friends, to ſtifle the accuſation, make a contrary ſtory of the emperor; as if, when he came to the crown, he had done as much as that in behalf of the council. Another report was (δ), "That the people of Alexandria and all Egypt, great and ſmall, "bond and free, prieſts and monks, excepting only ſtrangers, "became about this time poſſeſſed with evil ſpirits, and being "deprived of human ſpeech, barked day and night like dogs; "ſo that they were afterwards bound with iron chains, and drawn "to the church, that they might recover their health. For they "all ate their hands and arms. And then an angel appeared to "ſome of the people, ſaying, that this happened to them, be-"cauſe they anathematiſed the council of Chalcedon, and threat-

(γ) Vide Annotationes Valeſii in Evagr. &c. lib. iii. cap. 31.
(δ) Victor Turonenſis in Chronico.

ened

" ened that they ſhould do ſo no more." Again, we are told in IN THE FLESH. hiſtory (ε), " That the adverſaries of Macedonius produced certain boys in judgment, to accuſe both him and themſelves of " ſodomy; but that when they found his genitals were cut off, " they betook themſelves to other arts for depoſing him." Now if you can believe that a eunuch had the beard and voice of another man; and that in a ſolemn council, the great patriarch of the Eaſt was thus accuſed and thus acquitted, and yet depoſed; you muſt acknowledge, that there were many biſhops among the Greeks who would not ſtick at as ill and ſhameleſs things, as corrupting the Scriptures. But if all this be a ſham, invented to diſcredit the council, the need of ſuch ſhams adds credit to their proceedings, in condemning him for a falſary.

XVIII. This council (if I miſtake not) ſat firſt at Conſtantinople, being that council which Theodorus calls " a company " of mercenary wretches." And Nicephorus, " a convention of " Hereticks, aſſembled againſt Macedonius." Upon their adding to the (ζ) " thrice holy" theſe words, " who art crucified for " us," the people fell into a tumult: and afterwards, when Macedonius came to be accuſed, they fell into a greater tumult, crying out, " The time of perſecution is at hand. Let no man " deſert the father;" meaning Macedonius. In this tumult (which was ſaid to be ſtirred up by the clergy of Conſtantinople) many parts of the city were burnt, and the nobles and emperor brought into the greateſt danger; inſomuch, that the emperor was forced to proffer the reſignation of his empire, before he could quiet the multitude. Then ſeeing that if Macedonius were judged, the people would defend him, he cauſed him to be carried by force in the night to Chalcedon; and thence into baniſhment, as Theodorus writes. Whence I gather, that the council removed alſo to Chalcedon to avoid the tumult, and finiſh their proceeding there. For the ſtory of his being accuſed in judgment by boys, Nicephorus places after this tumult; and all agree that he was condemned: and the monks of Paleſtine, in an epiſtle recorded by Evagrius, ſay that Xenaias and Dioſco-

(ε) Evagrius, lib. iii. cap. 32.
(ζ) Theodor. lib. ii.——Nicephor. lib. xvi. cap. 26.——Evagr. lib. iii. cap. 44.

rus, joined with many biſhops, baniſhed him. When his condemnation was ſent him, ſigned by the emperor; he aſked, whether they, that had condemned him, received the council of Chalcedon; and when they that brought him the ſentence denied it, he replied, "If Arians and Macedonians had ſent me a book of "condemnation, could I receive it?" So that it ſeems he ſtood upon the illegality of the council. The next day one Timothy was made biſhop of Conſtantinople; and he ſent about the condemnation of Macedonius to all the abſent biſhops to be ſubſcribed (η). Whence I think it will eaſily be granted, that he was condemned as a falſary by the greateſt part of the Eaſtern empire; and by conſequence, that the genuine reading was till then, by the churches of that empire, accounted ὁ. For had not the publick reading then been ὁ, there could have been no colour for pretending that he changed it into ΘC.

XIX. About ſix years after Anaſtaſius died; and his ſucceſſors, Juſtin and Juſtinian, ſet up the authority of the council of Chalcedon again, together with that of the pope over the Eaſtern churches, as univerſal biſhop; and from that time the friends of Macedonius prevailing, it is probable, that in oppoſition to the Hereticks, which condemned him, and for promoting and eſtabliſhing the doctrine of two natures in Chriſt, they received and ſpread abroad the reading ΘC. But as for the authority of the pope, that fell again with Rome in the Gothick wars, and ſlept till Phocas revived it.

XX. I told you of ſeveral ſhams put about by the friends of Macedonius, to diſcredit the proceedings of the council againſt him. There is one which notably confirms what has hitherto been ſaid, and makes it plain that his friends received his corruptions as genuine Scripture. For whereas Macedonius was baniſhed for corrupting the New Teſtament, his friends retorted the crime upon the council; as if they had taken upon them, under colour of purging the Scriptures from the corruptions of Macedonius, to correct in them whatever they thought the apoſtles, as unſkilfull men and idiots, had written amiſs. For this I gather

(η) Theophanes, pag. 135.

from

from an ironical report of this kind put about in the Weſt, and thus recorded by Victor Turonenſis. "*Meſſala. V. C. conſulibus,* IN THE FLESH.
"*Conſtantinopoli, jubente Anaſtaſio Imperatore, ſancta evangelia,*
"*tanquam ab idiotis compoſita reprehenduntur, et emendantur;*"
that is, "In the conſulſhip of Meſſala, the holy goſpels, by the "command of the emperor Anaſtaſius, were cenſured and cor"rected at Conſtantinople; as if written by evangeliſts that were "idiots." Here Victor errs in the year. For Meſſala was conſul anno Chriſti 506; that is, ſix years before the baniſhment of Macedonius. But Victor is very uncertain in dates of the years. For he places the baniſhment of Macedonius in the conſulſhip of Avienus 502; and the above-mentioned tumult about the *Triſagium* in the conſulſhip of Probus, anno Chriſti 513; whereas all theſe things happened in the ſame year. For it is plain by this chronicle, that the Scriptures were examined and corrected about this time by a council at Conſtantinople, by the order of Anaſtaſius; and I meet with no other council to which this character can agree, beſides that which depoſed Macedonius. Now that they ſhould cenſure and correct the goſpels, as if written by idiots, is too plainly ironical to be true hiſtory; and therefore it muſt be an abuſive report invented and put about to ridicule and ſhame the council, and to propagate the corruptions of Macedonius as the genuine apoſtolic reading of the Scriptures, which the council had raſhly corrected.

XXI. So then the falſation was ſet on foot in the beginning of the fifth century, and is now of about twelve hundred years ſtanding; and therefore ſince it lay but in a letter, and ſo was more eaſily ſpread abroad in the Greek manuſcripts, then the teſtimony of "the Three in heaven" in the Latin ones; we need not wonder if the old reading be ſcarce to be met with in any Greek manuſcripts now extant, and yet it is in ſome.

XXII. For though Beza tells us, that all the Greek manuſcripts read Θεος; yet I muſt tell Beza's readers, that all his manuſcripts read ὁ. For he had no other manuſcripts of the epiſtles beſides the Claromontan; and in this manuſcript, as Morinus by ocular inſpection has ſince informed us, the ancient reading

 was

God manifested

was ὁ (θ); but yet in another hand, and with other ink, the letter Θ has been written out of the line; and the letters O thickened to make a C, appears: which inſtance ſhews ſufficiently by whom the ancient reading has been changed. Valeſius alſo read ὁ in one of the Spaniſh manuſcripts; and ſo did the author of the Oxford edition of the New Teſtament, ann. Ch. 1675, in the manuſcript of Lincoln College library, which is the oldeſt of the Oxford manuſcripts. The Alexandrian MS (ι). and one of Colbert's and Cyril, c. 12. Scholiorum (teſte Photio MS. com. in epiſt.) read OC. So then there are ſome ancient Greek manuſcripts which read ὁ, and others ὅς; but I do not hear of any Latin ones, either ancient or modern, which read Θεος.

XXIII. And beſides, to read Θεος, makes the ſenſe obſcure and difficult. For how can it properly be ſaid, "that God was "juſtified in the Spirit *?" But to read ὁ, and interpret it of Chriſt, as the ancient Chriſtians did, without reſtraining it to his divinity, makes the ſenſe very eaſy. For the promiſed and long-expected Meſſias, the hope of Iſrael, is to us "the great myſtery "of godlineſs." And this myſtery was at length manifeſted to the Jews from the time of his baptiſm, and juſtified to be the perſon whom they expected.

XXIV. I have now given you an account of the corruption of the text, the ſum of which is this: the difference between the Greek and the ancient verſions puts it paſt diſpute, that either the Greeks have corrupted their MSS. or the Latins, Syrians, and Ethiopians, their verſions: and it is more reaſonable to lay the fault upon the Greeks than upon the other three for theſe conſiderations. It was eaſier for one nation to do it than for three to conſpire.

(θ) "Aliâ manu et atramento, extra lineæ ſeriem, addita eſt litera Θ, et ambeſa paululum O, "ut appareret ſigma. Sed præpoſtera emendatio facilè conſpicitur." Hæc Morinus in exercitationibus Biblicis, lib. 1. Exercitat. ii. cap. 4.——At Beza nobis aliqua invidit, ut ex ejus epiſtolâ ad Academiam Cantabrigienſem à Waltono editam liquet; ubi variantes aliquas lectiones celandas eſſe admonet.

(ι) Alio atramento jam ducta cernitur tam lineola per medium literæ O, quàm virgula ſuperna; ut jam legatur ΘC. Putat autem Millius, lineolas illas olim tenues fuiſſe et prope evanidas, et novo dein atramento incraſſatas fuiſſe; eo quod perluſtrato attentius loco, lineolæ per medium Θ ductæ, quæ primam aciem fugerat, ductus quoſdam ac veſtigia ſatis certa deprehendere viſus eſſet; præſertim ad partem ſiniſtram, quæ peripheriam literæ pertingit: luculentiora multo habiturus, niſi obſtante liturâ quam dixit hodiernâ lineolæ ipſi ſuperinductâ. Verum ſi lineola antiquitus

conſpire. It was eaſier to change a letter or two in the Greek, than ſix words in the Latin. In the Greek, the ſenſe is obſcure; in the verſions, clear. It was agreeable to the intereſt of the Greeks, to make the change, but againſt the intereſt of other nations to do it; and men are never falſe to their intereſt. The Greek reading was unknown in the times of the Arian controverſy; but that of the verſions, then in uſe amongſt both Greeks and Latins. Some Greek MSS. render the Greek reading dubious; but thoſe of the verſions hitherto collated agree. There are no ſigns of corruption in the verſions, hitherto diſcovered; but in the Greek we have ſhewed you particularly when, on what occaſion, and by whom the text was corrupted. IN THE FLESH.

XXV. I know not whether it be worth the while to tell you, that in the printed works of Athanaſius, there is an epiſtle, *De incarnatione verbi*, which reads Θεος. For this epiſtle relates to the Neſtorian Hereſy, and ſo was written by a much later author than Athanaſius, and may alſo poſſibly have been ſince corrected (like the works of Chryſoſtom and Cyril) by the corrected texts of St. Paul's epiſtles. I have had ſo ſhort a time to run my eye over authors, that I cannot tell whether, upon further ſearch, more paſſages about this falſation may not hereafter occur pertinent to the argument. But if there ſhould, I preſume it will not be difficult, now the falſation is thus far laid open, to know what conſtruction to put upon them, and how to apply them.

XXVI. You ſee what freedom I have uſed in this diſcourſe, and I hope you will interpret it candidly. For if the ancient churches, in debating and deciding the greateſt myſteries of religion, knew nothing of theſe two texts; I underſtand not, why

quitus tam conſpicua eſſet, ut uſque nunc per medium lineæ craſſioris, alio atramento ſuperinductæ, cerni poſſit; quid opus eſſet, ut à lineâ illâ ſuperinductâ incraſſaretur. Sin olim tam evanida eſſet, ut cerni vix poſſet; mirum eſt, quod ejus ductus et veſtigia ſatis certa, per medium literæ illius ſuperinductæ, etiamnum appareant. Doceant verba evanida aliis in locis atramento novo incraſſata fuiſſe, vel fateantur OC hîc mutatum in ΘC.

* *How is it ſaid in St. Luke, that "publicans juſtified God" by receiving John's baptiſm? If to read* Θεος *gives a difficult ſenſe in this clauſe, to read* ὃ, *will it give an eaſy ſenſe in others? Are the propoſitions, that a myſtery was manifeſted in the fleſh, a myſtery was received up into glory, both which ariſe from the reading* ὃ, *very eaſily intelligible? Is it eaſy to underſtand what myſtery was manifeſted in the fleſh, if our Lord's divinity is ſet out of the queſtion? If it be allowed that his divinity makes the myſtery, the two readings will be equivalent in ſenſe, but* Θεος *makes the beſt conſtruction.*

we ſhould be ſo fond of them now the debates are over. And whilſt it is the character of an honeſt man to be pleaſed, and of a man of intereſt to be troubled at the detection of frauds, and of both to run moſt into thoſe paſſions when the detection is made plaineſt; I hope this letter will, to one of your integrity, prove ſo much the more acceptable, as it makes a further diſcovery than you have hitherto met with in commentators.

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Digitized with financial assistance from
Observer Research Foundation
on 17 May, 2019